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William T. Pink
George W. Noblit *Editors*

Second International Handbook of Urban Education

Volume 1

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William T. Pink • George W. Noblit
Editors

Second International Handbook of Urban Education

Volume I

 Springer

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Ethnographic Practice in Classrooms (with Gordon, T.; Holland, J.; and Lahelma, E., 2005) and *Collective Ethnography, Joint Experiences and Individual Pathways* (with Gordon, T.; Hynninen, P.; Lahelma, E.; Metso, T.; and Palmu T., 2006). She was leader of the project *Cultural and Material Formation of Social Class Within Families* of the University of Helsinki. Her current research focuses on marginalization of young people. Elina Lahelma and Tuula Gordon were her doctoral supervisors, and she would like to dedicate this chapter to them.

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Her scientific research activity is realized through national and international projects. She led the project Education for Entrepreneurship, supported by the relevant ministry. In cooperation with the South East European Centre for Entrepreneurial Learning (SEECCEL), she led the pilot project Entrepreneurial Learning. She was an associate in two Tempus joint projects, EU Management and Counselling in European Education and Modernizing Teacher Education in European Context, funded by the EU. Today she runs the project School Principal: Profession and Qualification, not a Function, co-financed by the European Social Fund.

She continuously upgraded her scientific and professional work in Croatia and abroad – at the Department of Anthropology, University of Berkeley, California, USA, Danish Institute for Educational Training of Vocational Teachers (DEL), Politechnik Jyväskylä in Finland, Portoroz in Slovenia, and Scottish Qualifications Authority in Glasgow.

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Globalized Urban Education: Tracking Change

It is all too common for people to see globalization as relatively recent and largely tied to the shifts in the global economy of the past 50 years. Yet it is also known that globalization is as old as human migration, as old as famine, as old as the wars that brought civilizations against each other in antiquity, and as old as patterns of exchange that moved goods across communities and wider land masses. The Western hubris of the term the Age of Discovery was seen to mark the primacy of Europe and initiation of modern forms of colonialism but in reality only signaled Europe's ethnocentrism and its consequent blindness to how people and goods had been traveling all along. There were no "new" lands—only lands that belonged to someone else that when conquered could be exploited for the victors. The wider view of globalization links migration, claims to land, exchange, war, and exploitation. The recent assertions of globalization do little to change this, adding only the dazzling scale of international connectedness, the dominance of global capital, and the speed of the Internet. Globalization is faster and more intrusive now but it is not all that new.

Urbanization is also a phenomenon that suffers from a truncated view of its history. All too often, it is linked to industrialization and the consequent need for localized centralization and concentration of workers. But as with globalization, this truncated view of history missed much. Urbanization has a much longer history and bound up in issues of security and protection from both beasts and warring neighbors. It is bound up in exchange. In villages, people could trade and devote themselves to developing skills and products that could be exchanged for needed food and products. Urbanization is also bound up in issues of land ownership as well. For many agrarian people, even today, one lives in a town and works the fields surrounding it. Sometimes this is for security but sometimes this is also the vestige of feudalism and/or plantation economies, where lords or masters owned the land and farmers (serfs, slaves, and freemen and women) worked it. Cities grew into commercial centers, distributing goods and services and creating new occupations to facilitate this—and needs for new skills and more widely spread knowledge. While people have raised their children and educated them in various ways for the length of human history, it was in cities that schools arose with such fervor to enable a popu-

lace to be spiritually and morally informed, to work in the constantly developing industries, to participate in governance, and to enable the full development of capitalism and its patterns of exploitation and wealth centralization.

There is, of course, much more to the above. Such generalized assertions miss as much as they reveal. There are great differences across the world in globalization, in urbanization, in economy, and in education. The above however is to point to the longer histories of these phenomena and to undercut claims to “newness.” It is to signal the interconnectedness of migration, war, cities, capitalism, and education. It is to highlight that to understand urban education anywhere, all this and more must be accounted for. In this *Second International Handbook of Urban Education*, the editors and authors have taken on the challenge to understand how urban education is embedded in historical processes, in international relations, in economic affairs, and in the desires of peoples to be knowledgeable and skilled, enabling them to participate in the affairs that govern their lives.

The *Second International Handbook of Urban Education* builds on our first attempt (Pink and Noblit 2007) in important ways. First and foremost, the content of this volume is completely new. We learned in our last effort that urban education, while deeply historically embedded, is always shifting. Urban education in this way can be seen as an artifact of both local and global changes. It marks the winds of change as much as it is an engine of development. However, there are other reasons for seeking new content, including the fact that, even with the extensive scope of large volumes such as this *Handbook*, there is no way to deal with all the facets of urban education. Volumes that are more national in scope may be able to come close, but even volumes that examine specific regions of the world cannot do all the issues justice. Thus, new content also allows this *Second Handbook* to expand on what was covered in the first volume.

Second, we found it exceedingly difficult to identify appropriate scholars in some areas of the globe as we developed the first volume. With this *Second Handbook*, we have made significant progress in reaching areas of the world we could not before, most notably India and Eastern Europe. It is important to note, moreover, that regions themselves are not stable geographies. The Asia Pacific is a good example. This was how the section was conceived in the first volume. Yet James Ladwig convinced us that how nations in the South Pacific identified with each other was shifting and offered “Oceania” as the alternative. Xue Rong agreed to take on Asia in this volume as a separate section. Similarly, we have a new section on Nordic nations which in the last volume was included in Europe. While this was a tough decision, it followed the realization that these nations have distinguished themselves in international comparisons and are increasingly regarded as offering lessons for other nations. Let us be clear, however, that we have not achieved any sense of total representation of the world. We have reached into new regions and nations and reconfigured some regions. We have also have found talented researchers and scholars who enable this volume to expand the knowledge base dramatically, but the result is still a partial accomplishment. We would want future volumes to dig deeper into the Middle East and Central Asia. We would want more nations to be covered in each region as well. Indeed, we would argue that it is important to

reach inside nations to see differences within as well. In this volume, we experimented with this by including India as its own section. Clearly, India is geographically large and thus in scale may be seen to approximate a region. India had not been covered in the first *Handbook* so it could be argued that such an intensive treatment is warranted. Nevertheless, we were experimenting with digging deeper into large and complex nations. We have concluded (and we believe others will concur) that this effort enabled unparalleled depth of understanding. We encourage readers to compare the India section with the compelling, but single, chapter on India in the Asia section. We purposely included that chapter in Asia to signal that India is also regionally situated. Such a comparison makes it clear that delving deeper into single nations is productive. We would argue that future volumes may find it useful to consider which nations at which times deserve extensive treatment and that, as the volumes accumulate, a better record of what urban education has entailed across the globe can be assembled. This is important as a historical record, marking where and when particular issues have salience. It can also enable a better tracing of where new ideas and practices are emerging and how these may travel the world.

Third, this volume has been written largely by new scholars as well. This was both by plan and by necessity. Scholars have specialties and long-standing research programs and thankfully so inasmuch as the current state of world presses for rapid results and shifting attentions. In this world, academicians serve a valuable role in staying the course, in digging deeply, and in tracking developments over time. Yet, for the production of new content, we were concerned that to return fully to the editors and authors of the prior volume would have likely returned to themes raised in the initial volume simply because of the authors' specialties and maybe not because these themes are especially relevant now. Sulochini Pather, as the new editor of the Africa section, argued that inclusion was an especially salient theme for Africa now and worked to organize the section around this theme. We will return to what this section reveals later in this chapter, but the point here is that new scholars led to new content. We, of course, did not abandon all who wrote and edited before. Belmira Bueno edited the Latin American section again, for example, and sought out new scholars and topics for this volume. Elisabet Ohrn and Gaby Weiner also are repeat editors (but now of the Nordic section) who solicited new chapters. Gaby Weiner was an author in the first *Handbook* but returns as a section co-editor. The result of all this has made it clear to us that shifting who was included in this volume and seeking new content has made this *Second Handbook* a fresh addition to the literature on urban education across the globe.

While a fresh addition to the literature, this *Second Handbook* also reveals that there are enduring themes in post-twentieth-century global urban education. In the last handbook, we suggested the reader approach, the daunting task of reading such an extensive volume through a set of "analytic lenses" (Noblit and Pink 2007, p. xviii) that included multiplicity, power, difference, capital, intersectionality, and change. Now, however, we are clearer now that the term "lens" should be replaced with "prism." As we read the draft chapters for this *Second Handbook*, we found that several of these terms were still generally useful and are worthy of inclusion here. However, we think this volume requires a full reconsideration of the list. We

ended up keeping multiplicity and power but speak differently about them here. We dropped change entirely, not because it is not applicable but because it is embedded in the others. We renamed two. Difference becomes inclusion/difference to emphasize positive efforts at change. Capital becomes global capital because recent scholarship has signaled an end to the linkage of economic growth to social mobility. This requires a wholly new image of urban education. In addition, we have done a light reordering of their salience. Most importantly, though, our shift is to see through the *refractive* elements, given the use of *prism* under as overarching strategy for reading these chapters.

We wish to emphasize that we are not asking the reader to use these prisms to reduce the following chapters to a list of similarities and differences and/or to seek generalizations. These all-too-common practices violate all that have been learned about global urban education. Context (region, nation, peoples, cities, development, economy, etc.) is all important. Similar practices in different contexts can have quite different meanings. As importantly, however, reading these chapters to reduce them to similarities and differences and/or generalization is akin to an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). We say this because acts of generalization, for example, serve the interests of states and policy processes. Following Scott (1998), “seeing like a state” requires making what are accurate portrayals of local processes or situations into patterns that can be recognized by the state. Once the patterns are made legible by the state, then they can be made further subject to the state via policies that enable the state (and less so everyday life). For the reader here, this can be avoided by reading in order to understand “particularities” (Noblit 1999, 2). Each chapter in this volume is a unique contribution and deserves to be understood as the contribution it alone is. It is true that the chapters are in dialogue with one another, but this dialogue can only be understood adequately by first recognizing the particularities of each case in each chapter. The prisms we offer below then are not to be taken as crosscutting themes or as reductions. Again, they are offered not to reduce the readers’ search for understanding but rather to complicate that search. This is what prisms do—instead of offering a singular focus, they refract into a rainbow of possibility. As such, they speak against efforts to “see like a state” and instead valorize particularities.

Multiplicity

We argue that one enduring prism of post-twentieth-century global urban education is multiplicity. In the previous *Handbook*, we argued that this prism (then “lens”) led to at least three questions the reader may wish to consider:

1. How is it that there are multiple forms of urban education, multiple interpretations, multiple arenas, and multiple actors?
2. What can we learn about our own settings from seeing a wide variety of settings?
3. What strategies enable us to consider multiplicity as an asset for change and empowerment? (Pink and Noblit 2007, xix)

We do not wish to predetermine the types of answers the reader may develop in considering this volume. Thus we will be cautious in our discussion. In this, we must highlight that, as readers, we add to the multiplicity by bringing our own interests into our reading. As two scholars who have studied education and school reform in major cities and who have recently completed a new book, *Education, Equity, Economy* (Noblit and Pink 2016) (and a new book series with Springer of the same title), we of course read the draft chapters asking how they could inform our understanding of these concepts. We were drawn to this many chapters, but we will point to only a few here (and will do the same in the discussion of each prism) so that we can illustrate the approach we encourage to reading with multiplicity in mind.

In the India section, Rao examines the economic transformation of the city of Kota. All too briefly, Kota had suffered from rapid deindustrialization in the late twentieth century. Yet Kota transformed its identity into an education economy. It would be easy to succumb to the desire to identify similarities/differences and/or generalize lessons for cities working the new economies, but we would push for reading and thinking about this chapter differently. Using the prism of multiplicity, we wonder how much of the Kota case is a particular instance of globalization and thus cannot be easily compared to urban areas in the West that are promoting the “creative economy” (Florida 2002). True, they may be linked but maybe as cases of dependency as much as similarity. This in turn makes us wonder about efforts in the United States, where we both live, to mimic cities that have made such transitions. Kota has been a “model” for other Indian cities, but the prism of multiplicity leads us to wonder if mimicry is actually an invitation to dependency, as Illich (1971) argued was the case when education in Latin America was trying to assume the education patterns of the United States and other Western nations. In turn, then, the prism of multiplicity leads us to read the case of Kota both for what it offers us and, critically, for the assumptions that undergird its experience as well as the logic of mimicry in development.

The chapter by da Silva and Abrantes highlights the Portuguese poor in suburban areas, reflecting our earlier comments about poverty in cities being not always in the urban core. In these settings, so much is multiple: the shifts in demographics, the multiple privations and stigmas, and even who is recognized as poor in the public discourse as compared to the historically poor.

Multiplicity is also evident in the many perspectives you find in this volume, including postcolonial, multicultural, culturally responsive, world systems, critical race, and so on. Yet perspectives also work within cases as well. Singh reveals, for example, that in the South Pacific, there are four interrelated ways to think about urban education—depending on one’s imagination, one’s connections with the nations within and beyond the region, one’s role in the forces at work, and the view of using South Pacific intellectual resources. He argues that these all are constitutive of urban education in this region. Lappalainen found that in Finland the health and social services curriculum is largely neoliberal but the female-dominated cultural practices in that field are complex, ambivalent, and resistant. Vican examined different perspectives in Croatia on the problem of education and curriculum changes in pre-tertiary level—teachers, pupils, parents, professional associates, and

school founders—finding a surprising unanimity on the issue of pupil motivation. Students live in multiple worlds as well that education is often hard pressed to respect. In multiethnic Croatia, there are 20 official languages, and the chapter by Mestric finds in part that hybrid multilingual identities are often performed as a hidden practice in closed communities and are frequently perceived as an asset outside of Croatia and also as a form of resistance.

Power

It is now well known that the concept of power is less definitive than it once was. Power seems ubiquitous in life and certainly in education, but exactly what power is and how it works is more elusive. For example, in much of the literature on education, power is conceived of as hierarchical. Power is seen as constitutive of superior/subordinate relations. Power is sometimes seen as “informal” contrasted to “formal” authority that is legitimated by existing organizational and institutional processes. Yet there are many conceptions of power. Foucault’s (1980) famous declaration that power circulates is but one example. In this conception, he is decoupling it in key ways from the persons seen as holding power and enables a more discursive view of power.

Anyone with a background in urban education is well aware that power plays through all of its affairs. Yet power is socially constructed and situated in key ways. One can read urban education less as a provision of services and more as a regime—or alternately as a mechanism for governmentality. But power does not always deliver. For example, Peko and Varga in their chapter on Croatia note both the failure of the state to actually implement modernization policies which has left students a relatively passive role in their education. It is equally important to read in what ways policy can actually emerge as rather powerless. Whitty’s chapter in the United Kingdom section, for example, notes that the all-too-limited reductions in the student achievement gap are best explained by demographic shifts rather than policy accomplishments.

Public education was first constructed as a colonial mechanism to make indigenous people into malleable functionaries for colonial regimes (Willinsky 1998). In the first *Handbook* (Pink and Noblit 2007), we approached power in terms of the imposition of a linear history of progress. This, of course, is still a worthy prism to read the chapters that follow. However, as we read the chapters for this *Second Handbook*, we were taken with the complexity of power. On the one hand, there is a continuing faith in educational policy as a mechanism for providing adequate educational services. Nxumalo, in the Africa section, for example, emphasizes the policy moves in Swaziland to instantiate inclusive education. There are many other chapters that focus on policy as well, as is to be expected. Educational policy is, after all, the primary state mechanism that governs issues of access, equity, quality, and the forms and purposes of urban education. Yet thinking of power as a prism leads us to wonder about the degree to which citizens, practitioners, politicians, and

scholars are limited by the centrality of policy in our thinking. Clearly, Nxumalo is pointing to policy and finance as moments of possibility. Inclusion is being brought into existence in Swaziland—and this is a good thing. However, reading through the prism of power, we suggest, asks the reader to look for when policy is a problem: as when it enables schools to legitimately deny services, as was the case in Yuan, Noblit, and Rong’s chapter on migration education in China.

Finally, reading power through a prism would also lead directly to an analysis of when policy is a problem: this perspective surfaces when policy is rendered powerless and thus is reduced to nothing but an overreach. Cox, Beca, and Cerri’s chapter discusses policies around the teaching profession in Latin America and was read by us partly in this way. Riviere and Kosunen discuss how different conceptions of market and school choice affect the socialization of children.

Power, of course, is too important a prism to be limited only to centralized and official educational policy. Kavua notes that in Kenya, for example, “nonformal” schools are providing access to education where centralized/official policies have not been able to deliver. For us, this signals that urban education must be read broadly, which means that we must systematically twist our prism to look more analytically at public pedagogies. Families, communities, and local institutions, such as libraries and museums, must all be brought into view through this reconceptualized prism of power.

Inclusion/Difference

As noted in the first *Handbook* (Pink and Noblit 2007), the meaning of urban education is greatly dependent on the context. In the United States, for example, urban education is conceived to be about problems—problems of poverty and race, primarily. For the wealthy, though, urban signals a cosmopolitan (Merton 1968) lifestyle, filled with promise, with the arts, and with financial gain. But, of course, in these locations, the wealthy do not use the public, urban schools. Rather, they have access to high-status, fee-paying private schools and to class-specific suburban schools, which Kozol (1991) found to be bastions of privilege, self-righteousness, and exclusion. Graduation from these private schools is highly correlated with subsequent status and success in the capitalistic economy. In Europe, by contrast, residential patterns often lead to suburbs being characterized as lower class, immigrant, and racially different. In what has been called the Global South, urban settings are often destinations for those who migrate to seek out access to education, work, and social mobility. Evidence suggests, however, that migration to these urban centers results in arenas of denial and despair for many. This *Second Handbook* speaks to these patterns of experience. Some examples include Vaid’s chapter on women in Delhi and James’ chapter on “the urban” as an educational resource in England. Many of the chapters in this volume view both urban and urban education as a phenomenon that is always caught up in the production of difference: be that as a

function of factors such as race, class, gender, religion, immigrant status, and language—and their various intersections.

While we used difference as a lens in the first *Handbook* (Pink and Noblit 2007), we noted earlier that our reading of the chapters that follow in this *Second Handbook* is better done through the prism of inclusion/difference. It is telling that we used difference before as a term to signal the multiplicity of inequities that characterize urban education. Another such term currently in vogue is social justice, which points to a goal in which many forms of differences can be included. But note how we end that sentence—included. There are no doubt limitations to using a prism of inclusion/difference to read this volume, including the fact that it has been most tightly associated with special education. But it is important to note that the field of special education itself is trying to escape how it has been caught as a form of difference. Thus, we argue that it is worth our time to explore what the prism of inclusion/difference might allow.

First and importantly, the refraction of inclusion/difference does highlight special education as a particular focus in urban education. Many have pointed out how the phenomenon termed “disproportionality” (Skiba et al. 2005), where students who have denigrated statuses assigned to their race, class, gender, immigration status, and language are systematically subjected to the classification of “special needs,” was read all too often by the school as inability or disability. This results, of course, in assignment to special classes and/or low tracks, which constrict life and occupational options. This asymmetry of denigrations is notable globally, and we will return to this in more detail when we discuss the prism of intersectionality.

For now, we encourage the reader to be sensitive to how well inclusion works to expand efforts to serve all students well. We, in particular, point to Crespi, Larringa, and Lodi’s chapter on deaf education in two Latin American countries as well as the whole Africa section, which is dedicated to the elaboration of inclusion in a variety of contexts. In this latter section, we read inclusion to bring a fuller focus on all that children need in addition to the specific more traditional educational services. Health and nutrition, for example, are essential for learning but are all too often not addressed in the practice of urban education or in the literature on urban education. Inclusion can also prompt expansion of access to educational opportunities: Krawczyk and Taira, for example, examine the inclusion of secondary education as a right in Brazil. Inclusion/difference signals the belief that everyone is equally deserving. Finally, the Africa section highlights inclusion as an international effort in part facilitated by the United Nations. We argue that the reading surfacing here is that inclusion also pulls nations together. In this instance, Africa then joins, and is joined with, others in a global effort to bring education to all.

We are also sensitive to the fact that this prism of inclusion/difference also refracts all the possible ways education acts on difference, including assimilation. The Global South joins the Global North when it assumes the ways of the Global North. Difference is suppressed as the powerful nations insist that their ways of education are the right ways. It is thus possible to read almost all the chapters from North America, the United Kingdom, the Nordic countries, and Europe as documenting the many and varied failures of urban education policies in the Global

North. If one follows this by reading the chapters in the Global South, it becomes very evident the degree to which these all-too-fallible policies are now being taken up and imposed via education/official policy in the Global South. There are many chapters in this volume which illustrate this pattern of development in urban education: one might start with reading Crozier on the redefinition of race/racism and “British values” in the United Kingdom section or Lunhahl on the development of marketization in Sweden or Maguire on austerity politics in London—and then follow it with Donoso-Diaz and Castro-Paredes’ chapter on Chile in the Latin American section or with Asher’s chapter in India (in the Asia section) or with Majumdar’s chapter in the India section. As this view through the inclusion/difference prism highlights, globalization loses its sheen in the tragic parallels that emerge across the world.

In a similar vein, inclusion/difference can, of course, be read either as assimilation or as tokenism. This is to say that inclusion inevitably fights an uphill battle, especially when trying to preserve difference as it also works to insure equity. We read three of the chapters in the Asia section, for example, as working this territory. Okano addresses the issue of immigration and education for integration in Japan. Chang shows how multicultural education in South Korea can have multiple meanings over time but still be mired in an assimilation logic (Noblit et al. 2001). Jo, in elaborating the case of South Korea, dives deeply into this issue, examining the ideological underpinnings of multicultural education. Finally, Goodwin and Ling unpack the case of Singapore as an urban nation that has embraced achieving equity amidst diversity with lessons that may help advance a less assimilative approach to inclusion. All of this work serves to challenge current definitions of inclusion as either assimilation and/or tokenism while preserving a set of well-established values and practices.

The analytical power of the prism to inclusion/difference also refracts the issues of opportunity (see Menon on Delhi), access (Prasad on Vijayawada, South India), as well as social class (Arnesen on Norwegian urban education; Tolonen on Helsinki, Finland), religion (Andrade and Teixeira in the case of Brazil), and history (Manjreker on the progressive princely state of Baroda in India; McCulloch on the evolution of urban education in the United Kingdom). In short, this prismatic orientation reveals that inclusion always battles difference on many fronts and that efforts at inclusion are frequently compromised by powerful social forces both in and beyond education. In this, difference seems to triumph.

Intersectionality

Critical race theory has been especially productive in terms of clarifying the ubiquity of racism in the West and unfortunately across the globe. It has also proved to be important in driving an intellectual agenda for scholars of color. The concept of intersectionality advanced by Crenshaw (1995) is a key part of this agenda, practically and intellectually. In the North America section, several chapters build on

critical race theory to advance our understanding of urban education. Evans, Cardenas, and Dixon's chapter, for example, argue that Obama's election spawned racial retrenchment, underscoring the need for a critical race theory approach to understanding urban education.

Conceptually, intersectionality is a focus on multiple marginalizations. It situates analysis and critique in the multiplicity we discussed above and focuses on the complexity of difference that efforts for inclusion must address. This perspective is evident in many chapters in this *Second Handbook*. Mariscal, Velasquez, Aguero, and Urrieta examine intersectional violence in Latina urban education. Lawrence and Emong reveal how gender and disability intersect to double the disadvantage in Uganda. Gobbo reveals how the intersection of teaching nursery school and gender in Italy requires male educators to draw deeply on their experiences to enact care. Notably, the collective wom.an.ed (Giorgis, Pescarmona, Sansoe, Sartore, and Setti in the Western Europe section) explore several intersections, beginning with difference and diversity. However, it is the intersection of difference with identity (also defined intersectionally) that they see framing and hindering the development of individual potential. They argue that the asymmetry of power has dramatic effects on such things as multicultural competence.

While analyses and critique reveal the ubiquity of racism and other oppressions, many scholars actively work against these by focusing on the cultural strengths. Clemons, Price, and Clemons in their chapter in the North America section discuss a culturally responsive pedagogy based in hip-hop. Hollis and Goings, also in the North America section, propose a model, CARE, that incorporates (C) culturally relevant pedagogy, (A) attachment to school, (R) regulating emotions (mental health), and (E) expectations of teachers. Sernhede in the Nordic section examines a young adult suburban mobilization, the Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb, for its lessons about knowledge and learning and consequently for schooling.

As we read the draft chapters, though, we were stuck by the potential for a fuller prism of intersectionality. This is not to minimize in any way how critical race theory has used intersectionality. Indeed we are indebted to this line of analysis for sharpening our focus in this direction. Rather, as we read the chapters, we saw that the concept refracted a variety of ways that multiplicity worked against the interests of the full range of residents in cities. Elites, it has been argued, in many ways make the world malleable to their interests (Elliott 2016), while the rest of us (the non-elites/marginalized) inherit these constructions as "facts of life." As noted above, power plays out through policy as well as through the economy (as will be discussed below). A sharper focus on the impact of multiple marginalizations, then, can teach us about both the world views of the powerful and reveal the complex processes of subjugation that stratify the social world.

As a result of this perspective, we encourage you, the reader, to read chapters for what they say but also for the hidden messages of the elites that are implied. Looking as intersectionality as elite strategy is enlightening. For example, Lassnigg's chapter on Austria pushes intersectionality into the multiple political forces that lead to the topic of urban education being repressed and rural education driving educational policy. Bereményi's chapter on the Roma in Spain demonstrates how different pol-

icy contexts intersect with the often denigrated Roma people. Intersectionality, then, is a highly productive and provocative prism.

Migration

Humans have migrated the globe forever, either in need of new foodstuffs and land to work or simply because of the lure of exploration. Thus, urban education itself is heavily situated in migration and always has been. Agriculture is necessary for human survival but has always been threatened by infestations, crop failures, war, and depredation. Urban areas are tied to rural areas for food but also have historically served as places of both protection and refuge. Urban areas have also served places of last resort. When crops fail and when war threatens, rural people either die in place or move to new lands, often cities. Migration feeds the population of cities and often overloads the rather fixed residential spaces of cities as we see in squatter camps and favelas. These areas are often considered temporary and limited, or non-existent provision of services, from water to schooling, is thus justified as not needed. Yet, in actuality, they are frequently permanent settlements, and residents are permanently deprived of rights as well as services. The emergence of favelas reveals the limits of governments in the management of the population inasmuch as the migration and the settlements are often illegal or extralegal, as we see, for example, in the chapters on China in the Asia section. Yuan, Noblit, and Rong's chapter, for example, details both the educational dilemmas caused by migration and the complex failures of government from national to local to prevent or respond effectively. Recent legislative changes are moves in the right direction, but it can be argued to be too little and too late. Lui, in turn, examines the dilemmas created for local education authorities when China's internal migration hits up against policies of compulsory education.

Adam and Mazukatow reveal how Turkish migration to Germany and a transnational Muslim education initiative have combined to feed strategies of civic positioning in Berlin, including using Muslim private schools as vehicles for social mobility. Devine's chapter on Ireland argues that a conditional valuing of immigrant children undermines the rights of these children and sets the stage for wider injustices. Urban problems also lead to migration to suburbs and, as Rowe's chapter on Australia shows, efforts by the middle class to lobby for educational services.

The global economy, of course, feeds on mobile capital and increasingly mobile labor. A mobile labor force is dependent on global capital, a topic we will take up in the next section, and thus has little bargaining power. In the West, wages have been suppressed and labor unions undercut, as trade agreements have allowed global capital to increasingly dictate the rules of the economy. What is evident is that trade agreements benefit global capital more than workers and accelerated economic growth more than national development. Mobility, both within a country or region and cross nationally, increases the demands on urban education while also assigning marginalization of the migrant to education itself.

We invite you the reader to use the prism of migration to refract the stresses on urban schools and to discern the wider forces at play. The prism of migration may also be used to refract the lack of will of governments to protect all members of the population as it seeks to embrace in the Global South neoliberal reforms that have failed in the Global North.

Global Capital

In the first *International Handbook of Urban Education* (Pink and Noblit 2007), we argued that readers would find the lens of capital helpful in reading the volume: we emphasized that this was an underdeveloped line of analysis in the mainstream of scholarship on schools. We argued at that time that the lens pointed to capital accumulation, the idea of education as a market in itself, and highlighted Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital. However, the chapters in this *Second Handbook* lead us to argue that this volume can best be read through the prism of global capital. All the previous topics, of course, continue to be relevant. But capital, following Piketty (2014), after a century of being associated with growth and some minor level of social mobility, is shifting to patrimonial capital, which is characterized by a small cadre of elite families controlling the vast majority of wealth, along with a fixed rate of return. Economic growth, in the traditional sense, is clearly at an end.

This massive and insightful work by Piketty signals an end to many things that were taken for granted, including the myth of unrestricted social mobility, the myth that education “pays off,” and, perhaps most damning, the myth that aligning education with the economy is desirable. The recent rise of the influence of global capital has brought on some truly scary times. As we have seen in many countries around the world, it also may lead to social unrest and revolt. We noted earlier that several failed educational policies in the Global North have been exported to the Global South in ways that suggest a new form of what may be termed *capital colonialism*. The failed policies of the Global North pushed public monies into private gain and can be read to be doing the same in Global South. Put directly, our focus as scholars and citizens on improving urban education, when understood through a prism of global capital, refracts into not better education but rather increased capital accumulation: schooling, through practices such as privatization and charter schools, for example, has resulted in generating profits for the current elites and no gains in achievement for marginalized students. Griffiths notes that in Oceania urban education is deeply embedded in the colonial histories of extraction and cheap labor which, in turn, maintains the lows of global capital accumulation.

We suggest then that it may help to read the chapters in this *Second Handbook* less literally. Reading through the prism of global capital asks what is behind these accounts. It calls for a discerning *cui bono* (who benefits). It calls for imagining a future that is not like the past century. Parekh and Gaztambide-Fernández, for example, using the case of Toronto, argue that the current Canadian educational

system for all its efforts at equity reinscribes a dual system that serves the elites rather differently than other students.

The first *Handbook* ended with a set of dystopias because the section editors were overwhelmed with a sense that the future of urban areas, of education, and of society was bleak. We encourage the reader to return to them, not because they were especially propitious but rather because they give a sense of the possible futures—if *we do not make a different future*. In this *Second Handbook*, we suggest that the reader look toward a future that is not dystopic but rather a future marked by fulfillment and well-being, if not as tightly linked to global capital.

We argue that the prism of global capital refracts a future that builds on relations already developed and is less dependent on capitalism itself as the primary economy. It seems unlikely that capitalism will disappear as an economic system, but two other factors make it likely that the average citizen can be less subject to its whims.

First, there is a lot more to the economy than capitalism per se. Gibson-Graham (2006a) note there are other economies in play that are less apparent or visible because the prevalence language of the economy is tied to the market economy: they state that "... not all markets are where capitalist commodities are exchanged and not all commodities transacted in formal markets are produced by capitalist firms" (Gibson-Graham 2006a: 62). One such "nonmarket" (Gibson-Graham 2006a: 61) is unpaid household labor, which according to some estimates accounts for some 30–50% of all economy activity in nations. This economy is largely staffed by women, and, while often discounted, it is a form of work and an essential exchange relation. Other examples of nonmarket transactions are state allocations and appropriations, gift giving, indigenous exchanges, gleaning, gathering, hunting, fishing, and indeed theft and poaching. There are also "alternative market transactions" (Gibson-Graham 2006a: 61) such as alternative currencies and credit, co-op exchanges, local trading systems, sales of public goods, barter, informal markets, and so on. In like fashion, labor does not have to be wage labor. Nonmarket transactions often involve nonmonetary compensation, and in alternative markets, one finds cooperative, in-kind, and reciprocal compensation. If global capital growth will no longer be the basis of social mobility, then these economies can be expanded and contribute more to well-being and sustainability.

Second, the current response to the devastating effects of fast capitalism has been to oppose it, and there is good reason for this. However, this can be coupled with another strategy—recognizing that capitalism responds as well as dominates (Slater and Griggs 2015). The "autonomous" argument is that capital does not fully constrain action and moreover changes in response to actions of people. So that if a "diverse economy" (Gibson-Graham 2006b: xiv) is more fully developed, capitalism must change as well. For example, early in the last century, there was a major political shift in the United States to protect American and European democracies while allowing capitalism to continue (Rosanvallon 2013). The "grand bargain" "originated in the widespread apprehension that the rapidly growing power of robber barons, national corporations and banks (like J. P. Morgan's) was undermining fundamental American values and threatening democracy" (Keyassar 2011).

Given the unchecked power of corporations and increasing inequalities in Western societies, many felt that capitalism needed to be replaced with a “cooperative commonwealth.” While highly contested, over time, a grand bargain was fashioned. On the one hand, capitalism would be allowed to survive and nations would promote private business. On the other, regulations would limit the power of corporations; government would intercede to protect citizens from the rapacity of the market; unions would be allowed; and social security and other forms of social insurance would be created.

There is much more to this argument (see Noblit and Pink 2016), but the point is that in our reading of the chapters, there is a strong sense that global capitalism is deterministic. Case after case shows how neoliberalism, the political/policy domain of fast capitalism, is shaping the world. This view permeated the first *Handbook*, which led to the set of dystopias that ended the volume. With this second volume of scholarship, it is now time to read more imaginatively. We must ask a number of critical questions to shape this future: “Where in here are other forms of relations that could be maximized, that could supplant elements of capitalism, and that would sustain all of us rather than a few?” And “In what ways can we imagine forms of urban education that are decoupled from an economy that is no longer able to sustain a myth of social mobility?” There are economists arguing for a de-emphasis on economic growth, arguing that the economy should be asked to deliver well-being instead (Boston Consulting Group 2012). We should ask the same of urban education.

Looking Ahead

We have suggested here that the future of both urban education and the global economy is not set in stone. Rather it can be constructed in a variety of ways. Both of us have spent our lives trying to impact this future through teaching, conducting research, writing, and engaging in different kinds of interventions in schools and policy-making circles. We have had some modest impact but not near enough. Thus, we see this *Second Handbook* as a tool for stimulating conversations about the desired future(s) for both urban education and the global economy: we see the prismatic analysis outlined here to be a powerful tool for generating an understanding of the multiple factors which work together to limit the realization of equity and social justice in countries around the globe. Again, a strength of this broad international focus possible within the scope of a handbook is the ability to recognize both similarity and difference of factors that impact the development of urban schooling: again, this serves to underscore the limitation of looking for a single model for school effectiveness while also pointing up the importance of the local context. While we urge you the reader to use these analytic prisms laid out above to reconsider the implications of current urban education practice, we also urge you to reconsider your role as a social activist in bringing about the needed changes both in schools and the society. Such change, of course, requires knowledge about how

things actually work, and it is our hope that this *Second Handbook* can make a real contribution to that knowledge base. Change also requires the development of effective change strategies: knowing how to make things happen at the local, national, and international levels is important knowledge that must be coupled with the knowledge about how things actually work. Our sense is that such needed changes can only come about as a result of an orchestrated social movement of well-informed citizens working from a bottom-up playbook. As the scholarship in this volume demonstrates, we know a great deal about how things work. The task ahead is to disseminate this knowledge more widely and to play an active role in bringing about those changes in our schools and society that realize both equity and social justice for all students.

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Part I

Africa

Chapter 1

Urban Education and Inclusion in Africa:

Section Editor's Introduction

Sulochini Pather

If Europe's emerging individualism was summed up in the seventeenth century by Rene Descartes with Cogito ergo sum, 'I think, therefore I am', Africa's communalist counter was, 'I am because you are'. It is the idea that the individual is defined not in terms of himself or herself but by his or her membership on an inclusive community, 'I am because I belong, because I participate, because I share'. (Perry 2015:40)

Perry's impression of Africa as a European, poignantly captures the essence of African community and culture. He shares tales told by people he has met through his travels through Africa to provide a captivating account of the histories and realities of the continent, suggesting that Africa has been misunderstood by Europe and this misunderstanding has caused a rift, which he believes is being healed by Africa breaking free and forcing us to rethink. In this series, we provide insight into education in five countries – South Africa, Swaziland Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya – from the perspective of local scholars within these countries. As Perry emphasises, it addresses the need to let locals tell their own stories to avoid the misunderstanding. We look at this concept of 'I am because you are', from a community-based perspective, which is critical to an understanding of 'inclusion' in the African context. What this series aims to do is to provide a background to inclusion and inclusive education as an indispensable thread within the education landscape, within a global perspective and how this has been adopted in Africa, the rationale for a local commitment towards inclusion in the context of exclusion and marginalisation and how this is being translated into policy and practice, particularly within urban areas.

Governments across the world are committed to ensuring education for all children, albeit significant but slow progress has been made over the last 25 years (UNESCO 2015). It is a fundamental right for all children to be given access to quality education to ensure they reach their full potential as individuals; a right

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which is reflected in international law in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹ and Articles 13 and 14 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.² Twenty four years later, the Education for All agenda³ set by 155 governments, outlines six goals to achieving quality education and enabling access for all children, including the most marginalised and vulnerable. In response, 92 governments met and agreed in principle at the Salamanca Conference in Spain that the most marginalized groups of children i.e. children with special educational needs and disabilities, had a right to education in local mainstream schools. The argument was that regular schools with an inclusive orientation are: "...the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all" (UNESCO 1994). This gave impetus to the Inclusive Education movement, which saw governments increasingly including children with disabilities and special educational needs in local mainstream schools. Governments met again in Dakar in 2000,⁴ to reaffirm these commitments to ensuring that all learners, including those with disabilities and special needs, would be included in education by 2015. However, this has not materialised fully. It is clear that not all learners are being afforded this opportunity, with 158 million children out of school and around 100 million who do not complete primary education (UNESCO 2015). Of these, the most marginalised and excluded appear to be those with disabilities. Countries reported to make the least progress since Dakar are in Sub-saharan Africa, Asia and the Arab world.

What emerged from an analysis of practice relating to inclusive education was the need for a deeper understanding of how children could participate fully in the learning process and environment, rather than simply being placed in a class with other children. This gave rise to a globally accepted notion of inclusion which was about *all* learners, not just about children with disabilities and special educational needs. As a globally accepted concept, inclusion, in its broadest sense is about increasing the learning and participation of *all* learners and improving the quality of their education (UNESCO 2005; Booth and Ainscow 2002). Inclusive Education is therefore a strategy to enable this. However, inclusion and Inclusive Education, have become contested notions held mainly by academics (Clough and Corbett 2000) and are being interpreted and translated into policy and practice in different ways across contexts (Armstrong et al. 2010). Inclusive education in the majority of contexts aspires to principal features with respect to students with disabilities (Mitchell 2005). These relate to membership in a regular class in the neighbouring school, access to appropriate aids and support services, individualised programmes

¹On 10 Dec 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

²Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966.

³In 1990, delegates at a conference in Jomtein, Thailand, adopted a World Declaration on Education for All.

⁴The Dakar Framework for Action was Adopted by the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, 26–28 April 2000.

with appropriate differentiated curriculum and assessment practices. It has been agreed in principle, that inclusive education is a movement, which has transcended the basic understanding of simply placing learners in mainstream classes which is more integration (Ainscow 2000). It stemmed from a shift in thinking in the 1990s away from traditional special education practice which is concerned with the provision of specialist support and teaching in specialised settings (Skrtic 1991; Clark et al. 1998; Thomas and Loxley 2001). Medical models, which underpin these ways of thinking and working, have increasingly been replaced by social interpretations, which focus on the needs of individuals and communities and barriers which cause marginalisation and exclusion (Rose 2010). The emphasis is on addressing these barriers to all types of marginalisation, exclusion and underachievement by structural and attitudinal reform of society and schools, to increase the participation of *all* learners (Ainscow et al. 2006).

Increasingly, there is broad consideration of social justice and inclusion across a range of developed and developing contexts that encompasses a variety of concerns relating to domination, oppression and injustice, in recognition of the intersection of inclusion and exclusion (Curcic 2009). In Africa, this notion of inclusion 'seeks to understand the complex intersections of a number of often overlapping categories of social identity and conflict, including cultural, ethnic, and racialised identities, gender sexual orientation, class and disability' (Muthukrishna 2008, preface). Inclusion viewed in this way, is therefore a key priority in Africa, given the range of barriers that exist in this context which marginalises children in education, from the poor quality of school infrastructure, water and sanitation, school furniture, distance to school, overcrowding and multiple shifts, inefficient resource allocations (Theunynck 2009). Some of the key challenges to inclusion in Africa highlighted by Eleweke and Rodda (2002) are resonant with other developing countries. Inclusion is not receiving strong support from governments in terms of proper planning and resource provisioning, hence the lack of leadership and direction towards developing an inclusive system. There is a lack of mandatory policies and law to support inclusion, mainly arising from a lack of awareness and knowledge around Inclusive Education and models which may be locally sustainable. Early childhood education is virtually non-existent. Special Educational facilities (special schools or inclusive programmes) are concentrated in urban areas. Hence children with disabilities and special needs remain at home in rural areas because of distance to school and cost. Educational materials are lacking in regular schools which include children with special needs and there is a lack of support personnel. Furthermore, both teaching and support staff are inadequately trained. In those countries where there are training programmes, there is an emphasis on 'specialist teachers' and 'special school placements' which do not favour inclusive practice. Other challenges include student with special needs being segregated from their peers even in mainstream settings, inadequate facilities, poor infrastructure, lack of accessible environments, large class sizes and lack of funding. Special needs is not a priority for many of these countries and is deemed as an additional expense which comes second to general education priorities.

A dearth of literature exists on the subject of Inclusive Education in Africa from scholars in Africa specifically. In relation to Education in general, as was noted in

the previous *Urban Education Handbook* (Brennan and Nyang'oro 2007), not much is written by African scholars. A review of available articles and books on Inclusive Education in Africa reveal that the majority of texts originate in South Africa, with very few from other African countries. Hence, invitations for chapters for this series went out to African scholars from South Africa, as well as from Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Swaziland, to reflect the situation in their countries. I have included five chapters, reflecting developments in both Northern and Southern Africa. The limitation here is of course the absence of Central, Eastern and Western African countries to get a real sense of what is going on across the continent. However, a review of the literature from these other countries reflects that the situation is not too dissimilar.

A review of African countries' response to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Chataika et al. 2012) revealed that disabled people are still denied access to education. Only four of the countries reviewed (Lesotho, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia) had an inclusive education policy or a general education policy, which espoused an inclusive ideal. Namibia has a disability policy but not integrated into an education policy. Zambia relies on philanthropists and non-governmental organisations to support special needs education at school level. Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Ghana, Malawi, Uganda and Tanzania promote other key general education issues in their policies which relate for example to school fees, enrolments, school attendance, etc.

One of the key concerns in Africa has been the influence of the North and the impact it has had on the local contexts. For delegates to the 2nd African Network of Evidence-to-Action on Disability Symposium in South Africa in 2009, the importation of northern models of inclusive education, particularly around testing, clearly do not take account of cultural settings and the discomfort created for children in testing environments (Chataika et al. 2012). They felt that indigenous customary education was not recognized or capitalized upon due to the dependence on models from the North. What was more significant was their recognition that 'this lack of fit between African realities and special education theories works against inclusion.' This was an argument put forward strongly since the 1990s (Kisanji 1998). Post-colonial perspectives in Inclusive Education from the South have since recognised and agreed that one of the key challenges for developing inclusive education in Africa is that notions and 'recipes' have been transported predominantly from the North through external consultants, collaborative projects or through practitioners studying abroad and transporting back ideas to transplant into their own contexts without careful consideration of how locally appropriate or sustainable these models may be (Pather 2006, Pather and Nxumalo 2012; Armstrong et al. 2010; Gadour 2008). The analysis of what is going on in the five countries we showcase in this series, will be based on this post-colonial framework. To what extent are models from the North being applied in these countries, how are they being applied in policy and practice, to what extent are they benefitting local communities, and what are the ongoing challenges, particularly in urban areas? We revisit Perry's notion of the African culture of 'I am because you are' and assess the extent to which these African countries are breaking free.

1.1 Description of Africa Chapters

In this section, I provide an overview of the chapters that have been offered from the five countries – South Africa, Swaziland Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya. We begin in the South with South Africa and Swaziland, looking at the ideology of inclusive education, how this has been translated into policy and the challenges facing schools and communities. We then move on to the North African countries, beginning with Ethiopia which looks at how implementation of positive government initiatives have been challenged by broader socio-economic and political issues. The chapters on Uganda and Kenya move slightly away from policy to ground-level support initiatives, which have yielded significant benefits for learners who are generally excluded from formal education in urban settings.

To begin with, Naicker provides a powerful critique of urban education and the problems associated with it. He looks at inclusive education as an approach to addressing these challenges, providing valuable perspective on challenges within the South African context which have impacted on literacy and numeracy rates, retention, placement and support of children who experience barriers to learning and overall performance of the system. He focuses on barriers facing learners in this context; barriers such as pressure on their cognitive and emotional being and the need for trained teachers to deal with this. His fundamental argument is that teachers need training on how to ensure that children's basic needs are met. An interesting account of the socio-economic barriers is provided relating to nutrition and lack of oral language and reading stimulation in poor families. Naicker explores in detail other barriers within the South African context which include disability, language and communication where in an English medium school context learners do not have English as a first language or braille and sign language are not being offered, lack of parental recognition and involvement, negative attitudes, inadequate programme-to-work linkages to support learners transition to work. Naicker contends that within this context, the inclusive education policy⁵ and its ideology of a unified system of education, can create environments for success. Some interesting and useful recommendations are offered on how these barriers can be addressed within the school and community.

Nxumalo provides a detailed account of policy developments in Swaziland, which have led to positive changes within the system, to achieve inclusive education. She focuses specifically on the funding mechanism used to enable the implementation of The Education and Training Sector Policy (2011), which was the turning point in the education milieu, towards the achievement of an inclusive education system. Implementation began with the financing of nine schools as models of inclusion and the government appears clearly committed to funding inclusive education. Funding is mainstreamed through different general education pathways such as Free Primary Education (FPE), school development planning Free Primary

⁵ Education White Paper 6: Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (Department of Education 2001).

Education and through a school development planning programme called Schools as Centers of Care and Support (SCCS) which includes seven pillars – safety and security; psychosocial support; food security; health and sanitation; water, sanitation and hygiene; HIV/AIDS life-skills and quality teaching and learning. This programme is locally known as ‘Inqaba’ which means a fortress. It is based on child rights and the child friendly concept. The focus in this programme is on the active and meaningful involvement of teachers, school committees, parents and learners in all aspects of school development and management. Funding is also provided through capital projects and capacity building programmes, as well as from donor agencies such as UNICEF and Save the Children. Funding supports capacity building for teachers, provision of specialized teaching and learning material and equipment (including braille material), modification of infrastructure in schools, construction of appropriate structures, construction of ramps and pathways, modification of toilets and classrooms and provision of transport in selected urban schools. The key challenges highlighted by Nxumalo include the need for more funding to maintain inclusive education provisioning and the need to revise fee specifications in the free primary education act to allow for provision of children with special needs to access education.

Bekele’s chapter on Ethiopia paints a bleak picture in terms of the numbers of learners, including those with disabilities, who are currently out of school with no access to education. The author warns against the exactness of statistics, given the difficulty to obtain real data. On a positive note, central government’s efforts to address concerns over access and quality through Ethiopian Education Training Policy (Ministry of Education 2004) and subsequent Education Sector Development Programs over the past 20 years, are noted. The objectives of these policies clearly align with EFA development goals. However, Bekele believes implementation is fraught with difficulty. Although policies are in place to address the general concern over out of school children across the country, there appears to be a distinct policy-practice gap which is a result of lack of awareness in a decentralised system. Children with disabilities, many who are included in schools in the city of Addis Ababa, are not provided appropriate services or resources to support their inclusion in schools. Bekele suggests that urban education on the whole is challenged by overcrowding, rigid and poor teaching, lack of identification and support processes and often unstimulating learning environments. Overcrowding is a result of many from rural areas migrating into the cities in search of better work or schooling. Challenges faced by migrant children with disabilities from the rural to urban areas, to gain access to appropriate schools and to escape discrimination, are key issues. Of significance, however, is the release of a strategic policy document, namely the Special Needs Education Program Strategy (2012), which aims to improve educational access for children with disabilities and special needs and to improve support services. Bekele views this as a significant milestone. The support from the Finnish Government and international consultants in developing this policy and beginning its implementation through bi-lateral projects, is recognised. Some of the key challenges to the implementation of this strategy, according to Bekele, relate to the lack of quality of education provisioning, lack of accountability, lack of funding, negative attitudes towards disability, mis-utilisation of special needs teachers, lack of

awareness and training at all levels of the system, socio-economic factors which impede school attendance, school dropout and teacher turnover.

Lawrence and Emong's chapter on Uganda provide a clear explanation of the need for a social rights model of disability, rather than a medical model, to be applied in Uganda in recognition of how people with disabilities are being treated. The focus in this chapter is on girls with disabilities who clearly are the most marginalised in the education system. The national constitution and accompanying strategies and policies, including training at higher education, supports the inclusion of individuals with disabilities. The emphasis is on community awareness, advocacy and mobilization, making children with special needs and disabilities more visible in society. Lawrence and Emong share insight into the challenges within this context, which relate to the lack of capacity and commitment of teachers, inadequate education infrastructure, negative social attitudes, overcrowded classrooms, a shortage of necessary teaching and learning resources, lack of parental awareness, concerning enrolment and retention numbers of children with disabilities and the financial cost of including children with disabilities in education. Specifically, they look critically at factors affecting the inclusion of girls with disabilities and highlight attitudes as a key challenge. The voices of parents, which reflect attitudes towards children with disabilities, are particularly illuminating. Within this context, they provide a detailed account of two significant projects in the capital city, Kampala which attempt to improve access and the quality of education for girls – 'The Girl with Disability Challenge' project and a UKAID Project, 'The Girls' Education Challenge (GEC)'. These projects are undertaken by Kampala City Council (KCC) and Cheshire Services Authority and affected 119 schools, 1200 teachers, 442 parents and 2082 girls. They also describe a sub-project on Supporting Slum and Homeless street girls with disabilities in Kampala City aimed at increase enrolment, improve performance and retention of girls at primary schools in four out of five divisions of Kampala. The authors provide a positive account of the outcomes in terms of resource structures within the Special Needs Education/Education Assessment and Resource Services (SNE/EARS) programme for diagnosing, assessing, placement, referral and providing support to learners with disability and special needs education, as well as support personnel i.e. Special Needs Education Coordinators (SNECOs) within the system. These were set up through a DANIDA project initiative. Other positive outcomes include teacher training, the provision of teaching-learning material, paying of school fees, rehabilitation, provision of sanitary pads, transporting of the girls from their homes to schools and paying remedial teachers for additional support.

Kavua's chapter on the situation in Kenya, paints a similar picture to that of Ethiopia in relation to the numbers who have no access to education and the cost to those who live in rural areas who seek quality education in the cities. However, his is a more positive narrative, which focuses on the existence of non-formal education programmes in the city, which fill the gap. Kavua provides a critical analysis of what inclusive education means in Kenya and the contribution non-formal education has made to developments in this context. He highlights the tension between inclusion vs education for some children with disabilities in separate special schools, and the exclusion of certain groups of students from formal education. In response, non-

formal education programmes, which are essentially rehabilitation centres in mainly poor urban and peri-urban areas, provide for children in especially difficult circumstances or those in need of special protection, who would have otherwise been excluded from formal education. These are praised for providing access, but the quality of education provided in these institutions is questioned. Nevertheless, this form of education, in Kavua's opinion, is more inclusive than formal education by virtue of the fact that the curriculum offered is more learner directed, taking into consideration the needs of learners. He shares insight into the other benefits of non-formal education which include an individualised approach to teaching and learning, a focus on improving an equitable learning environment, flexible learning times, and low cost of provision which attracts poorer families, street children, homeless children and child labour victims. The challenges, however, point to the limited number of available teachers, untrained teachers, inadequate and inappropriate facilities and resources for teaching and learning, a lack of permanent structures and financial and administrative challenges. Kavua highlights the significance of non-formal education in a context like Kenya and makes valuable recommendations on how the quality of education provided in these institutions can be supported and improved.

1.2 Analysis

My approach to the writing of the chapters, was to leave it up to the authors, who themselves know their contexts far more than I do as an outsider. Having worked in two of these contexts (South Africa and Ethiopia) and with the other three (Kenya, Uganda and Swaziland), I have my own answers to the questions I framed for the analysis at the beginning i.e. to what extent are models from the North being applied in these countries, how are they being applied in policy and practice, to what extent are they benefitting local communities, and what are the ongoing challenges, particularly in urban areas? However, in attempting to answer these questions, I draw from the local narratives.

I begin by noting the paradigm of inclusion and definitions of inclusive education adopted by each author and how this has been conceptualised locally. It is clear that we all are in agreement about the concept of inclusion being about all learners and based within a social rights paradigm. We have drawn from academics in the North i.e. Booth and Ainscow (2002), Lewis (2009), and Barnes and Mercer (2010) but also from local scholars, for example, Muthukrishna (2008) who themselves have engaged with academics from the North and have applied concepts to local understandings. This is the nature of globalisation and cross-cultural sharing, which is a refreshing idea. It is clear that local understandings of inclusion have responded to the marginalisation of certain sectors of the community and hence the adoption of definitions of inclusion which counter this exclusion. In every one of the countries, the concept reaches beyond those with disabilities, to *all* learners who experience barriers to learning and participation. The definition of inclusive education is therefore about an education system, which addresses barriers relating to the school and community. This is an understanding which appears to underpin broad education

policies in each country, which are designed to address access and quality of education for all learners.

The focus, however, when talking about inclusion and inclusive education, appears to be about the education of children with disabilities and challenges, albeit the paradigm has moved away from a special needs one. Of deep concern are children with disabilities from rural areas and girl children, particularly those with disabilities. What was strongly represented in each of the countries was a profound understanding of the challenges and realities affecting the exclusion of children with disabilities and special educational needs. The challenges resonated with those highlighted by Eleweke and Rodda's account (2002), suggesting that there is still a lot to be done. The key challenges highlighted across the five countries in this series relate to attitudes of the community, parents and teachers to disability; the lack of availability of appropriate teaching and learning resources; lack of capacity and commitment of teachers, lack of funding; enrolment and retention of children with disabilities within the education system and exclusion of children living in difficult circumstances or those in need of special protection from formal education. Other challenges include inadequate education infrastructure, overcrowded classrooms, financial cost of including children with disabilities in education, and difficulties faced by migrant children with disabilities from the rural to urban areas. lack of accountability, mis-utilisation of special needs teachers, socio-economic factors which impede school attendance, and teacher turnover.

Voices around how each country is responding to such challenges, were equally strong, reflecting a deep commitment to ensuring inclusion within local communities. It is clear that governments have responded positively to the call for Education for All. This clearly demonstrates political will, although there appears to be a general lack of awareness of inclusive education and how it should be implemented. All of the countries represented in this series, reflect a strong commitment to education for all and to ensuring equal opportunities for every citizen irrespective of their ability or disability. This is reflected in their national constitutions. It also appears from our local narratives that since Eleweke and Rodda's account in 2002, inclusion appears to be translating into government planning and resource provisioning. There is growing leadership and direction towards developing an inclusive system, which has led to mandatory policies and law to support inclusion. Policies have been drawn up to improve the quality of education for all learners and to address the marginalisation of children, particularly those with disabilities and the gender disparity. In all countries the policy frameworks are in line with their local constitutions and Disability Acts, which call for the inclusion of every citizen. In Uganda, there is a more general education policy relating to Universal Primary Education as in Kenya, although a draft Special Needs and Inclusive Education policy has been developed through local stakeholder consultation and is awaiting a certificate of financing to be approved. Kenya has produced a guide on inclusive education, providing direction, although the general education policy leaves this out in its focus. Similarly, in Swaziland, a Free Primary Education policy has long been underway and the 2011 Education and Training Sector Policy has mainstreamed inclusive education and currently being implemented. A formal inclusive education policy being implemented comes from South Africa i.e. the 2001 Education White

Paper 6: Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System. Ethiopia has designed a Special Needs Education Strategy in 2011.

The engagement with external consultants from the North in drawing up policy frameworks, cannot go unnoticed. In Ethiopia, this was the Finnish, although the operational framework was agreed between Ethiopia and Finland as part of the bilateral agreement between governments. Funding was the key driver in this context. Similarly, the Finnish and Swedish governments reached agreement on both the conceptual and operational framework for the Education White Paper 6 in South Africa. Increasingly, local government has taken ownership of the policy implementation, making appropriate adjustments where needed. The situation was slightly different, however, in Swaziland and Uganda. Although they adopted international definitions of inclusion and inclusive education, their policies were designed by local professionals, without external support. This was, as Perry suggests, is the breaking free.

In the face of assistance from external consultants for drawing up local policies, particularly in Ethiopia, one of the challenges is absence of clear guidelines, which appears to be major challenge. From my own understanding, this is linked to the lack of local knowledge and expertise at the helm and the reliance on external consultants and donors to bring new ideas and to support the development of policies and guidelines. Bekele suggests that this lack of knowledge filters down to grass-roots level where little is being done.

The involvement of NGOs and external agencies such as UKAID, Leonard Cheshire, Danida and UNICEF, is instrumental in providing support in local communities and schools. This is reflected in Uganda and Swaziland with the 'Girls Education Challenge' project, 'supporting slum and homeless street girls with disabilities' project, SNE/EARS programme and the 'Inqaba' (Schools as centres of care and support) project respectively. The support of local communities in owning and managing non-formal education centres, which fall outside the mainstream education provision and are not government owned, are also noted.

Some of the achievements across countries, apart from the policies, are far ranging. These include the positive outcomes of intervention through projects in the cities; projects such as 'The Girl with Disability Challenge' project and a UKAID Project, 'The Girls' Education Challenge (GEC)' in Uganda, which have resulted in greater access and support for girls with disabilities. The project in Swaziland called Schools as Centers of Care and Support (SCCS) with seven pillars, encourages active and meaningful involvement of teachers, school committees, parents and learners. Education programmes and structures have also been set up in Uganda to support children with disabilities, namely Special Needs Education/Education Assessment and Resource Services (SNE/EARS). Support personnel i.e. Special Needs Education Coordinators (SNECOs) are also appointed in some schools in the city. Teacher training is also a growing priority with local universities and colleges offering special educational needs and inclusive education courses. The benefits of non-formal education centres in urban and peri-urban areas in Kenya are also far-reaching and most importantly support the learning of children who would have otherwise been excluded from formal education.

1.3 Conclusion

In answer to the questions, which I've framed for the analysis, it is clear that models from the North are being applied in these countries, drawing from international frameworks such as EFA, Salamanca and Dakar. With support from external consultants, concepts of inclusion and inclusive education have been drawn from the North. What is clear is a strong commitment to the ideology of inclusion as that which recognises the need to remove barriers within the system. It moves away from the historical medical emphasis in the special needs paradigm, relating to deficits of disability and special educational needs, which is a reassuring development. This ideology of inclusion has driven local policy and strategies to support the inclusion of learners experiencing barriers to learning. Models of practice, underpinned by these notions, appear to have been adapted in line with local needs and challenges and in all cases, greatly benefitting local communities. However, it is clear from the emphasis in each chapter, that the focus in terms of inclusive education remains very much on disability and special needs. The general lack of knowledge and capacity and lack of funding across countries also continues to challenge implementation of these policies, with a reliance on the continuing support from NGOs and external agencies to fill the gaps. The commitment of government, particularly in Swaziland to address these issues, is noted. There is an endless list of ongoing challenges expressed by all scholars in this series, particularly relating to children with disabilities in urban areas, which are constantly the focus of intervention.

It is clear from the five chapters presented that the urban phenomenon across cities in Africa are quite different. The particular socio-political histories of each dictate how education unfolds in each and how these in turn affect populations living inside and outside these domains. Urbanisation is attractive for those in rural areas who have no access to adequate and appropriate education facilities, which forces many to leave their homes and settle in the big cities. This was clear from the analysis of the situation in Ethiopia and Kenya. What is also clear, is the relatively better services and appropriate support in the cities than in rural areas, a phenomenon being addressed through the informal education programmes like those in Kenya.

Overall, the series provides evidence that attempts are being made in the corners of Africa represented, to break free from the rift described by Perry (2015). It is hoped that the local narratives will force us to rethink the notion of inclusion in Africa and how this is being conceptualised and operationalized locally, and the realities in each of the showcased countries.

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Chapter 2

The Possibilities Offered by Inclusive Education in Addressing the Challenges of Urban Education

Sigamoney Naicker

2.1 Introduction

Researchers and policymakers involved in the field hold divergent views on what urban education means (Goodwin 2002). What is quite clear is that Urban education is closely associated with education in cities and suffers from many problems, but worst among them is the spread of dense areas of poverty, where multiple social ills converge. The correlates of poverty—poor health, inadequate housing, high crime rates, single-parent families, substance abuse—create an environment in which extra-ordinary efforts are necessary in order to sustain aspirations for the future and a willingness to work hard for delayed benefits.

The key issue is that schools have a choice, either to reproduce the status quo or develop support to assist children by changing how they respond to challenges in learning. From the days of mass education not much has been done to radically alter pedagogy and pedagogical responses whilst there has been radical revolutions economically and socially. In this chapter an attempt is made to provide a framework of thinking that is associated with inclusive education as a response to the challenges of urban education. Whilst this chapter offers some theoretical tools, it is important that there are far reaching changes to educational discourse and practice given the large numbers of children that leave the schooling system or do not succeed in it. What is the point of developing education systems that are really not very beneficial to the lives of so many poor children (Bird 2007).

An Inclusive Education theoretical framework does not necessarily apply to disability but as a much broader foci. This broader emphasis is absolutely essential within the complexities posed by twenty-first century education. According to the Weekly Mail and Guardian in South Africa (2012), results from two international

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assessments, Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), released in 2012, show pupils in rural public schools performed worse than their urban counterparts in languages, mathematics and science. But, overall, the performance of South African pupils in these international benchmarking assessments remain at rock bottom of the study rankings. The challenge in South Africa is both rural and urban.

The correlates of poverty—poor health, inadequate housing, high crime rates, single-parent families, substance abuse have particular implications for learning and teaching. South African education authorities like their counterparts in other parts of the world have struggled with producing good results amidst the challenges outlined above. With globalisation there has been several gains but also challenges particularly relating to education performance since the correlates of poverty has worsened since 2008. It seems like sovereign states have less influence and its policies become quite difficult to implement in this socio-economic malaise. Most people who are held accountable for results become pawns in a global economy that have little respect for people who are poor. Within the South African context more than a million jobs were lost since 2008. This has serious implications for teaching and learning. Teachers will require new theoretical tools to deal with these complexities of the twenty-first century (Shepherd 2008).

Inclusive Education provides a useful framework for dealing with these challenges which is located with the notion of barriers to learning. There are two important issues here. Firstly, we cannot view the child as a problem. Secondly, we need to see the child as part of a system which has to be changed so we can embrace all learners. Social and other pressures create the conditions for poor literacy and numeracy results. Children in many urban contexts tend to have too much of pressure on their minds and emotions thus they are unable to focus. This paper will attempt to provide that framework that addresses the correlates of poverty by drawing on intellectual tools from inclusive education.

2.2 Urban Education and Inclusive Education

For children in poverty, effective schools are crucial; schools often are their last and best hope for a better life (Fleisch 2008). Children should be able to learn but often this is not possible because of poverty. There is too much pressure on their cognitive and emotional well-being. There is not enough mental space to absorb and acquire new information in the minds of children given the trauma and challenges around them. When they advance into the higher grades this inability to progress begins to reveal itself. Therefore, large numbers of children are unable to read and do mathematical equations in the later grades. These are often the children that drop out of schools. Teachers have to compete with very adverse circumstances. Often teachers in very challenging socio-economic areas argue before reading and writing children need love and care. In many situations children who cannot pay attention to literacy and numeracy lessons are regarded as candidates for special education (Bearne and Marsh 2007). It is very important to train teachers but also reframe how people think

about education to support and assist these children. They should remain in the mainstream of education with support.

There are tremendous benefits to using the ideology of Inclusive Education in most classrooms that under immense pressure as a result of poverty. Like many other countries, special education ideology has been a dominant thought and of course a popular practical intervention in South Africa. Whilst the South African government has made a major intervention in terms of funding as well as on the policy front, challenges continue to plague the education system.

Global economic trends and patterns since the 2008 recession has impacted on the educational terrain in very significant ways. Education in the classroom and the social fabric of society have been impacted on by a number of broader changes that on the surface appear to have very little impact on the classroom. The urban education terrain has undergone major changes. The central position of this paper is that Inclusive Education provides an useful framework for teaching and learning to be successful.

2.3 The Ideology of Inclusive Education: Barriers to Learning

Attitude and practices in the classroom can be traced to educational theory and frameworks. Attitudes and practices are never neutral. To place a child outside the mainstream class and identify the child as a problem is a practice of special education. It is a choice the system makes about children who cannot adapt to the demands of the middle class curriculum. In most cases being taken out of the mainstream of education is most devastating for learners and parents. This was a common practice in South Africa and many other countries. With the advent of inclusive education, different theories, assumptions, practices and tools emerged. In the social sciences the shift from special education to inclusive education constitutes a paradigm shift since we move from one set of theories, assumptions, models, practices and tools to another completely different set of thinking and practices.

Repositioning this system will require fundamental changes to structures and thinking. The structural changes relate to how government departments collaborate and change and this may not be very relevant to this paper. In this paper the central focus is on how the challenges could be ameliorated by using a framework of thinking that underpins Inclusive Education called barriers to learning.

2.4 The Challenge

Every human being according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs (McLeod 2014) requires certain fundamentals in order to progress to the next stage of development. For example, children need proper maintenance of the human body which is

Table 2.1 Maslow's hierarchy of needs (McLeod 2014)

Physiological needs are to do with the maintenance of the human body. If we are unwell, then little else matters until we recover
Safety needs are about putting a roof over our heads and keeping us from harm. If we are rich, strong and powerful, or have good friends, we can make ourselves safe
Belonging needs introduce our tribal nature. If we are helpful and kind to others they will want us as friends
Esteem needs are for a higher position within a group. If people respect us, we have greater power
Self-actualization needs are to 'become what we are capable of becoming', which would our greatest achievement

physiological needs. The next step on the hierarchy relates to safety needs which involve a roof over the heads of children. This is following by needs of belonging which involves a warm and friendly environment. Esteem needs are next which means that people feel good about themselves and finally the person self-actualizes which is the greatest achievement. The correlates of poverty in urban areas which include single mothers, poor nutrition, violence and fear are not conducive to developing within the trajectory of this hierarchy. This implies that they do not receive the necessary platform for the learning and teaching process. It is important for the teachers to be aware of this and prepare the classroom for children to learn against the background of these challenges. The pedagogy of teaching must be influenced by and reshaped by a consideration of social matters and psychological dimensions. Table 2.1 above provides a useful explanation of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

2.4.1 *The Five Needs*

Based on Maslow's hierarchy in the table above, it follows that children will not learn literacy and numeracy if certain basic needs are not met. Children should be in a secure environment and feel safe emotionally as a point of departure. It is important therefore that teachers are trained within a pedagogy that takes into consideration broader social issues. A societal theory of inclusion should underpin any pedagogical training. That societal theory must seek to understand the learner within the system that learner is functioning in. Consequently if there is learning breakdown, then that breakdown should be understood within the system and to a limited extent the learner since we are talking about large numbers of learners who are all victims of the correlates of poverty.

2.5 Urban Education and Inclusive Education

Urban education systems in many parts of world experience limit the possibilities of children self-actualizing within the framework of Maslow. It follows that many of these children will not learn to read and write in view of societal factors that seem

to characterise most urban education centres which South African cities are also familiar with. It is important for education departments to reposition themselves to deal with societal challenges since they pose a serious threat to the success of the education department and the society. Different support packages should be developed based on the challenge or challenges of the learner. Twenty-first century education is faced with challenges that relate to a number of barriers and teachers should be trained accordingly. Schools in urban centres are faced with a myriad of challenges and theoretical tools should be provided to teachers to meet these challenges.

To improve the performance of poor learners, it is important to locate those learners within a system and attempt to establish how the system could be changed to support the learners. Education White Paper 6 on Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (DBE 2001) emphasized a major shift at a theoretical level when it introduced barriers to learning as a body of knowledge in our attempts to understand poor performance. White Paper 6 asserts that barriers can be located within the learner, within the centre of learning, within the education system and within the broader social, economic and political context.

These barriers manifest themselves in different ways and only become obvious when learning breakdown occurs, when learners 'drop out' of the system or when the excluded become visible. Sometimes it is possible to identify permanent barriers in the learner or the system which can be addressed through enabling mechanisms and processes. However, barriers may also arise during the learning process and are seen as transitory in nature. These may require different interventions or strategies to prevent them from causing learning breakdown or excluding learners from the system. The key to preventing barriers from occurring is the effective monitoring and meeting of the different needs among the learner population and within the system as a whole.

2.6 A New Framework for Teaching and Learning

It is very important for teachers and the schooling system to establish what forms of support is required by a learner if the learner is not making progress in school. Packages of support and adapting the system to children's need is also important for the education system to be relevant and useful to children. As Bowles and Gintis points out schools tend to reproduce the status quo. For schools to make a meaningful contribution to the lives of children it has to rupture the status quo. For schools to do that it must be flexible and accommodating of the diversity of the learner population. This is not a welfarist approach to poverty but rather a serious concern about the pedagogical implications of poverty. Teachers need to be sympathetic towards learners by creating a welcoming and supporting environment. Experiences that involve stimulation, enrichment and play must be created to compensate for the previous deprivation regarding reading, mathematics, spatial development and sensory experiences. These could often be enrichment programmes that involve first

hand experiences (actual experience), play with concrete objects and reading to learners so they understand that print is meaningful.

At social level, an environment should be created that is comforting, that listens to the voice of learners, that is able to detect distress and depression. Appropriate referral to professionals should be made for formal assessment of depression.

The school needs to reach out to poor communities, and should be a secure haven for learners. School nutrition programmes should act as incentives for poor and hungry learners to attend school. Schools should establish meaningful relationships with the courts, police, relevant NGO's [e.g. child welfare and Department of Social Services]. Joint procedures to discourage any form of abuse should be developed. When learners become the perpetrators of abuse and crime the above contacts are essential. Where district based support teams have been established they should be called upon to assist in matters of abuse and other learner related issues. Where such support teams do not exist, institution level support teams must be established. Use of accelerated academic bridging programmes and programmes-to-work linkages are vital for learners who enter the system late or who have experienced severe interruption in their schooling as a result of socio-economic factors. Baseline assessment should be used to establish current academic level and facilitate placement in the appropriate grade and/or set of learning programmes. Fast tracking to acquire basic literacy, numeracy and life skills through accelerated programs with a view to assisting the learner to catch up with his/her age cohort.

One way to achieve this level of success is to draw from the notion of barriers to learners as it evolved within the South African context as part of the work of the National Commission for Education Support Services.

2.7 Socio-economic Barriers

Socio-economic barriers should be disaggregated in order to attempt to understand the kind of impact it has on learning and teaching. This type of barrier could result in diverse forms of support (DBE 2001). For example, there are certain characteristics of working class children that had a direct impact on performance in the classroom. In many homes the use of oral language is limited since there is fewer conversations in working class homes. In this case the lexicon of the middle class schools differs from what working class children are exposed to in their homes. This impact on the oral language ability of learners when they arrive at school since they possess a less developed vocabulary than their middle class peers. There are several implications for learning for these children since they do not possess the vocabulary that is required in ordinary classrooms. This implies that they are unable to participate fully in conversations in classrooms and consequently they struggle to read books since they have not been exposed to a print culture. Further, they do not have the vocabulary to interact with books in the early years of schooling.

On the issue of reading, we know that very few working class children are read to at an early age (Schiefelbein 2008). Of course one of the reasons is that there is a limited culture of print in the homes of these children. How does a teacher respond

to both the limited vocabulary and the challenges of reading? It is critical that the teacher reads to the child and makes books available so children get sufficient exposure to books. Reading of stories and the discussion of stories in the classroom is a very important part of the process of learning to read. It is difficult to teach someone to read but it is easier to create the conditions for reading by reading to children and creating a print rich schooling environment.

The above discussion reflects on an aspect of the impact of socio-economic barriers. There are several others and it may be necessary for teachers to be training in understanding various support needs and provide those or learning may not take place. What we need to note here which is crucial in the life of any child is that they are not put on a special education programme or excluded from the mainstream because they do not have the vocabulary and the necessary exposure to print as their middle class peers do.

2.8 Disability as a Barrier

Most understandings of disability relate to individual deficit. Therefore, disability has always been regarded as a barrier to learning. These barriers include:

- Visual barriers
- Auditory barriers
- Oral barriers
- Cognitive barriers
- Physical barriers
- Medical barriers
- Psychological barriers

Learners who experience barriers to learning as a result of disability should be welcomed in ordinary school environments provided that the necessary support is in place for learners to achieve their full potential. Teams that include parents, teachers and other relevant professionals should establish the nature and extent of support needed by the learner. Below are a few examples of how the system could be modified or changed to meet different kinds of support that individual learners may require:

- Modified access to buildings e.g. ramps, adapted toilets and speaker systems in where applicable.
- Brailed signage on doorframes, passages and outbuildings.
- Enlarged print.
- Appropriate assistive devices e.g. Braille, hearing aids, tape recorders, splints, adapted computers, wheelchairs, walkers, modified tricycles and standing frames.
- Therapeutic intervention.
- Learner based and learner paced teaching.

2.9 Language and Communication

There are normally three main barriers related to language. Firstly, learners are often forced to communicate and learn in a language which they do not usually use at home and are not competent to learn effectively. Secondly, learners who use South African Sign Language as a language for teaching and learning and as a (language) subject did not have access to the language. Thirdly, learners experience difficulties with communication. Learners who are non-speaking due to the severity of their disability experience enormous barriers to learning and development. These barriers arise from the general unavailability of augmentative and alternative communication (AAC) strategies to enable them to engage in the learning process, and more often than not find themselves totally excluded from learning and development experiences. AAC systems could consist of alternative communications systems, supplements to vocal communication and communication through facilitators.

Therefore it is important that:

All learners are to learn their home language and at least one additional official language which include South African Sign Language. Braille as a code can be used as a medium of teaching and learning.

When learners enter a school where the language of learning and teaching is not their home language, the teachers of all the learning areas/programmes and the school should provide support and supplementary learning in the language of learning and teaching until such time that learners are able to learn effectively through the medium of that particular language. It is the responsibility of each individual teacher to ensure that the language of learning and teaching does not become a barrier to learning in such instances. Ideally, parents should be encouraged to participate in interventions regarding language. Learners should receive extra support in the language (“subject”) which is also the language of learning and teaching. The learner should work towards and be assessed against the assessment standards of the appropriate language level (Home Language, First Additional Language or Second Additional Language).

2.10 Lack of Parental Recognition and Involvement

Parents whose children do not utilise oral communication experience communication barriers with their children. Difficulties around parental support of learners may arise due to a range of situations e.g. a parent who cannot read Braille would not be able to support a grade 1 learner with his or her Braille homework. Parents are not always adequately informed of their children’s problems or progress, and therefore are often deprived of the opportunity to participate in their children’s development. Parents who are unable to understand the emotional and/or behavioural problems of their children may aggravate their barriers.

Non-involvement and non-recognition of parents by the system creates a lack of respect for parents as, informed role players in the assessment and future development of their children. A lack of communication and support around HIV/Aids infected or affected families creates barriers for learners from such families.

At school level, partnerships should be established with parents in order to equip them with skills and knowledge to participate effectively in their children's learning and school life. Parents should also be fully involved and informed regarding the identification, screening and assessment and placement of their children. Parents should be encouraged to take an active interest in the teaching, learning and assessment of their children. In order to facilitate early intervention for children with disabilities parents may consult community based clinics and/or other professional practitioners including teachers to conduct an initial assessment and to plan a suitable course of action for the learner. Schools which use South African Sign Language are encouraged to run accredited SA Sign Language courses for parents and teachers.

Braille courses should be run to enable parents to communicate with their children and assist them with homework, reading and writing in Braille. General newsletters can assist in keeping parents informed of developments and programmes at the school. This is particularly important for boarding schools where distance separates parents from the school. Schools can run information sessions and workshops to enable parents to better understand their children and their emotional and behavioural problems. Staff from district based support teams, including psychologists and social workers, could assist at such workshops.

Where appropriate, school-based support teams should be strengthened with expertise from the local community, district-support teams and higher education.

It is essential that schools maintain open channels of communication with families infected and/or affected by HIV/Aids, and render support to parents and learners wherever possible. This could be facilitated by openly displaying a clear HIV/Aids policy for the school. Shared HIV and Aids status could also help destigmatise the disease.

2.11 Negative Attitudes

Negative and harmful attitudes towards *difference* in our society remain critical barriers to learning and development. Discriminatory attitudes resulting from prejudice against people on the basis of race, class, gender, culture, disability, religion, ability, sexual preference and other characteristics manifest themselves as barriers to learning when such attitudes are directed towards learners in the education system.

Labelling of learners should be discouraged since it makes it difficult for learners to grow beyond the limitations of the label. It is important for teachers, parents and peer groups to adopt positive attitudes towards learners who experience barriers. Even learners who were once regarded as ineducable benefit from appropriate intervention. Learners should not be categorized since they often are placed in a particu-

lar learning environment merely because of the category and not because of the particular learning needs of the individual learner. In many cases, the categorisation was convenient for the system and not in the best interests of the learner. Do not discriminate against learners who are HIV positive or who have AIDS since a lack of knowledge about this issue has led to negative assumptions associated with the disease. All learners and staff should be treated equally. When it comes to blood all cases are treated as universally HIV positive.

All learners should be viewed in a positive light and there should be a determined effort to establish what their real strengths are for the purpose of further development. Do not create conditions for fear of learners with disabilities to develop, since negative attitudes often result from beliefs that are illogical and encourage discrimination. Schools must be welcoming environments for all learners, since any negative attitude by adults in a school environment influences learners. Schools should embark on positive awareness campaigns about difference and the value of celebrating diversity based on new South African policy and principles. Acknowledge and respect differences in learners, whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language, class, disability or HIV status, sexual preference, etc.

2.12 Inadequate Programme-to-Work Linkages

Many children drop out of school in urban areas because they do not learn to read in the early years for reasons mentioned above. It is important that opportunities are created for these learners. Learners who experience cognitive barriers who are unlikely to achieve a full certificate as well as learners who, due to age constraints and social barriers, need specific programme-to-work linkages. Appropriate accreditation and certification for the level of skills achieved need recognition to facilitate life-long learning. A lack of partnerships between education and industry which would facilitate job accessibility could be a stumbling block to learners (DBE 2001).

Weighting of learning areas and time allocation can be adjusted to allow for chosen learning areas or learning programmes to become the major tool or vehicle for learning, thus fulfilling the vision of Education White Paper 6 of providing more options for learners as ways to learn and to provide programme-to-work linkages.

Linkages across learning areas will allow for assessment standards from various learning areas and from different grades to be achieved within the skills learning programmes allowing for work related linkages.

Collaboration between teachers within and across a phase or grade would be essential in the planning of learning programmes for specific learners or groups of learners to ensure effective programme-to-work linkages.

At local school level partnerships with industry should be established to assess the educational requirements of future employers and to facilitate hands-on work experience for learners.

Schools may issue a certificate of competency that includes specific reference to Learning Programmes that reflect programme-to-work linkages to learners who do not achieve a GETC.

2.13 Conclusion

Urban schools have changed radically over the last decade and the education landscape has shifted to one that requires a different pedagogical support package that embraces societal considerations. Any education system that is unable to deal with the social ills will not succeed in terms of ensuring children complete their schooling. There are too many reasons why children drop out of school but there is an abundance of research that points to poor reading and attrition. Every attempt must be made to develop packages of intervention that is suited to children in different geographical and economic areas. The youth in more affluent areas are not untouched by the challenges of urban education. Many of their challenges are central to alienation and complacency which often arises out of affluence and privilege. What this paper is calling for is a dynamic response to the challenges of urban education. Given the radical changes in social and economic terrain, how has education responded? How relevant is the pedagogic response in this dynamic rapidly changing world?

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Chapter 3

Financing of Inclusive Education in Urban Settings of Swaziland

Cebsile P. Nxumalo

3.1 Introduction

Swaziland is a landlocked country in Southern Africa. It shares borders with Mozambique and South Africa. The country measures approximately 17,000 km², with a population of approximately 1.2 million, of whom 75% resides in rural areas. Out of the total population, about 17% are persons with disabilities (Central Statistical Office 2007). Over half of Swaziland's population is below 20 years old and there are estimated to be up to 144,000 orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs). Swaziland is classified as a lower-middle income country with a high per capita income of \$3248 (IMF Estimate 2015). However, with a very unequal income distribution, 63% of the population estimated to be living below the poverty line (less than 1\$ per day) and 30% are ultra-poor. Swaziland's UN Human Development Index (HDI) ranking has fallen from 103rd in 1990 to 148 in 2014.

The country was a British colony and in September 6th, 1968 Swaziland attained independence from the British. In its 1968 Independence Manifesto the newly independent Monarchy of Swaziland prioritized education. As early as 1968 the aspirations of the Swazi Government were that "all Swazi citizens should be educated". The Philosophy, Policies and Objectives of the Imbokodvo National Movement known as the 'Imbokodvo Manifesto' of 1968 called for the right to education for all Swazi citizens way before the EFA, Jomtien Conference of 1990. The manifesto had spelt out that one of its educational policies was that education is an inalienable right of every child and every citizen to receive to the limit of his/her capabilities.

The World Conference on Education for All (EFA) that took place in Jomtien in 1990 was a landmark event in that basic education was put on the international development agenda for the very first time. It gave new life and impetus to the idea

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that education is a right for all children, young people, men as well as women (Herfkens 2002). This was followed, 10 years later, by the World Forum on Education for All where 164 Governments committed themselves to expand educational opportunities to achieve UPE by 2015. As indicated above, in Swaziland, this was not new as the Imbokodvo Manifesto prioritized education for every Swazi citizen.

3.2 Education Systems and Policy in Swaziland

Swaziland adopted a 10-year basic education programme as part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Education. Primary education is 7 years starting with Grade 1 and culminating in an end-of primary school examination in Grade 7. Basic education up to the seventh grade is compulsory and financed by government. Secondary education is a 5-year programme divided into 3 years of junior secondary (part of basic education) and 2 years of senior secondary schooling. The whole of secondary education is financed by parents. A grant is provided by government for students who are orphaned and vulnerable. Tertiary education is offered by colleges and universities which awards certificates, diplomas, degrees and post graduate degrees for varying completion years. Pre-school covers the first 6 years of life and is provided in ECCD centres, day-care centres, community centres and neighborhood care points. ECCD is mainly funded by parents.

3.3 Inclusive Education in the Swaziland Context

The inclusive education movement has become the cornerstone of education reform in many countries (Armstrong et al. 2010; Holt 2003). Inclusive education is included in the education policies of many governments around the world and today there is a worldwide consensus about inclusive education as a desirable goal (Malinen 2013). The basic principle of inclusive education is a commitment to belonging, nurturing and educating all students regardless of their difference in ability, culture, gender, language, class and ethnicity (Kozelski et al. 2009).

The call for an inclusive education system was stated in the 1999 National Policy Statement on Education and supported by a 2006 strategy initially targeting nine primary schools with a rural and urban focus in each of the four regions in Swaziland, for designation as models of inclusion. In each of the schools four teachers were trained and designated as resource teachers for inclusive education issues. Since 2006 to date more all primary and secondary schools are participating in this programme which aims to empower mainstream schools to be able to support every learner.

In Swaziland, inclusive education has been framed within the human rights discourse as evident in the 2011 Education and Training Sector policy. Swaziland views the education of its citizens and access to basic education as a human right and inclusive education is perceived to be the most effective approach in reaching this goal. The key premise in the Education and Training Sector Policy is that schools are about providing quality education and meeting the needs of all children and youth regardless of differences, gender, life circumstance, state of health, ability/disability, stage of development, capacity to learn, level of achievement, financial or any other circumstance.

The move towards support for children and youth with special needs was largely influenced by international declarations and agreements such as the United Nations Human Rights Convention of 1949, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and then the right to Education for All (EFA) of 1990 and the 2006 United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with disabilities of which Swaziland is a signatory. The 2011 Education and Training Sector Policy mainstreamed inclusive education as an overarching goal for whole system change from pre-school to tertiary education in both formal and non-formal education. A rigorous restructuring of the system was formalized in the Education and Training Sector Policy of April 2011 which attempts to build an inclusive education and training system where no child is excluded from education. This policy calls for learners to be admitted and educated in schools in their neighborhoods. Furthermore, it recognizes that lack of access, meaningful participation and achievement arises from a range of artificial barriers within the education system. Resources are therefore geared towards increasing physical access, meaningful participation in learning and achievement to the learners' maximum potential.

3.4 Funding Mechanisms

The government of Swaziland has over the years made huge investments in education. On average, about 6% of Swaziland's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) goes toward education. The proportion of the annual budget devoted to education has been about 17% on average (MoET 2014). This proportion is slightly higher than that set by UNESCO for developing countries like Swaziland. Public expenditure on education has been fluctuating over the years. It reached its highest in 2005 (21.3%) and the lowest in 2009 (13.7%). The fluctuations were due to the unstable fiscas (MoET 2014).

The Ministry of Education and Training (MoET) has been receiving the largest portion of the national budget since 2000 as part of government's effort to respond to access, equity and quality in education while promoting Education for All goals and the Millennium Development Goals (Khumalo 2013). Furthermore, there is support towards education from the donor community. This share on education indicates government commitment towards funding and supporting education initiatives. Categories that make up priority include state-funded free primary education

and tertiary education scholarship funding. The government has managed to retain this share above 17% of the national budget, yet it is still not adequate to meet all educational needs including the total cost of free primary education per learner. Cost efficient ways to provide resources to support inclusive education have been adopted drawing from a broad range of resources (United Nations 2014).

In order to realize the goals of inclusive education for all, there is need for financing and support of education services for learners with special education needs through ensuring that system-wide investment is genuinely used to bring about improved diversity and reduced discrimination rather than just providing time-limited funding to isolated inclusive education projects (Lewis 2007). Financing is regarded as one of the most important factors that contribute to further development of inclusive practices. Unclear financing mechanisms for inclusive education have been identified in a number of countries – no doubt stemming from confusion over how to define it and therefore which funding ‘pot’ it fits into (Lewis 2007). Funding for inclusive education in Swaziland has been mainstreamed in the existing funding mechanisms for the different levels in the education system. Implementing inclusive education requires looking at the context and making use of available resources within the country (Pather and Nxumalo 2012). Mainstreaming funding for inclusive education in Ministry of Education and Training is transforming the education system such that it responds to the diversity of learners.

3.4.1 Free Primary Education

The Swaziland government has been subsidizing primary education since 2002 through textbooks for all subjects, stationery, grants for orphans and vulnerable children. In 2005, Swaziland adopted a national Constitution that committed government to providing free primary education (FPE) 3 years after 2006. The introduction of FPE started in 2010 in a phased form with a sizeable number of school going age children enrolling in the first and second grades of primary schooling. This programme reached Grade 7 (the last level of primary education) in 2015. Since the launch of FPE, children who may have been previously excluded from education have been able to enroll and attend school in urban and rural settings. FPE provided a renewed opportunity for children with special education needs to access education in mainstream schools.

To ensure that the FPE programme is implemented within a clearly articulated legislative framework, government developed the necessary legislations which include the Free Primary Education Regulations and the Free Primary Education Act, 2010. All these legal frameworks have made sufficient provision for the inclusion of all children with no regard to their social and economic status. However, a 2013 Swaziland Network Campaign for Education for All (SWANCEFA) report on budget tracking for children with special education needs within the free primary education in Swaziland revealed that children with disabilities were not fully provided for in the FPE planning, budgeting and implementation.

Though at its design there was no clear provision in the FPE Act the funding mechanism is undergoing development. Budgetary support and implementation commitments have been made by the Swaziland government to inclusive education through different funding mechanisms. The government of Swaziland is playing a significant role in providing financial support to implement programmes that further inclusive education unlike in other countries where non-governmental organizations and development partners play a significant role (UNICEF 2014). Remarkable change in the FPE budgeting and implementation has recently been implemented to support inclusive education in urban primary schools. Funding through recurrent budgets, capital projects and Free Primary Education programme is spent each year on educational matters such as capacity building for teachers, provision of specialized teaching and learning material and equipment, modification of infrastructure in schools, construction of appropriate structures and provision of transport in selected urban schools, institutions of higher learning. Resources have been provided to ensure easy access, meaningful participation and achievement for every learner.

Each year the Ministry of Education and Training supplies all primary schools with books and stationary. Grades 1–6 going up to grade 7 are funded as follows per student per year: Grade 1–2 = E560.00 (US\$80); Grade 3–4 = E580.00; Grade 5 = E640.00 and Grade 7 = E1010.00 (includes exam fee). Over above this fee, each learner gets free stationary and textbooks (MoET 2010). Beginning 2014, the Ministry has used some of the budget allocated to FPE to procure special stationary (e.g. different sizes of braille paper, stylus, frames, and exercise books with bold lines including material for binding braille books) for learners with special needs in both special and mainstream primary schools. The Special Needs Unit works closely with the FPE officers in identifying schools that have learners who need special stationery. The supply takes into consideration the number of learners and the stock required to cover the whole year. This development has contributed immensely to the improved implementation of inclusive education at primary school level.

Despite the considerable developments, the budget is still not able to meet all education needs including the total cost of FPE per learner (Khumalo 2013). The introduction of FPE raised expectations from parents who were expecting financial relief. However, the reality has been one of increasing education costs owing to the top-up fees that are requested by schools that are struggling to run on the inadequate budget provided for FPE. A study by the United Nations Children's Fund in 2012 (Khumalo 2013) found that the average FPE allocation had a major impact on schools income and expenditure per learner and on enrolment. Schools with more learners benefited more than schools with fewer learners owing to economies of scale. Yet, still the allocation per learner is not enough to cater for personal needs such as proper school uniform, which is a requirement in many schools. Furthermore, the funding cannot meet special needs of all learners such as transport costs to and from school and special teaching and learning material and equipment to name a few. Additional human resource that may be required by schools to cater for learners with special needs is not easily accessed by schools because the FPE schedule of fees does not have clear provision for special needs. One primary school (a model of inclusive education) that incorporated these needs in its development plan in

2014 and allocated funds for engaging two teacher assistants to support the school in teaching Braille, Orientation and Mobility to learners with visual impairment received audit queries from auditors for spending public funds on items that are not listed in the schedule of fees. On another note, the difficulty of collecting reliable statistical information on learners who are facing exclusion makes it difficult to have a clear picture of whether there is actual change (Armstrong et al. 2010).

3.5 School Development Plan

The School development plan is an initiative by the Ministry of Education and training for all public primary schools to prepare yearly business plans comprising the vision, mission statement, aims and objectives for each year and a detailed action plan and budget which is informed by seven pillars. The seven pillars are part of a programme called Schools as Centers of Care and Support (SCCS) locally known as 'Inqaba' which means a fortress. Schools are at the heart of Schools as Centres of Care and Support (SCSS) initiative. The SCCS is a child rights based and child friendly concept which has been mainstreamed into the Swaziland MoET sector policy. The concept puts emphasis on protection, safety and psycho-social support to all children, particularly the most vulnerable (UNICEF 2011) through the seven (7) pillars. It encourages active and meaningful involvement of teachers, school committees, parents and learners in all aspects of school development and management. The Inqaba has made a difference in terms of access and quality to education that can be measured (MoET 2014).

The Inqaba programme has been identified by the Swaziland Special Education Needs as a comprehensive care and support intervention that can be used to efficiently promote inclusive quality teaching and learning through implementing the seven pillars. It is one of the mechanisms to ensure presence, participation and achievement of all learners in education (Lewis 2007). Inqaba schools are rights-based and inclusive in their approaches. Each of the seven (7) pillars can be used to address barriers to learning and promote inclusive education. The Inqaba has seven pillars as follows:

1. *Safety and Protection*: this pillar focuses on raising awareness of in and out of school children, teachers, parents and guardians and the community at large about the need for a safe and protective environment. This pillar is therefore relevant to promote an inclusive culture and ethos in the school to ensure safety and protection of every learner in the school. This pillar also supports improvements to inclusion issues such as improvements in school infrastructure, learners safety and privacy
2. *Psychosocial support*: the pillar is about identifying children whose health and well-being is at risk and ensures that they get care and medical attention. It aims at helping children who are experiencing challenges to develop resilience. It is used to identify and address barriers psychosocial

3. *Food Security*: ensuring children have enough to eat through introduction and or expansion of school feeding programmes especially in food in-secure areas. Poverty has been identified as one of the barriers to quality teaching and learning and achievement for learners hence this pillar is relevant to promote inclusion of learners from poverty stricken families.
4. *Health and sanitation*: Develops values and health habits of children in school, within the family and in the community for health living. It ensures that children get basic medical attention. This pillar has been supported by the Ministry of Health through provision of school health nurses to do screening, assessments and support learners with special needs in school.
5. *Water, Sanitation and Hygiene*: This pillar is used to budget for modification or construction of accessible toilets for learners and teachers with disabilities; promote cleanliness in the school or classroom and provision of water and proper sanitation. It also looks at providing separate, clean and adequate sanitation facilities for both boys and girls with easy access for those using wheelchairs.
6. *HIV/AIDS Life-skills*: sensitize learners on HIV/AIDS and empower them with life-skills; address issues of resilience, set up clubs to address HIV/AIDS, disability issues.
7. *Quality Teaching and Learning*: Schools use this pillar to budget for procurement of special teaching and learning material; conduct school based workshops on specific special needs and inclusive education areas.

Every school is expected to submit the school development plan in order to benefit from the Free Primary Education programme. This funding approach helps in decentralizing education financing and responsibility on how the funds are distributed and allocated to make schools inclusive.

3.6 Capital Projects

The government of Swaziland has over the years made huge investments for infrastructure modification in schools. Since 2010/2011 to date the government allocates E3 million for the construction of ramps and pathways and to modify toilets and classrooms (MOET 2011, 2012, 2013). Schools that have benefited are those that have learners with special needs and have very uneven terrain which affects learners' mobility. In line with the Education and Training Sector Policy of 2011, the government has budgeted E2 million since 2012/2013 to date for the procurement of specialized teaching and learning material for learners with special needs in urban and rural primary and high schools, students in tertiary institutions and most recently the National Curriculum Centre.

The government's commitment to inclusive education has been reflected in significant increases in the budgets for supporting education for learners with special needs in recent years. The 2015/2016 budget indicated an increase of about seven million over and above what has been allocated over the past years. The most

important indirect expenses are financing teaching and learning. These expenses are in two forms, that is, regular expenditure and expenses for construction of physical facilities (new construction and repairing, purchasing of equipment, durable goods). The greater portion of this expenditure is from the budget on education allocated by the government of Swaziland.

3.7 Funding for Capacity Building

Underlying the process of inclusion is the assumption that the general classroom teacher plays an important role in the implementation of ‘inclusive pedagogy’ (Makoelle 2014; Harvey 2010). The most critical factor for inclusive education is the teacher and the most important arena is the school, in particular the classroom. The Swaziland Education and Training sector policy of 2011 support training of teachers on special needs and inclusive education (MoET 2011, p. 17). However, presently, there is no budget allocation that is specifically meant for training for teachers to address special education needs and inclusive education. However, such allocations are provided in training budgets within other ministries such as the Ministry of Public Service. Each year the government sponsors a teacher to pursue accredited studies in special needs and inclusive education in neighboring countries such as Uganda, South Africa and most recently Zimbabwe.

In 2015/2016 sponsorship was secured from UNICEF and the Swaziland Revenue Authority to enroll 29 teachers to pursue part-time accredited degrees in special needs and inclusive education in institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe and Swaziland. Four teachers were drawn from mainstream primary schools known as models of inclusive education.

Funding is also provided by development partners such as UNICEF, Save the Children to run in-service workshops for teachers in both primary and high schools. Training of teachers is key to the success of inclusive education. Pre-service and in-service training has been localized by including special needs and inclusive education curricula in all teachers colleges and university, producing more skilled teachers. Teacher education has been revised in a way that makes learning about special needs and inclusive education the norm for every teacher enrolled in teacher training colleges. Cardona (2009) notes that focus on initial teacher education would provide best means to create a new generation of teachers who will safeguard the successful implementation of inclusive policies and practice.

3.8 Conclusion

Although merits of governments moving towards a per-capita model to support the implementation of inclusive education, the reality in Swaziland is that the most appropriate approach to financing inclusive education in primary schools would

mean increasing the already existing Free Primary Education Programme and strengthening the Inqaba programme. In spite very good initial achievements, budget spending is still inadequate to maintain inclusive education. Furthermore, there is need to review the free primary education Act such that the schedule of fees under section 8 makes explicit provision for children with special needs to access free education. The role of the Education Management Information System in the development of inclusive education cannot be over-emphasized.

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Chapter 4

Trends of Inclusive Education and Impediments in Urban Schools of Ethiopia

Yirgashewa Bekele Abdi

4.1 Background

4.1.1 Introduction

Basic education as a human right is a relatively recent phenomenon in the history of globally initiated educational approach. The pivotal purpose of a human right-based approach to education is to secure access to quality education for every child. To achieve this goal, the Education For All (EFA) proclamation became the top agenda and has been receiving international commitments for the past decades with an enthusiasm to provide education for all citizens by 2015. To make EFA a reality, inclusive education is privileged as a strategy in enhancing the implementation capability of the education system (UNESCO 2010). The initiative for inclusive education indicates that special needs education could not move forward in isolation where the demand for education to marginalized group requires inclusive education and related reform on the overall education system and strategy to impact on social and economic policies (UNESCO 2009).

Inclusive education is a process requiring an ongoing improvement in the quality and appropriateness of educational provisions. However, the practical success seems far below from what is anticipated and appears inadequate internationally and not at ease particularly in low socioeconomic countries (UNESCO 2015). Although inclusive education is preferred as a strategy to achieve EFA, its outcome depends on the available resources in given communities and dependent on the commitment of the education leaders. Of course regardless of barriers, there is evidence that unlike the

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earlier history of education, increased number of marginalized and minority children get the opportunity to attend schools (UNESCO 2006, 2001b; UNICEF 2007).

In Africa, children with disabilities are the demoted and the underprivileged groups are living in deprived circumstances (ACPF 2011). Researches assert that the majority of children with disabilities don't get the opportunity for education, social service and often neglected by their family, peers and communities at large (ACPF 2011; UNESCO 2010). The education service is less responsive to the learning needs of children with disabilities and schools have been marginalizing these learners and consider them as learners who fail to fit to the norms of ordinary schools. Ethiopia, as one of the countries in Africa shares a similar profile regarding the education and livelihood of people with disabilities. The country started providing education for children with disabilities in 1971 with the establishment of the missionary schools for people with visual impairment. Earlier, the opportunities to access education for children with disabilities were undertaken by the Orthodox Church where children with mobility challenge and people with visual impairment were favoured most. In addition, the country did not have an education policy that addressed the education of people with disability until 2002.

Ethiopia strives to get rid of poverty through multi-dimensional and innovative approaches towards economic development and expansion of education service to the rural and the hinterland locations. The country envisages achieving EFA through provision of inclusive education although, there are number of challenges in its implementation. Efforts have been made both from the government and the non-government organizations to enhance school attendance and to reduce the number of out of school children through initiations towards inclusion. General Education Quality Improvement Program (GEQIP) which aims in improving the quality of general education and gives priority for improved teaching-learning in primary and secondary schools and the School Improvement Program are evidences that Ethiopia is on the move to establish better school environment.

The country faces challenge accompanied with a number of barriers in implementing inclusive education (Wondwosen et al. 2014). Large numbers of children with disabilities are out of school due to lack of school readiness to welcome all children with the necessary accommodations. Poverty is considered as the dominant barrier that restricts the extent of school enrolment of the underprivileged groups since disability and poverty have strong tie. Child migration from rural to urban area becomes quite common due to poverty and lack of opportunities for education (Atnafu et al. 2014; Zemene 2014). There is high frequency of migration from rural to urban, UNICEF (2009) point out that up to 11.4% of Ethiopian rural children age 5–17 tend to independently migrates any time in their life. Children from rural area get less access to schooling and those who get the opportunity faces economic challenges to cover school cost which triggers the desire to migrate to urban area to find means for economic and educational needs (Atnafu et al. 2014). In this regards, the worst might be real for rural children with disabilities. As a result, children with disabilities also tend to move to urban areas by themselves or by the help of others where there are better education and work opportunities (International Organization for Migration 2005; Atnafu et al. 2014). There is discrimination and stigma within

the rural community and particularly, children with noticeable and severe disabilities have negligible opportunities for schooling and are also victims of social exclusion (ACPF 2011). Generally, an endeavor to provide inclusive education in the country seems problematic due to lack of access to schooling and lack of providing appropriate education (UNESCO 2007).

4.1.2 Prevalence of Disabilities

Regarding the prevalence disabilities in Ethiopia, absence of birth registration affects access to accurate number of people with disabilities in general and the accurate percentage of children with disabilities enrolled in schools. The obtained data about people with disabilities is often based on estimation (UNESCO 2010) where the reality on the ground seems quite different (Lewis 2009). The Education Statistics Annual Abstract and the Education Sector Development Program 5 of the country indicates that the accurate numbers of children with special needs are not known and as a result the obtained data are often based on estimate (Minister of Education 2015, 2011). However, World Health Organization (2011) reports that Ethiopia has as high as 17.5% of people with disabilities. Taking this estimate in to account, the school enrolment of children with disabilities seems less than 1%. According to Lewis (2009), even though the statistics are limited, the purpose has loss linked to build the capacity of schools or to ensure the education program improvement. The Ministry of Education (2007) state that 1.5–3 million learner with diverse special needs require attention to access appropriate education in the country. It is obvious that this statistical estimate neglects early childhood education programs which are urban based. This implies that early identification of the educational needs and early intervention are the unrecognized tasks of the education program of the country.

4.2 Policy Issues

4.2.1 Education Policy

The Ethiopian Education Training Policy (ETP 1994) appears committed to changes the education system and among other, promises to address the gender gap, regional disparities, and education access for the marginalized ethnic groups. It emphasizes the education and training of people with disabilities. The education and training policy's objectives underlines cultivating productive citizens through quality education, promoted technology and reducing gender gap and access to education to the disadvantaged. The issue of inclusive education is highlighted in the policy in the article no. 2.2.3 it states: "To enable both the handicapped and the gifted learn in

accordance with their potential and needs”. Although the term “handicapped” seems to have negative implications and is outdated nowadays, the policy was developed 20 years ago and implies the need for revision in terms of promoting a positive outlook for people with disabilities. The article seems to have power to help implementers plan and act considering diversity and responding to different needs, potentials and abilities.

The policy contains article no. 3.2.9 which states; “Special education and training will be provided for people with special needs” (p. 17). Although the purpose and approach in providing special needs education and training is not described in the article, it may help the education leaders to consider special needs education and training as part of the education service of the country. However, the article has no clear indications of whether education and training represents the existing segregated education provision or the assumed inclusive approaches. Consequently, it may lead to subjective decisions on the part of the implementers on how to provide education service for people with disabilities. Further, teacher training in special education is emphasized i.e. “Teacher training for special education will be provided in regular teacher training programmes” (ETP 1994, p. 22). Teachers’ training, its purpose and quality are indisputable to the learning outcome in general and significant for people with disabilities. The education policy gives consideration to teachers’ training for special needs education and more importantly, it is linked the regular teachers’ training program. Such direction at policy level enhances the involvement of the teachers’ training institutions on exercising inclusive education. Generally, the issue of inclusive education is not given attention on the education policy and as a result, the education provision for students with disabilities has both segregation and integration features (UNESCO 2010). Even though there are shortcomings and left out issues in the education policy and there are barriers in implementing educational and training needs of people with disabilities, the policy brought a remarkable change in the Ethiopian educational history and can be regarded as the first in its kind at least in sparking hope and securing the access to education and training for students with disabilities.

4.2.2 The Education Sector Development Program

To address the education policy of the country, the Ministry of Education launched and implemented four Education Sector Development Programs (ESDP 1, 2, 3, and 4) for the past 20 years where each ESDP was planned for 5 years in order to recognize the government’s desire to improve the quality of education. The ESDP 5 is the current plan which will be implemented in the years between 2015/2016 and 2019/2020. ESDP I and II were successful in their efforts to substantially increase the levels of primary enrolment (grade 1–8) and in improving access to education for girls and by reducing the levels of school dropout and repetition. But these two programs that were established shortly after the promulgation of the policy didn’t pay attention to education of the citizens with disabilities. Large number of children

with disabilities are left out from the education service where there was no education planning.

The Ministry of education introduced the education and training of people with disabilities in its ESDP 3 and 4 (2005/2006–2014/2015) and also in ESDP 5. The ESDP 3 emphasizes the need to narrow the gap in education provision between male and female, urban and rural and among regions. In addition, the accomplishments of ESDP 1 and 2 were pinpointed in the ESDP 3 plan that addresses the increased school enrolment. The report asserts the gap between urban and rural in Gross Enrollment Rate (GRE) was 85.3 % by the year 2004/2005 and underlines the need to give necessary attention to reduce this gap. The report shows that there is high concentration at urban schools and low attendance in rural schools.

ESDP 3 of the years between 2010/2011 and 2014/2015 introduces the major challenges identified during the accomplishment of the program. One of the major issues described was urban-based high concentration in pre-primary education particularly in Addis Ababa and in the better socio-economic communities where private pre-primary education providers take the considerable share (Ministry of Education 2005). ESDP 3 suggests that the policy frame work related to education and training program potentially supports the success of national level objectives such as rural and agricultural development and urban and industrial development. However, the program did not give attention to highly overcrowded and challenged urban education and related schooling issues.

Taking lessons from EDSP 3, ESDP 4 states one of its dedications to narrow the rural-urban disparities in accessing education. Regarding inclusive education, low level understanding about issues of disabilities and education service, negative attitude and resistance to changes, poor accommodation of students with disabilities are presented as pronounced barriers to inclusive education in the country. It is also indicated that lack of knowledge, rigid and poor teaching methods, lack of identification processes and inconvenient learning environments as barriers in the activities towards inclusive education. To alleviate the challenge that hinder the success of inclusive education, ESDP 4 state that the Ministry of Education has adopted inclusive education strategy that helps to assist provisions of education service within the existing structure and framework. It is indicated that the goal of the inclusive education strategy is to ensure access and quality education to children with disabilities (Ministry of Education 2010). ESPD 4 describes the expected outcome of the program that includes increasing enrolment of children with special needs and enhances the number of teachers' training for special needs education. However, there was no indicator in terms of percentage for improvement in the expected outcome. It was described in numbering i.e. increasing number of children with special needs from 47,461 in 2009/2010 to 1,739,000 in 2014/2015. The number doesn't show its proportion from the total of population people with disabilities in the country and in which location such action could be implemented.

Regarding the teachers' training for special needs education, ESDP 4 shows its concern in its General Education Quality Improvement Program (GEQIP) which contains in-service and pre-service teachers' training for inclusive education. ESDP 4 had planned to increase the number of trained special needs education teachers by

25 % (Ministry of Education 2010) where the number of existing teachers were not mentioned. There are indicators that large numbers of special needs teachers are working in big towns ESDP 4 also informs that qualified teachers are concentrated as high as 91 % and 82 % in the city of Addis Ababa and in town of Harare respectively.

ESDP 5 for the years 2015/2016–2019/2020 also includes inclusive education as a cross cutting agenda of the program and assert the need for responsibility specification guide for special needs education professionals and itinerant teachers. Similarly, the Ministry of Education (2015) indicates concern on the increased pre-primary enrolment which appeared exclusively accessible in urban schools. Generally, in all ESDPs of the country which were developed for the past 20 years, although mentioned urban and rural disparities none of the program addressed on how to intervene the over concentrated urban schools, high teacher turn over, unfair distribution of resources, approaches in teaching-learning and on how to establish conducive and safe learning environment and managing large class size in the inclusive setting.

4.2.3 The Special Needs Education/Inclusive Education Strategy (SNE/IES)

In order to make changes in line with the education policy and followed EDSPs, the Ministry of Education develops a Special Needs Education Program Strategy in 2012. The guideline for the implementation of the strategy was also produced which contains relevant resource needed and action required to be taken by the education leaders and school managements. The strategy pays special attention to inclusive education and provides different approaches to facilitate access to quality education. The rationale for inclusive education as describe in the SNE/IES emphasizes education is a human right and highlights that Ethiopia ratifies the Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Education For All (EFA) global commitment which requires the country's commitment for action. Furthermore, the document highlights inclusive education as a valuable instrument to enhance access in education for marginalized groups. The objective of SNE/IES states that it envisages ensuring educational opportunity for people with disabilities, increasing awareness of the society about the right to education of people with special needs education, strengthening teacher education so as to produce competent teachers, strengthen support system and adapt curriculum according to the learning needs. However, the strategy left out articulating the need to implement inclusive education and the obvious regular school setting as a mandatory education setting for children with disabilities. The document does not mention the education features, needed assistance to the densely populated urban and related education services, impacts on education due to difference between urban and rural education setting and related resource allocations and inclusive education implementation barrier.

The SNE/IES describes inclusive schools as “an ordinary (regular) schools open to all children and students regardless of poverty, gender, ethnic backgrounds, language, learning difficulties and impairments” (SNE/IES 2012). The document emphasizes about what is expected from special needs teachers describing that teachers working in inclusive schools are expected to know their students and identify diverse learning needs so as to provide appropriate support according to their learning needs. However, the strategy doesn’t introduce the approach at teachers training so as to produce teachers with the required competency needed for inclusive setting. The strategy document infers that the focus of special needs education needs to be the beginner learners who are at risk of repetition and dropout due to learning difficulties or any other barrier to learning.

According to SNE/IES (2012), access to schooling for children with special needs is insignificant at all levels of education. The document further state that the regular school has been reasons for increased number of out of school children since these schools commonly reject the admission of children with apparent disabilities. The document assert that the school administration and teachers have low level of awareness that children with disabilities have universal right to primary education and were not willing to accept these children. Regarding higher education, the strategy asserts that course in special needs education was introduced in the teacher education curriculum recently. Consequently, few numbers of teacher education colleges and universities opened the department or recruit trained teachers where only Addis Ababa University provides specialization training in the area.

The strategy document describes that low level of awareness at all level of educational administration such as MoE, regional education bureau, woredas (lower districts) and schools affects the availability of credible data about the school population with disabilities and service provisions. It is also emphasized that due to insufficient number of trained teachers in the area of special needs education, the country is not able to successfully undertake inclusive education. In addition, it was also asserted that regional education bureaus show fewer tendencies to recruit trained expert in the area. Although there are challenges in providing inclusive education, Ethiopia benefits a lot from the collaboration with Finland government. The collaboration apparently has impact on policy development, on producing the implementation strategy and its guideline and opening and equipping resource centers and recently in producing the master plan of inclusive education. Due to the collaboration, the country has been benefiting from the involvement of international consultants such as Dr. David Mitchel, Professor Hannu Savolinen and Dr. Sulochini which obviously helps to enhance the capacity of the country in providing inclusive education.

4.3 Practices of Inclusive Education in Urban Schools

4.3.1 Enrolment Versus Quality

The number of children with disabilities attending urban schools tends to increase recently unlike the earlier exclusion practices. The major initiative was achieving EFA goal and consequently, there is high pressure from the top education leaders that influence admitting children with disabilities however; accessing appropriate education in line with the learning needs is questionable. Children with disabilities attend school without the necessary support and most of the schools don't have trained special needs education teachers and relevant resources. There is no professional assistance for schools from education that might help the implementation of inclusive education and allows effective and quality education service.

The Ethiopian urban schools often neglect children with severe disabilities both in terms of attendance and/or participation. The schools also have preference on the type of disabilities to admit or reject based on the exclusion reasons associated with limitation of resources such as trained teachers or absence of resource room. Most urban schools just allow children with disabilities to attend schools without inputs for appropriate education and claim it is due to EFA and perceive EFA as physical attendance and away from inclusive education. Inclusive education is a means to facilitate the success of EFA goal and contributes to school system improvement. However, in what way inclusive education strategy potentially accelerates EFA goal is not well recognized. In reality, there is a strong link between EFA and inclusive education. However, the school leaders consider EFA as allowing children with disabilities to attend school and less proactive to initiate inclusive education activities.

4.3.2 Accountability

Absence of terms of reference on the duties and responsibilities of school leaders leads to launch inclusive education based on willingness of school leaders and those who take the initiative are ending up facing the flow of increased number of children with disabilities from different corners of the town with little assistance to such schools. On the other hand, those schools which neglect activities of inclusive education are less busy and are not accountable for not implementing inclusive education or admitting children with disabilities. Due to such irregularities in implementation, inclusive education become at the good well of the school leaders.

4.3.3 Financing Inclusion

Absence of the necessary finance is one of the barriers often fabricated by the school principals in most urban schools. The Ministry of Education allocate budget to various educational activities and the finance of inclusive education usually mainstreamed in the education budget plan. Accordingly, schools are expected to plan the budget of inclusive education in mainstreamed way with in the school financial plan. However, in most urban schools, after securing the annual finance of the schools, principals tend to neglect activities of inclusive education and use the budget allocated to other components of the schools activities. As a result, activities of inclusive education often put aside due to lack of budget. It is generally suggested that for better access and appropriate education for children with disabilities, there is a need to allocate budget which is specific, explicit and pertinent to the purpose (Lewis 2009). Therefore, it is important to equip schools with the necessary financial, human and material resources and encourage positive thinking and open mindedness among the education leaders in general and school principals in particular.

4.3.4 Attitude and Lack of Awareness

Attitude is the consequence of perceiving certain conditions the way some one believes and when such attitude are highly accessible, actions could often be guided by the attitude of the individuals (Ratanasiripong and Chai 2013). The attitudes that control behavior also control actions of the person. Hence, it is obvious that education of children with disabilities is affected due to negative attitude, actions and decision makings of education leaders and school principals (Wondwosen et al. 2014; Thompson et al. 2011).

The urban schools where children with disabilities are attending, the approach seems against the principles of inclusive education and most children with special needs benefit little and their physical presence is considered as getting opportunities to learn. The major barrier relates to negative attitude and lack of willingness of the school principals. It is obvious that the vital role of school principals can make a difference in changing the school system and equipping with the necessary teaching and learning aids. However, the school principals are less committed to act innovatively in line with the philosophy and principles of inclusive education.

Schools need to be flexible, require recognizing and taking into account the diverse needs of their pupils, use diverse approaches and pace of teaching and learning (Frederickson and Cline 2009). In most urban schools, the awareness about education of people with disabilities in general and about children with noticeable and invisible disabilities in particular is low. Various barriers attached to the customary ways of managing schools contributes to the ineffectiveness in providing quality education, among all lack of awareness of school leaders towards pupil with disabilities appears as the dominating factor that suppresses the success of inclusive

education. Therefore, it is imperative that the education leaders and school principals know that inclusive education doesn't mean physical placement rather accommodating with the necessary services, appropriate and relevant teaching and learning environment that make children with disabilities participate and achieve.

Attitude of teacher also has a tremendous impact on students learning (Zint 2002). The regular class room teachers do not get awareness and in-service training on how to work in inclusive setting and don't have experience in teaching children with disabilities. Hence, the teachers were not able to handle and address the learning needs of children with disabilities in the classroom. There is a need for reform in Ethiopian schools to establish relevant educational provision which result in maximum learning outcome from every learner.

4.3.5 Miss-Utilization of Special Needs Teachers

There are indicators about the existence of miss-utilization of special needs education teachers in schools. Schools are expected to assign special needs education teachers to facilities education for children with disabilities in their respective schools. However, most school principals don't let it happen since the special needs education teachers demand commitment of the school to involve in inclusive education activities. There are more demands from special needs teachers such as opening resource room, identifying special needs of children with disabilities and involve in intervention work where both financial and material resources are needed. To this end, most school principals prefer to avoid recruitment of trained teachers of special needs education.

In addition, school principals often assign special needs education teachers to other responsibilities away from their particular profession. In most schools, special needs education teachers involve in administrative responsibilities and assist the school principals or involve in any other school related tasks. They are also considered as stand by teachers who substitute the role of the teachers who left the carrier. The challenge in miss-utilization of the trained special needs education teachers can be seen from three points of view. First, the school principles don't allow and facilitate the involvement of the special needs education teachers in inclusive education responsibilities. Second, the special need education teachers themselves lack commitment to insist working in their area of profession and third the education office don't have guideline on roles and responsibilities of special needs education teachers and school principals and do not supervise the effectiveness on human resource utilization.

Teachers of special needs education believed to benefit up to 20% of students who have challenge in academics in one way or another. Hence, absence or misusing special needs education teachers contributes to high number of drop out, grade repetition and poor quality education. Therefore, duties and responsibilities of the school principals and the special needs teachers must be set by the education offices.

The principals need to realize that inclusive education is about providing suitable education for the learners and use resources efficiently.

4.3.6 Socio-economic Factors

The schools in urban which admit children with special needs are very few in numbers and are not easily accessible to the residence of children with disabilities. Hence, travelling long distance to attend school seems to be the daily task of children with disabilities and their families. According to Central Statistics Authority (2008), 44.2% of the population is living below the national poverty line. In this regard, poverty and disability are closely inter-influenced in the communities. Most poor families who have children with disabilities could not afford to purchase the necessary equipment for their children with disabilities or could not manage to pay for the transportation cost to take their children to schools where services are available. As a result, parents prefer to keep their children out of school or the children often drop out of school.

4.3.7 School Dropout

Children with disabilities exposed to school dropout due to various causes. In addition to the discouraging school situation and inconvenient school environment, parents also considered as a cause for drop out of children with disabilities. The pronounced challenge of parents in sending their child with disability to school was accessibility and distance of the school. It is obvious that looking for a special school, special unit, special class or intergated schools that admitt children with disabilty requires travelling longer distance particularly in big city like Addis Ababa. Since all school in urban don't open their door for childern with disabilities, families are forced to look for schools that provide education for children with disabilities. The distance of the school affects the daily business of parents and influences them to spend their limited income for the transportation of their children. Due to poverty, most parents can't afford expenses to send their childern to school and keep them at home while some parents use their children with disabilities as an income source from begging. Hence, even though schools may register increased number of children with disabilities at the beginning of the academic year, the number gradually decreases and small number of children with disabilities left at the end of the year. Low income families have difficulty paying for necessary aid such as mobility aid for their children with disabilities affects school attendance. Due to absence of wheelchair or mobility aid, some parents of children with physical disability are taking their children to school by holding on their back and later gave up.

4.3.8 Teachers' Turnover

Teachers' turnover is becoming an international challenge of the education system. International study on teacher education point out that large number of teachers leave teaching due to various reasons such as looking for more attractive job, young graduates are not attracted to be teacher, and teaching becomes an occupation of last resort (Robinson and Latchem 2005). Ethiopia shares related experience on teachers' turnover particularly among young teachers. Similarly, there is high turnover among special need education teachers in the country in general and most importantly from urban schools where they reside in larger number as compared to rural schools. Teacher turnover at urban schools also relates to low salary as a major reason where living expense is high in urban. As a result, teachers tend to look for non-teaching carriers with better income. There are two major issues in this regards that challenges inclusive education, special needs education teachers themselves leave the government owned schools where children with special need get more opportunity for schooling than private owned schools and second special needs teachers who are working in the government school influenced to take over the role of other subject teachers who left the carrier. Hence, they don't get the opportunities to promote inclusive education in the schools in general and get little or no opportunity to assist children with disabilities.

4.4 Conclusion

Generally, inclusive education seems challenged due to attitude, lack of awareness, miss-utilization and lack of resources, absences of guideline and job descriptions and accountabilities. The schools are not well equipped and the education provision seems more integration and segregation. There is ineffectiveness in planning and budgeting, implementing inclusive education. The experts at education offices are not in a position to strengthen the school capacity and are not working systematically to reduce the barriers to inclusive education. However, the number of children with special needs is increasing in schools. Therefore, the overall indicates tells that inclusive education principles and goals are not well internalized in the education system of the country.

4.5 Implications

The practice implies that the Ministry of Education need to act and build the capacity of the regional education bureau and the regional education bureau also required dedicating in building the capacity of school leaders and teachers. Urban school principals and teachers need training and attitudinal changes on how to manage

teaching-learning effectively in the inclusive setting. Regarding the overall implementation of inclusive education allocation and utilization of resources need to get fairness and attention in urban schools. There is a need to develop urban school policy and or guideline that assist provision of quality education in general and inclusive education in particular. Further, to improve the education service for children with disabilities, there is a need for the development of clearly stated and less ambiguous education policy supporting guideline that help the implementation of inclusive education in the country. The efficiency and effectiveness in implementing inclusive education need to be monitored. Furthermore, document on accountability and responsibility of school principals and teachers need to be produced and disseminated.

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Chapter 5

Tackling Education of Girl Child with Disability in Urban Settings of Uganda

Lawrence Eron and Paul Emong

5.1 Introduction and Purpose of the Chapter

This chapter analyses how education of the girl child with disability in the Ugandan urban setting is being tackled. It draws from the involvement of the authors in the Cheshire Services Uganda (CSU) Girl Education Challenge project within Kampala City Council Authority (KCCA). The chapter, specifically and critically analyses the strategies being undertaken by Cheshire Services Uganda and KCCA to bring about an inclusive education environment in general and in particular for the girl child with disability and other special needs from among the urban poor.

The chapter examines how the teachers, School Management Committees (SMC) and Parents Teachers Associations (PTA), educational facilities and learning opportunities are made accessible and adaptable to all learners regardless of one's (dis)ability. The chapter further explores the relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of these strategies. In doing so, the chapter identified and discusses how factors such as health, economics of disability, attitude and psychosocial factors that influence inclusive education for the girl child with disability are being tackled. The chapter concludes by examining how effective these strategies are in bringing about a school which includes everybody, celebrates difference, supports learning and responds to individual needs.

It is important to state here that Kampala is the capital city of Uganda. Administratively, it is recognized as Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) and has five divisions, namely, Kampala Central, Nakawa, Rubaga, Kawempe and Makidye. Similarly, Cheshire Services Uganda (CSU) is a member of the Leonard Cheshire Disability Global Alliance – a network of over 200 independently managed Cheshire organisations in 54 countries across Africa, Asia, the Americas and

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Europe. In Uganda CSU is legally registered as National Council of Leonard Cheshire Homes.¹ CSU visions an inclusive society where persons with disabilities are respected and empowered to develop their potential to lead a quality life. Its mandate is to uplift the quality of life of Persons with Disabilities and promote their independence. In accordance of their desires to change attitudes towards disability around the world, Cheshire Services Uganda identified the education of the girl child with a disability in the urban setting as one of the challenges that needed attention and came up with a project ‘Supporting Slum and Homeless Street Girls with Disabilities in Kampala City to Access Quality Primary Education’ as one of the Girl Education Challenge projects in Uganda. The strategy adopted by the project is to identify, map, assess and enroll girls with disabilities into school, build the capacity of teachers, KCCA education sector staff, the school management committees and parents to contribute to improving the enrolment, learning environment and retention of girls with disabilities in KCCA primary schools (CSU Newsletter 2014).

5.2 Educating the Girl with Disability in Ugandan Urban Setting

The strategy for educating a girl with disability in an urban setting is largely informed by two education programmes whose overall intents are to bring about an inclusive education in society. The first is the government of Uganda’s decentralized education programme, the Special Needs education/Education Assessment and Resource Services (SNE/EARS) programme. SNE/EAERS was an innovation aimed at identification, diagnosis, placement, referral and support to learners with disability and special needs education targeting children of 18 years and below. SNE/EARS become an integral part of the inspectorate in every district of Uganda. The second programme is the UKAID Project, ‘The Girls’ Education Challenge (GEC),’ which also funds Cheshire Services Uganda (CSU)- Girl with a Disability Education Challenge Project that forms the basis of this chapter. The Girl Education Challenge (GEC) launched in 2012 addresses gender parity in education through tackling factors perpetuating inequalities, exclusion and discrimination of girls in education. The target of GEC is to improve the learning opportunities and outcomes for up to one million of the world’s most marginalised girls through a diverse range of interventions and developing a voice that raises concerns of the girl child in education (UKaid 2015). These interventions include stepping up changes in the communities that are already having a positive impact on the education of a girl child, applying new interventions such as technological innovations, developing new partnerships, adapting proven solutions for new geographies, communities or age

¹CSU comprises of seven independently managed Cheshire services of Katalamwa, Nkokonjeru, Buluba, Budaka, Butiru, St Francis Rehabilitation Centre Pamba and the two St Francis Schools of the Blind Madera in Soroti district.

groups; and developing strategic partnerships with the private sector especially the multi-lateral companies in addressing girl child education challenge in the community (UKaid 2015). The GEC therefore provides hope for a better future for marginalised girls, their families and their communities.

Supporting Slum and Homeless street girls with disabilities in Kampala City to access quality primary education is to increase enrolment, improve performance and retention of girls with disability in Kampala City primary schools. The initial design of the project was to work with ten model primary schools in the four out of five divisions of Kampala- Central, Nakawa, Rubaga and Kawempe divisions. The fifth division, Makidyde was left out as a control place for purposes of comparing the impact of the project. The model schools were to be demonstration schools, where interventions relating to inclusive education for children with disabilities are to be carried out with a view of showing to government and education stakeholders how to tackle the challenge of educating the girl child with disability in the urban setting.

The interventions included training of 212 teachers in special needs education and inclusive education methodologies, support to 1102 girls with disabilities in the slums of Kampala to enroll and continue in their education and settling 100 of the 1102 girls who are homeless in the Cheshire homes or other similar homes. The support to the girl child with disability in the project includes provisions of scholastic material, paying of school fees, rehabilitation, and provision of sanitary pads, transporting of the girls from their homes to schools² and paying teachers to support girls who require remedial class work. Other interventions include training 171 members of the School Management Committee (SMCs) and Parents Teachers Association (PTA) in how to make schools inclusive, supporting parents of these girls with income generating projects and providing them with grants as a start-up capital. The start up also included, sensitising stakeholders like KCCA, Center Coordinating Tutors (CCTs) and Local council (LCs) leaders to work hand in hand with KCCA in training and monitoring the inclusion activities in the schools and the construction of model accessible toilets and ramps to help retain learners in school.

In the course of the project implementation, there was enormous demand for the project arising from the spread of girls with similar challenges throughout the city. The project was hence extended beyond the ten demonstrations schools. The project has increased from 10 and reached out to 119 schools; the number of girls with disabilities and special needs rose from 1182 girls to 2082 girls; 212 teachers were targeted but so far 1200 teachers have been reached and number of parents rose from 121 parents to 442 parents. So far twenty (20) schools have been helped to make ramps as a show case of accessibility for learners with disabilities. The ten (10) model schools have been supported to construct disability resource centers and equipped them with TVs, computers and videos. The disability resource center is a consulting room for disability issues. Overall, in the 119 schools, the enrolment is seen to be increasing and retention is observed because the children are enjoying the friendly school environment.

²CSU has ten accessible buses for transport aimed at serving as a model for quality inclusive transport in Urban settings.

Will those interventions meet the expectations of bringing up an inclusive school for children with disabilities? The next sections examines how effective these strategies are in bringing about a school which includes everybody, celebrates difference, supports learning and responds to individual needs.

5.3 Realizing the Right to Education of the Girl Child with Disability

Education is a universal right, a right on its own merits and is an enabling right to the attainment of other rights. Therefore, denying an individual girl child with disability a right to education is condemning such a girl and limiting her from the enjoyment of fundamental rights. In the human rights law framework, education is recognised as a fundamental right and in general terms States are required to make educational services available to all; to ensure non-discrimination in all educational systems, to set minimum standards and to improve quality and to outlaw discrimination in education at all levels.³ Specifically on women, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) article 10, requires States to ensure equal rights of men and women in education, including in matters relating to academic attainment at all levels. The convention places an obligation on States to take appropriate measures to eliminate stereotyped concept of the roles of women and men in all levels and forms of education. For people with disabilities, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in article 24 requires States to ensure that people with disabilities realise a right to education without discrimination and on the basis of equal opportunities. A right to education is to be realised progressively in accordance with the resources available.

Additionally, as per the requirements of the human rights standards on the right to receive an education, education should be made available, accessible, adaptable and acceptable⁴ for all irrespective of individual or group differences such as disability and gender that cause inequalities in the realisation of human rights. Availability implies existence of functioning educational establishments and programmes within a given jurisdiction. Accessibility entails non-discrimination, physical accessibility and economic access or affordability of education to all. Acceptability means educational services conform to the minimum established educational standards and/or religious or moral convictions of each State. Adaptability means education should be able to accommodate the needs of all learners. However, the meanings of these concepts should be interpreted within the context in which the right to education is being realised, as what each of them entails differs according to the conditions prevailing in a particular State or jurisdiction. For example, in some communities in Uganda, although pupils study under trees because of limited classroom facilities, education

³UDHR Art 26(1) and also see generally ICESR Art 13.

⁴See UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), *General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13 of the Covenant)*, 8 December 1999, E/C.12/1999/10, para. 6.

is seen to be available, because the educational programme is functional in that area (Emong 2014). In some developed countries, a similar situation may be interpreted differently. For learners with disabilities, provided the educational service is available and acceptable, making education accessible and adaptable to their needs is vital in enabling them access it without discrimination and on the basis of equal opportunities. These standards require States to recognise the principle of equal educational opportunities for *all*, including learners with disabilities.

To achieve these education standards in a pragmatic approach, educationists in the international forum agreed on education frameworks, among others include Education For All (EFA) framework,⁵ the Salamanca Statement and Plan of Action on Special Needs Education,⁶ the UN Standard Rules on Equalisation of Opportunities for Disabled People (UNSRs), the Dakar World Education Forum of 2000, the just concluded Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially goal 2 and 3 whose focus was directly on education and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) especially goals 4, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 17 focusing on inclusive, equitable, sustained, and accountable system for the venerable – persons with disabilities, women and girls. Each of these frameworks, although with specific targets are meant, overall to translate the (education) standards codified in UN human rights treaties to realities experienced differently by governments and communities in realizing a right to education. These frameworks therefore, are arguably to guide governments adopt realistic legislative, administrative and pragmatic approaches to realise education for all, as a universal and as a fundamental human rights norm. Through these frameworks, the countries of the world agreed to “eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieve gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls’ full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality” (UNESCO 2012).

The commitments to education standards in the UN human rights treaties and pragmatic approaches are no doubt yielding positive results as far as gender parity at the primary level is concerned. Female enrolment is observed to be rising at greater rate than among males. On the overall, however girls and women especially those with disabilities still remain deprived of full and equal opportunities for education. Globally, it is estimated that 66 million girls are missing out in education and particularly, in developing countries, of which Uganda is one of them and one in every three girls is married by age of 18.⁷ In Uganda, more girls (9% or 352,397) are out of school than 8.9% or 348,191 among boys (Demographic and Health Survey 2011). Reasons provided for failing to meet international commits in educa-

⁵See Education for All framework, Art 3 para 5. EFA framework was adopted by the World Conference on Education for All, held at Jomtien, Thailand 5–9 March 1990. UNESCO documents.

⁶The Salamanca Statement was adopted by the World Conference on Special Education: Access and Equality in Salamanca, Spain in June 1994.

⁷See Framework of Educaid.be 2014 ‘Gender Mainstreaming in Education: Moving Beyond Theory, Sharing Experiences’ http://www.educaid.be/sites/default/files/gender_education_bibliography.pdf accessed on 29th January 2016.

tion among others include limited systemic capability in the education sector and the challenges associated to behavioural change, both within the public sector and among the population (UNDP 2015). Specifically for girls, common barriers to their education include early marriages, early child bearing, distance to school, security concerns especially school related gender based violence, cultural values, school costs, negative experiences of schooling, menstrual hygiene management and labour market participation.⁸ For a girl with disability, the above constraints are compounded by specific disability barriers that deny them equal opportunities in education. The specific disability related barriers include inaccessible environment, lack of assistive devices, negative attitudes, medical related issues arising from the impairments and a belief among parents and schools that children with disabilities are expensive. The effect of those factors on education of children with disabilities in Uganda is their high school dropout rate. National statistics on education point out that, 75 % of the pupils with disabilities who enrol in primary level of education hardly complete this level of education.

5.4 Uganda: National Context

The population of Uganda is estimated to be 34.85 million people (16.92 million males and 17.93 million females), of which children of primary school going age i.e. those between 6 and 12 years are estimated to constitute 23.1 %⁹ of the population (UBOS 2014), this is about 8,050,350 children. However, statistics show that, about 8.8 million children are enrolled in primary schools, constituting a gross enrolment ratio of 117 %. Meaning that there are more pupils enrolled in primary education than expected as per the official primary school going age. This is explained by the fact that in practice in Uganda, even persons who are above 12 years and sometimes up to 18 years are enrolled in primary schools.

On retention, studies indicate that, though the enrolment of both boys and girls in Primary One is often equal, from Primary Four the dropout rate for girls is higher than that of boys (Atekeryereza 2001). It is also observed that, a very small proportion of the girl child access secondary education and the number are even smaller in higher education and skills training. Statistics further indicate that, the proportion of females with no formal education is 24 % while 10 % of males have no formal education (GoU and UNFEP 2014). The implication is that the proportion of females with no education doubles those of males with no education. This discrepancy indicates more discrimination and exclusion in education exhibited against girls than those of boys. Girls with disability thus experience double discrimination, exclusion and disadvantage arising from their disability and gender stereotypes.

⁸ See particularly, GPE and UNGEI (2014), 'Accelerating Secondary Education for Girls: Focusing on Access and Retention.' Discussion Paper 1.

⁹ In Uganda, the ages of primary school pupils range from 6 to 18 years; and according to UBOS figures on the projected population by age group, 2015, people between 6 and 12 years constitute 23.1 % of the population and those between 13 and 19 years constitute 15.2 % of the population.

5.5 Inclusive Education and Disability in Uganda: A Snapshot

Inclusive education refers to and focuses on adjusting the school, the home, society at large and national education policy so that all children can have the opportunity to interact, play, learn, experience the feeling of belonging, and develop in accordance with their potentials and difficulties; and there by obtain a good quality of life within their natural environment. In delivery of learning, inclusive education embraces modification of curricular, teaching methods, materials, medium of instruction and adjusting learning environment to meet the individual learning needs. Inclusive education therefore centers on the exclusion of a child with disability in education to the school environment and not on the impairment the child has. This is also a clear shift away from the tenet of segregated education for people with disability. It is arguable that the segregated education as based on different disabilities, views the barriers to learning as being within the person with impairment. Thus, Inclusive education argues for tackling school factors¹⁰ so as to enable every child including a child with disability access mainstream schools in his/her community. It is a critical approach in the realisation of a right to education as a universal norm as it advocates for equal opportunity to all to access education regardless of one's backgrounds or disability (Reiser 2012; Ainscow 2005).

In the wider context of disability inclusion approaches, the ideology underpinning inclusive education is similar to the one of the social model of disability. Both approaches aim to address issues of marginalisation, oppression, exclusion and discrimination while trying to center the problem of disability on the environment. It therefore attempts to shift away from the tenet of segregated education for people with disabilities, which views the barriers to learning as being within the person with impairment (Winter and O'Rawl 2010). The shift towards inclusive education approach argues for schools to be reformed and pedagogy improved in ways that will lead them to respond positively to pupil diversity – seeing individual differences not as a problem to be fixed, but as opportunities for enriching learning (UNESCO 2005).

It is observable that the idea of inclusive education is critical in the education reforms in Uganda since the launch of Education White Paper of 1992. The White Paper is a blue print for education reforms. It is arguable that these reforms resonate international commitments discussed before. Thus, Uganda is aiming at providing Education for All and ensuring an inclusive education environment. This is demonstrated by Uganda's legal and non-legal frameworks on education and the established educational infrastructure for mainstreaming gender, disability and other special needs. Therefore, Uganda's commitment is to ensure that schools and other

¹⁰The concept school factors is itself appears broad in meaning in regards to the meaning of inclusive education as it is seen to be entailing education policy reforms, attitudinal change, making schools accessible and adaptable to the needs of the all learners. See also (UNESCO 2005) p. 15.

educational services are available, accessible and adaptable for all learners irrespective of one's abilities or limitations and ensuring that barriers to learning, participation and development are overcome.

The legal framework in favour of inclusive education includes the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995), which is the supreme law of the land. The constitution in article 30 guarantees that all persons have a right to education. In the spirit of the constitution Objective XVIII, commits government to ensure free and compulsory basic education, take appropriate measures to afford every citizen equal opportunity to attain the highest educational standards possible and allow individuals or groups freedom to fund and operate educational institutions within the general educational policy. The constitution therefore provides a bench mark for government to make education available, accessible, adaptable and acceptable for all, including for people with disability. The provision however is silent on affordability when it comes to private provision as there is limited evidence of regulation on fees charged.

The spirit of the constitution is reflected in the Persons with Disability Act (PwDA) 2006. The PwDA in section 5 lays an obligation on the State to promote educational development of people with disabilities and in section 6 prohibits discrimination against people with disabilities by educational services. These legal commitments, if complied with appear to be capable of increasing meaningful inclusion of learners with disabilities and other special needs in education. In particular, the PwDA in section 5 requires government to:-

- (i) Encourage inclusive education as well as establishing special schools and units, with curricula designed for different disability conditions.
- (ii) Ensure relevant personnel in inclusive education by training of special needs education teachers and in service training for current teachers in mainstream schools. Also to enforce recruitment and retention of special education teachers in all schools and institutions.
- (iii) Formulate and design educational policies and programmes that devote attention to the special needs and the requirements of persons with disabilities in educational facilities, paying particular attention to girls and those in the rural areas.
- (iv) Provide structural and other adaptations in all educational institutions appropriate for the needs of persons with disabilities and promote specialised institutions that facilitate research and development of their educational needs.
- (v) Commit not less than 10% of all educational expenditure to the educational needs of persons with disabilities. This is a great provision as it safeguards the budgets for disabled people. However, as Emong (2014) observes, it is not clear whether this provision applies to the government or to educational institutions themselves.
- (vi) Provide during examinations assistive devices suitable for students with special needs including giving extra time.

This chapter argues that, in regards to education sector, the PwDA aims to develop an educational infrastructure in the country that would guarantee an inclu-

sive educational environment for all categories of people with disabilities. An environment whereby educational institutions will be taking into account the relationship between the learning environments and the impairment needs of people with disabilities. That is to say, educational institutions providing reasonable accommodation of the individual's requirements, providing effective individualized support measures to people with disabilities and other special needs in an environment that maximizes academic and social development, consistent with the goal of inclusion. It also mean that schools take in to account the educational needs of the most marginalised such as those with visual impairment or hearing impairment or those who are deaf-blind. That educational environment will enable people with disabilities and other special needs realise right to education without discrimination on the basis of equal opportunities as required by the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in article 24. That a great provision and safeguard is made in the education budget for children with disabilities. However, as Emong (2014) observed, it is not clear if this provision applies to government or to educational institutions themselves.

The Universal Primary Education (UPE) was introduced in 1997 with the aim of achieving poverty reduction and human development. The intention of UPE is to provide facilities and resources to enable every child to enter and remain in school until the primary cycle of education is complete; make education equitable in order to eliminate disparities and inequalities; ensure that education is affordable by the majority of Ugandans and reduce poverty by equipping every individual with basic skills. The UPE programme has demonstrated that a poor country with a committed government and donor support can fight poverty through ensuring universal access to education for its citizens. The significant increase in primary school enrolment is also an indication that the payment of school fees was a big impediment to accessing education, especially for poor families.

The non-legal infrastructure includes training of teachers for special needs education at Kyambogo university formerly called the Uganda National Institute of Special Education – (UNISE) and establishment of departments of special needs and inclusive education at the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Sports (formerly the Educational Assessment and Resource Services (SNE/EARS) programme¹¹), the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB), the National Curriculum Development Centre and the Directorate of Education Standards (DES). Also, the representation of persons with disabilities at the Local Government District councils and the statutory bodies at the districts local governments¹² provides an infrastructure for mobilisation and advocacy for the education of children with disabilities and other special needs in Uganda. Overall, these infrastructures are making children with disability and special needs visible in education and thus promoting inclusive education at primary and secondary levels.

¹¹The SNE/EARS programme was a decentralized programme found in all districts purposely designed to identify, assess, place and refer children with disabilities and other special needs to services within their community.

¹²Statutory bodies at the district include the District Service Commission, the District Land Board.

5.6 Implications to the Education for the Girl Child with Disability

The achievements notwithstanding, tackling institutional constraints to the delivery of quality education services, taking advantage of opportunities offered by the liberalised education sector, and reducing inequity in access to education and the quality of education across districts and between rural and urban areas still remain a challenge. Various studies have concluded that this problematic situation is the result of various factors – including lack of capacity and commitment of teachers, inadequate education infrastructure, prevalent negative social attitudes, overcrowded classrooms, and shortage of necessary teaching and learning resources in schools (Arbeiter and Hartley 2002; Najingo 2004; Nyende 2012). Pupils with disabilities and other special needs still experience barriers to learning, participation and development in education resulting to their high school dropout rate.

It is in the enrolment and retention that the strong disparity in access to education by children with disability and others special needs in Uganda becomes clear (Table 5.1).

The table above shows that over 70% of the learners with disabilities and other special needs fail to complete the primary cycle of education. The implication is that the learners drop out from school at different stages of their education for varying reasons some of which could be the ones explained below.

There is the fundamental economic question that arises when planning for the education of the girl child with disability. The application of the fundamental economic question relates to scarcity, choice and opportunity cost of whether to educate the girl child with disability and other special needs or the ordinary boy child. Parents and caregivers particularly the low income earners make choices on where to invest with the hope of having a return. Recognising the high youth unemployment, most parents tend to invest in educating the ordinary child who will in turn take on self-employment hence support the family than the child with disability.

They think these children are expensive and that they will not be anything in life. (Director, Sickle Cell Association Uganda)

This quote from a leader of one of the conditions that is considered a disability and other special needs shows the value families and communities attaches to a child. A

Table 5.1 Enrolment and completion at primary education by children with disabilities

P1/ year	No. of children with disability in P.1	P.7/year	No of pupils with disability in P.7	% dropout rate for children with disabilities
2002	48,063	2008	12,000	75
2003	51,965	2009	13,302	74
2004	44,866	2010	12,871	71
2005		2011		
2006		2012		
2007		2013		

Source: compiled by the authors using the UBOS statistical abstracts 2004–2013

child identified with a disability or any form of special need is considered a liability. First, is the cost involved in consultation with medical and other traditional healers in search for cure. The costs relate to what Arbeiter and Hartley (2002) noted that there is a lack of general knowledge about disability, as well as a lack of access to special programs that exist in the most populated cities in third world countries. The lack of knowledge implies that families engage in wasteful, costly and unproductive search for cure. Similarly the disabling condition will necessitate that the caregiver spends more time with the child with a disability at the expense of productive gainful employment. Secondly, educated and employed women are expected to repay their parents in kind and even more, by caring for the sick or the old. Education is not seen to be particularly practical for the latter purpose in the case of a girl child with disability. Thirdly, to some rural communities, literacy for the girl child implies no more than the functional ability to count, read, write and socialized on this basis come back, marry, cook for their husbands, comfort them in bed and produce children (Atekyereza 2001). The implication is that the girl child is a wealth for the family. A girl child with disability is considered not to provide the required income, support and care expected.

The effect of the fundamental economic question is also visibly experienced by persons with disabilities and other special needs in education are also experienced at school. The school and government in general consider the immediate term cost of educating the child with disability and other special needs. The education being a liberal entity, boarding fees levied are high for the urban poor parents. The nature of the urban setting also require parents to transport their girl child with disability to and from school each day therefore

Such children are expensive as they require meeting daily transport expenses because some children cannot walk due to their impairments. (SMC member)

The exclusion and discrimination experienced by a girl child with disability in education in the urban areas is intertwined between the health, economics of disability, psychosocial factors, attitude and limited trained teachers in special needs education. Caregivers recognize the need to provide assistive devices, pay boarding fees, and provide medical treatment whenever needed or transport the child to school each day. These decisions vary greatly but relate to some of the following observations made by parents

Children with special needs are expensive. It is expensive to buy facilities such as clutches, wheel chairs, hearing aids, spectacles, transporting the child are also expensive and therefore working parents get hard time to balance between their work and the care a child with disability and special needs require. (PTA Member)

The enabling policies seem not to translate to operational opportunities for the girl child with disability. While the state and other actors in education recognizes the economic advantage of educating children with disability, there is a tendency to argue about the high cost of educating the child with special needs. State and not state actors alike notes the high costs of their learning materials and infrastructure and the inability of the government to fund all priority areas. There is evidence indicating that there is low direct government expenditure on primary education

which falls below the needs of the sector affecting policy implementation (Omagor-Loican et al. 2002). The allocation of these minimal resources to the sector may not be rational and proportional to benefit the girl child with a disability at school, leaving high private costs on parents in relation to providing scholastic materials, uniforms, lunch, transport and additional fees to supplement teachers' welfare especially in boarding facilities that accommodate most deaf learners with disabilities. Uganda, having a broad-based population pyramid, exerts pressure on the limited resources available for the basic services like education (Eron 2015) which may leave the girl child with disability to be among those grossly affected.

Disabling condition is still perceived as a health problem. Many communities in Uganda believe that a child with disability is sick and needs fixing before that child is given education. Moreover, the information about the child's impairment is not provided to the school to help plan for the child. As noted by a member of the School Management Committee in a focus group discussion

parents most often do not inform the school of that condition and also such a child may not also express him/herself to the teacher that he has such a condition.

The lack of information has two implications, first rejection after being noticed with the assumption that it is contagious; second the feeling that the school may not have the capacity and facilities to accommodate the girl child. The second argument is corroborated with the statement below

There is no proper/special care for example when a girl is in her menstruation periods, no proper feeding, no specialised toilets/latrines, there is high medical cost and the child is too vulnerable to infections due to poor hygiene and sanitation systems in KCCA

There are sociocultural factors that have to dictate the decisions to be made during times of financial hardship on the gender and ability of the child to be educated. Some parents would have a preference based on the disability with a view of relieving them of the future disability load while others would focus on the gender as a determining factor to which child goes to school, in most cases preference is made on the ordinary boy child. To some parents there is the assumption that even when the girl is sent to school during times of hardship, their educational benefits are enjoyed by the family into which she marries and not by the family of origin. The patronal nature of the Ugandan community impact on the choice of support the girl child with a disability or special needs receives immediately after birth.

It could be argued that the nature of education provision for a child with disability and other special needs reflected the social, cultural, political and economic trend in the history of Uganda. For example, an account of indigenous education in relation to hearing impairment is scanty but brings to light the traditional practices, attitudes, myths and customs of Ugandan diverse nationalities. According to Matovu (1994), hearing impairment was equated to stupidity and dampness with a focus on philanthropy and natural aid to keep them going. This moral philosophy resulted into social rejection and ostracism that generated a feeling of self-hatred, dependency and hopelessness. The neglect and rejection limited the participation and interaction of learners with hearing impairment with their peers and escalated their

exclusion from community activities (Eron 2011). It followed though in many ways, the same sequence with other disabilities and special needs.

In a focus group discussion with the School Management Committee members of the project schools the following sentiments were raised that demonstrate the current perception towards a child with disability and special needs.

The is still negative attitude towards a child with disability, parents tend to be stigmatized when having such a child as they are considered a curse to the family

The stigma within the family is often extended to the school resulting to the rejection of the child. As one member noted

People think they will not be able to market their school since some can be slow learners impacting on the performance ranking

Liberalisation in education is an investment. The ranking of the school and its management is based on the pass rate in the national examination not necessarily the services being provided to *all* the children of Uganda. School management has to work hard to be ranked the best to attract more learners, remain in business and generate more income. A child with a disability in the school tends to lose out and develop low self-esteem. As state by a member of the School Management Committee in the project schools

People neglect children with disability; the child therefore develops low self-esteem.

Neglecting a girl child with disability may be intentional or non-intentional. It may be not intentional arising from lack of awareness of what role to play in support of the child. It may be intentional due to the negative attitude the actor has on a child with a disability. The implication is that all human resources involved in the welfare of the child have to be sensitized on the legal and social needs of educating children with disability. Sensitisation involves providing evidence of the relevance of education in the lives of successful persons with disabilities and their families. Providing this evidence may be a challenge as there is limited available information on how successful pupils are educated due to paucity of the data (Kasirye 2009).

Investing in information and education necessitates adequate moral, technical and financial support. However, government recognises the limited funding that it allocates to the sector incidentally associated with cultural attitudes (MoFP&ED 2004). The cultural attitudes cited by government emanate from policy makers, technocrats, parents and the pupils themselves. According to Omagor-Loican et al. (2002), there are negative attitudes by the majority of the people and children themselves. While positive attitudes are important for the successful implementation of special needs education very often there are hard-to-interpret attitudes towards special needs and inclusive education (Nakitende 2011). Cultural beliefs and societal attitudes towards persons with disabilities make the girl child to be continually marginalized and developments in their education very slow. Traditional negative attitudes are particularly associated with addressing the requirements of the girl child and children with special needs (MoFP&ED 2004). Negative attitudes influences the concepts and beliefs regarding best approaches in providing special needs and inclusive education (MoE&S 2011).

5.7 Conclusion

The education of the girl child with disability in Urban areas and slums in Uganda is largely challenging by among other factors negative community attitudes towards the girl's education, denial of education, unfriendly environmental facilities and the disabling condition. Efforts to address the educational needs of the girl child with disability in Kampala City Council Authority (KCCA) primary schools have demonstrated positive effects. Strategies to attain the positive effects implied that the KCCA had to work with a development partner – Cheshire Services Uganda. Cheshire Services Uganda is an NGO dealing in disability and education. In the KCCA, the aim is to bring about an inclusive education environment. It was established that many teachers, members of the school management committee and parents teaches associations had negative attitudes that limited the participation of girls with disabilities in the Kampala City council Authority primary schools. The negative attitudes were attributed to the lack of information by the human resources who are to promote the inclusion of the girl child in education. The implication is that educational facilities and learning opportunities are not made accessible and adaptable to all learners regardless of one's (dis)ability. It also implied that factors such as health, economics of disability and psychosocial factors influenced how inclusive education for the girl child with disability is provided. The strategies identified to enable every school going age girl child with disability in KCCA schools to access mainstream schools in her community included exploring how relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of the programme. How effective these strategies are in bringing about a school which includes everybody, celebrates difference, supports learning, and responds to individual needs will be evidenced at the end of the project.

5.8 Recommendation

After the identification of the needs of the urban poor and communities living in slum in relation to the education of the girl child and the training undertaken, it is recommended that further training, material resource provision and environmental modification continue to be undertaken. The model sanitary facilities transport and training materials are resources that should serve as a demonstration to engage practitioners, caregivers and policy makers towards promoting inclusive education for the girl child with a disability in urban setting and slums. Policy makers at local and authority (KCCA) level and education practitioners should develop strategies for utilizing these aspects of knowledge and information in enhancing inclusive education not only for the girl child but all school going age children in slums and among urban poor. Innovations of this kind needs follow up to ensure sustainability.

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Chapter 6

Role of Urban Non-formal Education in Inclusive Education Provision in Nairobi Kenya

Martin Mwangela Kavua

6.1 Background to Kenya

Kenya is a country on the East African coast bordering Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, South Sudan and Somalia. It covers about 581,309 km² and has a population of over 44 million people. Her official languages are English, Kiswahili and Kenyan Sign Language. Kiswahili is the national language. Institutionalized provision of education for learners with special needs in education (SNE) has evolved from special education, through mainstreaming/integration, to the current focus on inclusive education.

6.2 Introduction

According to the World Education Forum, Education For All (EFA): Framework for Action, agreed in Dakar (April 2000), education is a fundamental right of every person; a key to other human rights; the heart of all development; the essential prerequisite for equity, diversity and lasting peace. The framework for action acknowledges the contribution of non-formal education in achieving education for all (UNESCO 2000a, b). A similar conference held in 1990, aimed to achieve similar objectives. Between the two conferences, the Salamanca statement proposed inclusive education for all as the most appropriate provision in the last century and beyond. Contrary to expectations after the first EFA conference in 1990, education for all had not been achieved a decade later. The Dakar conference on education for all recognized that the high numbers of persons without access to education is an

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affront to human dignity and a denial of the right to education (UNESCO 2000a). Over two and half decades after the first conference on education for all, Kenya is yet to attain full access to education for all (Republic of Kenya/UNESCO 2012). This discrepancy may be attributed to poor access to education due to factors like cost and other non-monetary barriers especially in poor households (Orodho et al. 2013; The World Bank 2008).

‘Non-formal’ education is a key term in this chapter. Non-formal education may be defined as any organized educational activity occurring outside the formal education system which targets specific groups/categories of persons with life skills, values and attitudes for personal and community development. It views formal education as regular education provided in the system of schools, and other formal educational institutions. What the definition of non-formal education given here fails to consider is the evolving face of non-formal education to encompass similar curriculum content as the one found in formal schools (Ekudayo 2001). It is seen as a separate provision almost with no relation to formal education. The Basic Education Act places management of non-formal education under the ministry (MOEST 2013), this might be said to be a development towards its recognition as a viable option for education with full government support. Inclusive education has been defined as an educational provision that is modified to facilitate learners to participate in the learning process and education system while learning within their abilities (Kavua 2013).

6.3 Inclusive Education in Kenya

The Ministry of Education (MoE) (2009) defines inclusive education as

...a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through the increase in participation in learning, cultures and reduction of exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures, and strategies with a vision which covers all learners

The ministry’s guide on inclusive education (MoE 2010) alludes to the above definition as well. While reiterating the government’s commitment to inclusive education in the country, the ministry of education also defines inclusive education as provision of education for learners with special needs in education within regular schools. Mainstreaming of special education in regular schools has been emphasized and presented as a prerequisite for provision of inclusive education (MoE 2012), as opposed to focusing on all learners regardless of difference as proposed by Armstrong et al. (2010). The policy framework on education (MoE 2012) leaves out inclusive education in its presentation of research data on access and provision of education at various levels. This indicates less focus on inclusive education in comparison with other educational provision options. Based on the above information, one may argue that there is need to broaden the scope of inclusive education and have it as the first option in educational provision in line with the Salamanca statement.

Kenya is a signatory of the Salamanca conference declaration. She has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD). These bind her to the ideals of inclusion rights in education and society (UNESCO 2006). The right to free basic non-discriminative education is enshrined in the constitution of Kenya (The Republic of Kenya [GoK] 2010). In order to understand current inclusive education practice, it is important to view it in the context of various milestones that have been achieved in the country so far.

The current status and practice in provision of special needs education (SNE) is that Special schools and units are the key institutional structures through which SNE is provided. These institutions exclude learners from their own communities since they are rarely situated within their localities. However, with the establishment of free primary education (FPE), many learners with special needs have found their way into institutions in what may be seen as inclusion by default. With the existence of learners with special needs within their populations, schools are forced to accommodate learners with SNE.

The current legal framework in the country is protective of the right to education for all children especially those with disabilities. The persons with disabilities act (2003) has outlined clear guidelines on dealing with persons with special needs including children in various spheres of life including education. Access to education for children with disabilities is assured under the constitution (GoK 2010). It is illegal not to provide education to a learner on the basis of disability. Therefore, the right to free basic education is assured for all learners including those with disabilities. In 2009 the government came up with an SNE draft policy. Among other issues tackled in the document is inclusive education. The policy indicates the government's commitment to supporting and encouraging inclusive as opposed to special schools and units for the provision of SNE. However, education for learners with profound sensory impairment, multiple and severe disabilities may still be offered in special schools (MoE 2009).

Free primary education (FPE) started in Kenya from 2003. This saw the number of children attending primary school multiply. The government pays levies for learners in public primary schools. In cognizance of the fact that some children with SNE may need to attend residential schools, the government should fully fund their transportation to school if the school is far as well as their boarding fees. Children without disabilities living under especially difficult circumstances have benefited. Some can now attend the schools they would have attended outside their circumstances. Many have been attending non-formal education.

6.4 Non-formal Education in Kenya

Non-formal education seeks to respond to learning needs of persons who lack equitable access and/or sustained participation in formal education and learning opportunities. Major strides have been made since the Dakar conference in 2000 especially on gender parity. However, about 58 million children globally have no access to

school and around 100 million do not complete primary education (The World Bank 2008). Moreover, inequality in education has increased, with the poorest and most disadvantaged people shouldering the heaviest burden. The world's poorest children are four times more likely not to go to school than the world's richest children, and five times more likely not to complete primary school. Non-formal education seeks to respond to the learning needs of this population which lacks access and sustained participation in formal education, and learning opportunities. It is therefore a major contributor to inclusive education as it reaches an otherwise excluded population.

Most non-formal education centres in Kenya were established as rehabilitation centres for children in especially difficult circumstances or those in need of special protection (Ekudayo 2001). The situation remains almost the same today with children living under especially still dominating populations in non-formal institutions. A casual visit to non-formal schools reveals that majority are in poor urban and peri-urban areas. A few are located in lower working class areas. The environments in the poor areas where these institutions are situated appear least conducive. There is a greater possibility that majority of students are in poor health due to economic and environmental factors. This brings to question the quality of learning in the schools.

A 2001 study on informal, non-formal and community education centres in Kenya revealed that,

Non-formal schools and centres are not markedly different from normal primary schools in terms of curricular content. Their difference lies in the fact of their ability to provide access to education and learning opportunities for children, youths and adults who, in the absence of NFE schools and centres, may have been left out. (Ekudayo 2001)

Despite offering similar education, non-formal education centres seem not to get similar attention and capitation as formal schools. However, they are a poor replication of formal primary schools. And to a large extent, magnify most of the problems faced in formal education (Ekudayo 2001). This has been noted as of significant impact on quality as improving access may not translate to increased quality in education.

One might say that non-formal schools appear to be more inclusive than formal ones since they target populations which would otherwise not access education through the formal education system. They offer similar education to regular institutions; therefore, they might be useful in curriculum review especially where regulations governing conduct of education are concerned. Apple et al. (2001) assert that formal education has been an agent of exclusion. Certain regulations have excluded some children from school, including school uniform which is mandatory in Kenyan schools, buying learning materials like books and pens. For those in the lower income bracket, this is a real challenge. It has discouraged some parents and guardians from enrolling their children in school. In this case, non-formal schools act as an alternative provision option for education, hence supporting inclusive practice.

In non-formal education (NFE), learner orientation is reflected in the content that is learned, management of the learning process, and organization of the learning

environment. Content is dictated by the functional needs of the learners; duration and timing are flexible, cost is low, rewards are immediate and participatory management is expected. In general, NFE attempts to cultivate a participatory ethos (Ekudayo 2001). This consideration of learner differences allows for a more individualized approach to teaching and learning. This resolves one of the challenges of formal education that it is a generalized approach to learning where a similar approach is applied to all. However, these defining characteristics have raised a number of issues and concerns with regard to equity. One may question the standards of education provided in non-formal schools given that content is determined largely by learner characteristics. It is possible that content differs significantly from centre to centre and class to class over time, based on learner needs and differences. However, studies have shown that it is possible to improve access and equitable learning simultaneously. Despite the fact that NFE improves access, more needs to be done to achieve equitable learning across the board.

6.5 Inclusive Education Benefits of Non-formal Education

Ekudayo (2001) identifies benefits of non-formal education. Benefits described below are those that are seen as supportive of inclusive education. Sharing of primary school facilities where they are limited; enrolment limits dictated by availability of facilities and space often times lead to exclusion of learners. Flexibility of learning time (afternoons and evenings); unlike formal institutions, non-formal learning centres hold their classes at flexible times, which easily accommodate learners with various special needs. For instance, a child parent may attend evening classes when the siblings come back from school. Acceptance of learners of all ages, and strong community support; NFE centres are managed by the communities. Therefore, communities tend to own and support them. The curriculum responds to the felt needs of the learners; Studies have shown that NFE curriculum is tailored to meet the needs of individual learners. In one study Participants showed preference for a curriculum which included skills training and academic subjects, relevant to learners (Ekudayo 2001). Provision is generally low-cost (no uniforms, no levies). These characteristics allow for interaction, acceptance and inclusion of populations previously excluded in education.

One of the most glaring challenges in formal education is cost (Republic of Kenya). Coombs (1968) recommends non-formal education as complimentary to formal education. It helps to meet challenges of access and cost for majority of the people and allows third world countries to catch up with developed countries which have been ahead in development. In Kenya, non-formal schools charge low fees, which is of significant attraction to learners from needy backgrounds that may not be capable to meet the costs of formal schools. Non-formal schools appear to be a good option for learners from low income areas and those who may not have capability to

cope with requirements of formal schools including payment of levies. Such learners include former street children, homeless children, child labour victims and poor regular pupils. The consequence of failure to meet the sometimes costly requirements of education has led to increased school dropout rates for the above mentioned categories of learners. Studies in Ghana and Indonesia concluded with the contention that NFE could be highly instrumental in solving problems of equity and access to education. It provides inclusion for previously excluded learners in education.

6.6 Challenges

Ekudayo (2001) found that teachers in NFE were inadequate in number, inappropriately trained in content and delivery, and poorly remunerated. Turnover was high due to both poor remuneration and conditions of work. There was a general lack of adequate and appropriate facilities and resources for teaching and learning. Most places referred to as schools and learning centres were temporary and makeshift shelters. The situation has barely changed today. Most institutions do not possess their own land, therefore it becomes challenging to put up permanent structures. Physical facilities are generally inadequate and inappropriate. Learning materials are inadequate and of low quality. In Kenya, non-formal education has not been part of mainstream education provision. Others include inadequate teachers resulting in high teaching load prompting the use of ineffective teaching methods and Lack of motivation of the teaching force (Orodho et al. 2013).

Financial and administrative challenges are significant in NFE. Weak governance and accountability structures at all levels of education; lack of reliable data in some areas, especially in identifying the number of hard to reach children, number of children still out of school, and determining dropout and repetition rates; inadequate financing of education programmes, including teacher recruitment; inadequate enforcement of the right to access education based on the existing legal framework; and ineffective and uncoordinated monitoring and evaluation as well as reporting systems on education programmes form the bulk of challenges (Republic of Kenya/UNESCO 2012).

Non-formal education has been stigmatized as an alternative for the poor who stand the risk of further marginalization and exclusion. A review of the literature on non-formal education or alternative approaches to basic education indicates the concerns. For instance, The Commission of Inquiry into the Education System of Kenya noted that many non-formal schools, although catering for many poor children, lack infrastructure, qualified teachers, learning/teaching equipment, and are generally offering a very low quality education. This brings in to question the inclusivity of non-formal education as far as quality and curriculum achievement based on ability is concerned.

The government of Kenya is currently embarking on a digital learning programme for learners in public schools. Having been involved in planning and implementation of the programme, it's is of concern that non-formal education appears to feature little in provision of laptops and capacity building in digital learning for staff. Although a policy on NFE was developed in 2009 (Republic of Kenya/ UNESCO 2015), ongoing education sector developments like the digital learning programme appear to leave non-formal schooling out. It seems clear that more needs to be done.

6.7 Recommendations and Conclusion

Non-formal education can play an important role in achievement of EFA goals and inclusive education. For urban centres like Nairobi, a change of approach to education provision may be necessary in order to accomplish EFA. Dib (1988) recommends fusion of NFE approaches to education. He singles out correspondence and distance learning in mainstream education as examples of approaches which can be borrowed from NFE for formal education. Use of technology has to avail education to all has also been recommended by.

The radio could be a classic example of a technology which can contribute in availing education to large groups of people. Having in mind the increased accessibility to radio in Kenya through mobile phones, such provision could go a long way in supplementing traditional formal education. If supported through provision of learning materials, NFE schools and centres have the potential to provide quality education to those they serve through use of such technologies.

Infrastructure and staffing have been identified as a serious challenge in NFE. The Republic of Kenya and UNESCO (2012) recommend that access to education and retention rates can be increased through employment of more teachers and improvement of school infrastructure. Further, provision of midday meals may improve children's participation, health and nutrition. Increased national budgetary allocation to the education sector in proportion to national spending should also be done.

The recommendations of Ekundayo (2001) seem applicable in the Kenyan context since not much has changed in the NFE sector since his study. The recommendations include the following: Inclusion of NFE in the basic education system with parity of esteem of the formal and non-formal sub-sectors to avert the problem of non-formal education being regarded as a lesser option reserved for the poor; Creation of an interface between formal and non-formal sub-sectors of education to facilitate curriculum harmonization and ensure that the minimum essential learning needs are met. This would minimize discrepancies in the sector. A system of equivalency is recommended to facilitate movement between the two sectors. This, however, should not lead to the demise of the non-formal features of NFE.

A sustained programme for community education should be formulated. NFE providers, community members, school/centre managers and policy makers should be educated on the meaning, nature, purpose, scope, management, and benefits of non-formal education. This would ensure that NFE has similar recognition as formal education. To achieve this, information dissemination forums like seminars and conferences could be instrumental. Themes could be created to guide discussions among stakeholders about the issue.

Capacity building especially in teacher training, as well as provision of learning materials, and payment of teachers' salaries would go a long way in improving quality and motivation in the NFE sector.

It is important to note that the government of Kenya has made significant milestones in improving access and equity in basic education, especially due to provision of Free Primary Education (NFE) since 2013. This coincided with recommendations by the United Nations for governments to provide free basic education (United Nations 2013). How free FPE is remains highly debated because parents still have to put up some costs to educate their children in public primary schools. This current situation necessitates the existence of NFE, which provides access to education to those excluded from formal education by virtue of their circumstances – a step towards inclusive education.

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Part II

Asia

Chapter 7

Section Introduction: How Nation-States Respond to the Impacts of Migration, Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in the Context of Globalization in India, China, Japan, Korea and Singapore

Xue Lan Rong

7.1 Population Movement in Asian Countries: Urbanization and Globalization

Since World War II, and especially in the last three decades, increasing globalization, with de-territorialization of capital and redistributions in the international labor market, has brought urbanization and population movements to almost all Asian countries undergoing industrialization. Scholars (e.g., Bray 2013; Suarez-Orozco 2001; Torres 2013) point out that these economic, social and political trends have presented enormous challenges to education systems in policy making and implementation of compulsory education and beyond, mainly focusing on (but not limited to) allocating and distributing financial resources, governance and management, etc. Changes in educational systems – including centralization/decentralization, marketization, corporatization and privatization prompted by various internal and external forces – are re-shaping the balance between quality, equality and equity regarding educational opportunities and outcomes for a vastly changed student population in urban areas. These challenges are particularly acute for those who have been historically and/or currently discriminated against, including racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, rural-to-urban migrants and working-class students with low social economic status.

In terms of urbanization and population movement, historically, as countries advance from low to higher productivity levels, labor moves from under-employment in low-productivity rural realms to fuller employment in higher-productivity urban manufacturing realms. The push for a speedy urbanization resulting from globalization and the transformations noted above have been spurred by export

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demand for goods produced in the urban sector. However, the level and pace of urbanization varies greatly across regions and countries and within individual regions and countries as well (Henderson 2009). According to a 2014 report (United Nation 2014), the most urbanized regions include North America (82 % living in urban areas in 2014), Latin America and the Caribbean (80 %) and Europe (73 %). In contrast, Africa and Asia remain mostly rural, with 40 % and 48 % of their populations living in urban areas, respectively.

The magnitude of rapid urbanization in Asian countries in the last three decades is evident in the increases in their urban population in relation to corresponding global figures. The percentage of urban population in Asia has risen from 32 % in 1990 to 48 % in 2014 and is expected to reach 64 % in 2050. In terms of the pace of urbanization, urban population accounted for 24 % of China's total population in 1990 and 54 % in 2014, and is expected to reach 76 % in 2050. India is following a similar trajectory, where urban population accounted for 26 % of its population in 1990 and 32 % in 2014, and will reach 50 % in 2050. Because all regions are expected to urbanize further over the coming decades, given that India and China have the world's largest rural populations (857 million in India and 635 million for China), Asia is expected to urbanize more rapidly than many other regions and will experience rural-urban population migration in the greatest magnitude (Kundu 2009).

As the world continues to urbanize, sustainable-development challenges in cities will increase, particularly in developing countries, where the pace of urbanization is very fast. The process of urbanization historically has been associated with other important economic and social transformations that bring greater geographic mobility, including internal migration (city to city and rural to city) and international migration. Nevertheless, rapid and under-planned urban growth threatens sustainable development when needed infrastructure is not developed or when policies are not implemented to ensure that the benefits of city life for all residents are equitably shared. Therefore, holistic policies to improve the lives of both current urban residents and newcomers are needed at each development stage. These policies should integrate all facets of sustainable development, ensuring that the benefits of urban growth are shared equitably among all residents, regardless of their geographic origins and length of their residency.

Scholars (e.g., Henderson 2009; Kundu 2009) have voiced their concerns about the enormous challenges posed by rapid urbanization in many countries, especially in countries such as China and India, where urbanization proceeds quickly while social and policy structures adjust slowly. Therefore, cities have become overwhelmed by challenges such as congestion, poverty and pollution, and by the development of urban slums, breeding health problems, safety issues and social unrest. Modernization in urban planning and management has become an urgent task to address these problems.

As pointed out by Kundu (2009 in *Urbanization and Migration: An analysis of trends, patterns and policies in Asia*), trends and patterns in migration, urbanization and city development across Asian countries can only be explained in the context of the countries' history, social fabric, political environment and cultural traditions.

For example, Kundu stated that one must analyze internal migration in China because there are very few international immigrants in China, so China's urban population growth derives from three main sources: the natural increase in urban population, population migration from rural to urban areas, and the re-classification of urban and rural areas. For instance, Wang (2013) reported that, the major population shift has been rural to urban migration, accounting for almost 70% of urban population growth in 2005. Through the Hukou system (residential permission authorized by city government) and other policies, China has maintained a strict separation of urban and rural sectors, making rural-urban labor mobility more difficult than in other countries. This strict separation of the urban and rural sectors has made income inequality in China one of the highest in Asia today.

In addition to internal migration and urbanization, international migration and city development also play significant roles in reshaping urban life in Asian countries. Since 1945, virtually all highly developed countries have experienced large-scale immigration and the dynamics of the migratory process, in which incoming workers and refugees settle into resident ethnic groups. These processes produce marginalization, based on the immigrants' vulnerable economic status and lack of local social networks, leading to labor-market segmentation and residential segregation. However, it also involves the process(es) of community formation, through which ethnic groups develop their own economic, social and cultural infrastructure, and mobilize politically. Scholars (e.g., Castles 1995; Castles and Miller 2003) have pointed out that increasing interaction between immigrant groups and local populations vary in character within each country and present a mixed bag of peaceful co-existence and hostility and violence. Therefore, it is imperative that the state reacts to immigration and ethnic diversity with policies geared toward employment, housing and education.

It is important to look at changing migration streams in Asian countries with respect to the historical legacy of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. Globalization with movements of capital and labor across national borders is not a new phenomenon in Asia, and each migratory wave has its own specific characteristics in various countries. Yet in comparing international migration trends and their impacts, we can find important similarities in Japan, Korea and Singapore (see Castles and Miller 2003), three countries with the highest percentage of urban population in Asia – 93% in Japan, 82% in Korea and 100% in Singapore (World bank 2015). In the cases of Japan and Korea, after decades of rural-urban internal migration, international migration trends have become increasingly influential in the twenty-first century. Migration streams in these two countries are more complex and dynamic, becoming part of social, economic, political and historical transformations closely connected with macro-economies that impact the fabric of everyday life for all citizens, especially urban residents. As a result, many governmental policies related to national and regional migration have been evolving constantly to keep up with the varied trajectories of human mobility, shifting hierarchies of citizenship and trans-national forms of unity, identity and belonging. Singapore has a uniquely complex history of political, social and economic policies implemented by the British colonial government, resulting in an inherited division of Chinese, Indian

and Malaysian racial (ethnic) groups (Barr and Low 2005). Therefore, it is imperative to draw attention to the importance of exploring the relationship between various types of migration and the transformation in economic, political and social domains in the context of contemporary changes linked to globalization in a range of societies, identifying the main issues and making comparisons across very different historical and cultural settings.

7.2 Theoretical Framework and Analytic Lens

For readers to synthesize the main themes across the seven chapters in this part and make comparisons between the underlined philosophies, purposes, and intended – as well as unintended – outcomes of educational policies and practices in India, China, Japan, Korea and Singapore, the section editor is proposing the political economy of education as an umbrella theoretical framework. Political-economy theory most commonly refers to interdisciplinary studies drawing on economics, political science and sociology, and it has gained ground in the past decade in research in international education and comparative education. By studying how economic theory and methods influence political ideology, structure, system and organization, political economy is the interplay between economics, law and politics, and shows how institutions develop in different social and economic systems, such as capitalism, socialism and communism. In the section editor's view, one of the most useful features of political economy for educational researchers is analyzing public policies in terms of how they were created and implemented in various contexts and how the study of the role of public policy may influence the economic and social welfare of a particular political unit or group (Weingast and Wittman 2008).

7.2.1 *Political Economy of Education*

Due to its interdisciplinary nature, political-economy theories have been adapted in educational research. In their book, *The Political Economy of Education: Implications for Growth and Inequality*, Gradstein et al. (2005) provide a theoretical framework for readers to understand the complex relationship between education, economic growth and income distribution in relation to how the state may formulate effective policies to improve the financing and structure of education. They emphasized that the dominant role played by the state in financing, regulating and providing primary and secondary education reflects the widely held belief that education is necessary for personal and societal well-being. The findings in their study demonstrate how the institutional arrangements through which education is financed and implemented might influence education spending, economic growth, income inequality and intergenerational mobility. The authors also suggest that some social

and cultural factors, such as religion and cultural values, play a role in shaping educational and economic outcomes, and that education influences social cohesion.

The section editor believes, due to its interdisciplinary nature, that by using political economy in education theory, readers may be able to adopt a wide range of analytical lenses to process the information presented in this book, synthesize their understanding cohesively and assess the suitability of the recommendations in the context of their own countries. However, the section editor also would like our readers to be aware of the limitations of using this theoretical framework. Political economy as a discipline is a complex field, covering a broad array of potentially competing interests. The theory's use in the areas of international and comparative education to study educational systems and policies comparatively is a rather recent trend. Because this theory was originated in Western countries and the field of international and comparative education is in a transitional period from neo-liberalism to post-colonialism, the editor is aware of other applicable theoretical frameworks. What follows are two examples of research studies that applied the political economy of education theories in their international comparative education research, and the notions articulated in these two studies may add a larger international context for educational reforms to the seven chapters in this part.

In the chapter of *The Political Economy of Educational Reform in Australia, England and Wales, and the United States*, Keating et al. (2013) construct a framework for a discourse on impacts from the trends of globalization on educational reform in three Western countries. They pointed out a rightward shift in these countries to marketization and privatization of educational services, spurred by neoliberalism and economic rationalism. This shift resulted in weakened public control over education and increased reliance on market forces and accountability in governmental education policies over quality control through standardization in curriculum, teacher training, and assessments of students and teachers. As put by the authors: "The economic rationalist argument concerning the primacy of material interests leaves little room for such issues as self-development or collective development, participation, equity, social justice, or even democracy" (p. 250).

Framed by political economy of education theories, Hirosato and Kitamura (2010) studied several developing countries in Southeast Asia, which face an enormous challenge in ensuring equitable access to quality education in the context of deepening globalization and increasing international competition. They believe government must provide education that simultaneously meets the goals of EFA (Education for All) at the basic education level and of developing a more sophisticated workforce required by the knowledge-based economy at the post-compulsory, especially tertiary, education level. Hirosato and Kitamura crystallized the dilemma in educational development in many Asian countries and asserted that to meet this challenge, developing countries need to reform/renovate their education systems and service delivery as an integral part of national development. However, most of the Asian countries they studied have not yet fully developed the institutional capacities to undertake necessary education reforms to respond to decentralization, privatization, marketization, etc. that require new roles at various (central and local, or public and private) levels of administration.

After all, considering the historical, social, and economic constraints many Asian countries have faced in the globalization process, the themes and issues discussed in this book are thought provoking. The scholars' examination of key challenges to a particular country, thus, provides an instructive illustration of how these multiple goals are incorporated into an existing national policies.

While the section editor believes the framework of political economy of education can benefit the understanding of educational equity and equality issues related to internal migration in the context of urbanization and to immigration in the context of globalization, the section editor would also like to provide an additional analytical lens – immigration related assimilation and multiculturalism theories for readers to examine the key challenges in education across nations. This lens provides an instructive illustration of interactions and intersections between cultural issues (philosophies, ideologies, beliefs, values, and traditions) and structural matters (power, policies and laws, and organization and operations, etc.).

7.2.2 Immigration and Education

Ensuring equitable access to quality education for all students is one of the central issues for most countries' educational reform efforts in Asia, but people in a particular location (urban or rural) often hold contradictory views with regard to the delineation of belonging, membership in a community, and local and national unity. It has been one of the challenges for internal migrants in countries experiencing urbanization. However, educators in developed countries with increasingly diverse immigrant populations may face some additional challenges. Educational policies are usually characterized by a multiplicity of definitions, theories, and practices, with multiple philosophical bases for exclusionism, assimilationism, pluralism, and multiculturalism. A discussion of policy and practice models for receiving newcomers may provide our readers with an applicable analytical lens for cross-national comparison through various historical periods.

In scholarly publications, Castles (1992, 1995, 2009) linked several models to different historical patterns of nation-state formation and ethnicity transformation, and suggested a typology of policy models regarding how nations respond to newcomers during several waves of large-scale migration in Europe and North America. Castles cited four basic ways in which a receiving location reacts to newcomers. First, the exclusion model is based on the desire to prevent permanent settlement of the newcomers. It includes total exclusion (preventing the entry of immigrants) and differential exclusion, in which immigrants are incorporated into certain occupations and segments of society, but are denied access to others areas (e.g., welfare systems, citizenship status, and political participation). Under differential-exclusion policies, immigrants become ethnic minorities, which are part of civil society, but are excluded from full participation in economic, social, cultural and political interactions. Therefore, it implies a strong and continuing link between low SES and ethnic background, as ethnic minorities are usually socio-economically disad-

vantaged. Castles believes the exclusion model is constructed on the acceptance of stereotypes by the governments and resident populations of the receiving countries. Many local residents might consider admission of migrants as a temporary solution, but view permanent settlement as threatening. Castles pointed out that the strategy adopted to keep immigrants temporary is usually based on restricting residency and preventing families from reuniting.

Castles (1995) characterizes the second model as an assimilation model that is usually defined as the policy of incorporating migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation: Immigrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population. The role of the state in assimilation is to create and implement policies that will impose majority culture and values through insistence or even coercion (in some cases), such as requiring the use of the dominant language only when immigrant children attend public schools. In most cases, overt assimilation policies have faded away over time, replaced with policies seeking integration. According to Castles, integration policies are often simply a less-pressing form of assimilation, based on the idea that adaptation is a gradual process rather than a quick fix. Still, the ultimate goal is a complete absorption into the dominant culture.

Castles (1995) then discusses the more recent models of pluralism and multiculturalism. Pluralism was characterized as the acceptance of immigrant populations as ethnic communities with distinctions in language and culture. According to Castles, pluralism may tolerate differences, but does not believe it's the government's role to support the maintenance of ethnic cultures. Pluralism differs from explicit multicultural policies, which advocate for the majority's willingness to accept cultural differences and change their social behaviors and institutional structures accordingly. Multiculturalism may go further by promoting that the majority may even consider altering their perceptions about national identity and unity to accommodate the cultural and demographic landscape of the changing world.

With a wide range of views, other multicultural scholars also draw some distinctions between pluralists and multiculturalists. Pluralists (e.g., Feinberg 1998) believe that the "common school" plays an important role in reproducing a shared sense of membership in the national community while remaining relatively passive in promoting cultural identity, including language, religion, and other forms of group identity that should be confined to the private sphere. On the other hand, multiculturalists (Bank 2004; Gay 1997; Kymlicka 1998) seek the promotion of cultural identity through public schools, favoring cultural fairness – no one cultural group dominates over others. Kymlicka (1998), for example, contends that ethnic cultural groups have "a valid claim, not only to request tolerance and non-discrimination, but also explicit accommodation, recognition and representation within the institutions of the larger society" (147). These scholars maintain that any concept of national identity promoted through public education should include both the unifying and diversifying aspects of the national community and cultural, national, and global identities are interrelated.

These models have implications on a wide range of institutional domains and may determine immigrants' position in society through certain immigration policy (e.g., citizenship status, residence rights and family reunion), labor market position, residential situation and community formation, social policy, and racism toward minorities. According to multiculturalist scholars, multicultural policies in education are usually implemented through several agencies at all levels of government. In terms of the practice of multiculturalism for equal and equitable access to quality education, the government needs to recognize the need for special laws and institutional and social policies to overcome barriers to immigrants' full participation in society (Castles 1992) and provide specific accommodating services, such as receiving centers in communities, language courses, educational support for children, and translating and interpreting services, etc., which need to involve ethnic organizations' participation in planning and developing.

Interculturalism is also suggested by European scholars as an alternative to multiculturalism and assimilation (e.g., Cantle 2005, 2012; Wood 2010). Interculturalism focuses on inter-ethnic contact and the development of a shared understanding within super-diverse populations without referring to stable and fixed minority groups or national identities. Arguably, interculturalism is concerned with the interests of both majority and minority cultures, requiring cultural sensitivity and adaptation from all sides, in contrast to multiculturalism, which is primarily focused on the majority accommodating the minority, or assimilation, in which the minority has to adapt to the culture of the majority.

Scholars (e.g., Castles 2009) argue that some components in the differential exclusion model, mixed with the assimilation/integration model, are still subtly applied in countries with large immigrant populations. They have not been explicitly advocated due to social tensions and malignant racism. Countries applying the assimilation model generally have moved to a mixed approach of assimilation and pluralism, embodying some elements of multiculturalism. This approach varies, according to the degree of state intervention in settlement and community relations. Beyond these structural similarities, there are considerable differences in policies, attitudes and behavior toward immigrants in different countries.

7.3 What Is This Section About?

This section of the handbook brings together 15 scholars from six countries, with a majority possessing a practitioner's scholarship in educational policies and institutional studies, curriculum and instruction, and teacher training. Almost all of them have research experience in the United States, as well as in (at least) one Asian country. Focusing their writing on multicultural education and urban issues related to the provision of equal and equitable education for all children, these researchers identified the issues, concerns, strategies and recommendations that emerged when changes in education systems were necessitated in societies going through large-scale labor force redistribution and population movement. By analyzing and

critiquing the policies and implementations through carefully examined examples of successful and not-so-successful programs and practices in five nations, this section of the book should be considered to have two parts: Part One, *Globalization, urbanization, internal migration, and access to quality education in India and China, two industrializing countries* and Part Two, *Globalization, immigration and multicultural education in Japan, Korea and Singapore*.

Providing a larger framework to understand the developmental stages of Asian countries, Hawkins (2013) explains a common recognition among scholars who have expertise in Asian education: There has been broad regional diversity among Asian countries, and the Asia-Pacific region is often characterized by different development trajectories. At one end of the scale are the region's more historically developed nations such as Japan, Korea, and Singapore, continually pursuing economic development and finding themselves with labor shortages, especially at the lower end of the employment spectrum. Immigration became an inevitable strategy for labor supply in those countries. At the other end of the scale are India and China, whose massive economies are rapidly expanding with swift urbanization and city development, inducing rural-to-urban migration to provide new labor forces to meet both their own requirements and highly segmented global labor markets. Due to their different development trajectories, the challenges and priorities for education provisions are also different. Some nations, such as Japan, Korea, and Singapore, have come close to universal access to K-16 education. Other nations, such as India and China, continue striving to facilitate 9-year compulsory education. As pointed out by scholars who have applied political economy of education theory in their comparative education research, educational policymakers in Asian countries are aware of the complex nature of the relationship between educational expansion, access and equality (Hirosato and Kitamura 2010). Although policymakers and educational officials in some countries claim their ultimate goal is providing more education equality for disenfranchised student groups who's ethnic, linguistic, religious, caste, gender, SES, and other distinguishing characteristics become central to policymaking, their current education policies and practices vary from marginalization and discrimination to some forms of affirmative action.

To explore the contemporary challenge of government in urban societies transformed by migration and immigration, this section on urban education in Asia centers around several main concerns: When patterns of migration – internal, external or mixed – bring escalating transition and transformation to urban areas in some Asian countries, how have government officials, policymakers, educators and educational institutions responded to the needed changes? To what degree are these policies and implementations effective, compared with their purposes and intentions, and why?

In the first part of this section, three chapters focus on the educational challenges of rural-urban migration spurred by globalization and urbanization in the past three decades in India and China. One chapter articulates the notions and sentiments of the transformations in education and other social domains stimulated by the urbanization, migration, immigration/emigration, and discontent from the impacts of globalization on education. The other two chapters focus on the restrictions of

urban residential permission policies and other policies that significantly limit quality access by rural-to-urban migrant children to compulsory education and beyond.

There are four chapters in the second part of this section, providing examples in terms of exploring how multicultural education is implemented in diverse social, political, and historical contexts, and examining how tensions between various interest groups, as well as between local and national governments, are alleviated with culture-based policies and practices infused with distinct national characteristics (e.g., Schweisfurth 2006; Pike 2000). Each chapter in this part of the Asia section identifies key factors in establishing and reforming educational policies by linking their analysis to varying historical experiences of nation-state formation and the interplay of social, economic, and political factors before moving on to examine laws, policies, and implementation. As a whole, our readers will find that the chapters show differing educational responses to migration and immigration by individual nations; even as general trends and policy conclusions emerge. Moreover, from reading all seven chapters, readers will realize that the reality in each country is much more complex and contradictory than these studies can show.

7.3.1 Part One: Globalization, Urbanization, Internal Migration, and Access to Quality Education in India and China, Two Industrializing Countries

Both India and China have distinctive features of urbanization. Although both countries need to meet the challenges from ethnic tensions, classism, sexism, language barriers, religious conflicts, etc. during the urbanization process, India has to deal with the caste system and the legacy of being a former British colony, while China must navigate bumpy roads through economic modernization and political transformations. For example, China has experienced booming development and urbanization since the 1980s. Less than 20% of its population lived in cities in 1980, a percentage that increased to 26.4% in 1990, 36% in 2000 and almost 55% today (Wang 2013). As put by Henderson (2009), there are a variety of distinctive features in China's urbanization compared with other countries – the result of past policies, as well as legacies of the previous central planning economic system, the Hukou system, and other policies. For example, with the Hukou system, China has maintained a strict separation of urban and rural sectors, making rural-urban labor mobility more difficult than in other countries. As a result, China's urbanization is incomplete, and China's urbanization level can be overestimated.

In her unique tones and style, Asher, in her essay “Engaging Identities and Cultures in a Globalized, Postcolonial India: Implications for Decolonizing Curriculum and Pedagogy,” draws respective comparisons of time and culture to deconstruct globalization, urbanization and changes in education in theoretical terms inspired by theories of political economy of education and postcolonialism. Comparing educational scholarship in the U.S. and India, and analyzing Akash

Kapur's essay "India Becoming: A Portrait of Life in Modern India" as an illustrative study, Asher discusses in-depth the interfaces of identities, cultures, and education in "economically liberalized" and globalized postcolonial India, with particular reference to the journey of urbanization. She highlighted the effects of privatization, corporatization, and discourses of efficiency and accountability in the Indian and U.S. educational contexts to express her sentiments of discontent over globalization. Her research essay reminds educators of the hidden trends of recolonization in pedagogy, policies, and curriculum. Asher's study added a unique voice to studies in this field, as immigration usually is studied from a destination-country perspective, but not from an origin-country perspective, resulting in skewed and more asymmetrical views. By presenting four vignettes and quotations from several essays, as well as a critical examination of multicultural education in the U.S., Asher provides readers with perspectives from both sides.

The second and third chapters discuss the challenges and solutions for ensuring equitable access to quality education (mainly K-9 compulsory education) in China. The main discussion of both chapters focuses on a central issue: a large portion of rural-to-urban migrant children who cannot enjoy the benefits of quality compulsory education entitled to children of urban residents who have permanent resident permission. The chapter, "The Education Issues of the Children of Internal Migrant Workers in China" (by Yuan, Noblit and Rong), is a macro-scope comprehensive policy study with a baseline historical review. Highlighting the unequal and discriminatory treatment of rural migrant children regarding their enrollment in urban public schools, their school choices and the unfavorable admission policies when they face College Entrance Exam and college admission, this chapter reveals the major obstacles in policies and suggests short-term and longer-term solutions in policies and school practices.

The third chapter, by Liu, Sun and Barrow, is a micro-case study based on interviews of local government officials, school administrators, teachers, and parents of migrant children and permanent residents in Wu City, a large migrant-inflow city in China. Throughout the study, the authors articulate their understanding of how and why China's central government promised to ensure migrants' children to have equal access to public compulsory education, but local authorities' interpretation of the policies and their approaches of implementation have resulted in the problems with migrant children's access to K-9 compulsory education that have still not been resolved. The authors highlight a dilemma in which local education authorities at the urban level are in the middle of what they call the "promise-practice framework." Local authorities need to respond to the central government and are directly answerable to city stakeholders as well, but they are also burdened by limited executive powers and financial resources to resolve the problems, thus contributing to an environment of conflict identified by the interviewees, including: conflicts between local interests (contradictory views from migrant communities and local permanent residents) and the requirements from their superiors, between pursuing economic development and fulfilling compulsory education obligations, between equity and quality (meritocracy), and between the uncertainty of migrant laborers' geographical movement and a local permanent investment in compulsory education.

Approaching the same theme, but from different angles and with different scopes and research methodologies, Yuan, Noblit, and Rong's chapter provides historical, social and policy context for Liu, Sun and Barrow's study. In turn, Liu, Sun and Barrow's study supply bottom-up data with concrete examples for readers to understand the nature of the challenges in those contexts and to assess various potential solutions. These two studies are also complementary in achieving a major advocacy point: The current Hukou system in China must be reformed fundamentally, not just for humanitarian and financial concerns, but also for healthy and more complete urban development. Accurate, consistent, systematic, and timely data for policy analyses in education reform, urbanization and city growth are critical for assessing current and future needs with respect to urban growth and for setting policy priorities to promote inclusive and equitable urban development. To improve quality access to education, both chapters agree that substantial reforms in the Hukou system should be the policy priority for the Chinese government. The section editor was very glad to know the Chinese government took another giant step to change the Hukou system further in China with a policy published on Dec. 12, 2015.

7.3.2 Part Two: Globalization, Immigration and Multicultural Education in Japan, Korea and Singapore

Globalization and increased immigration have brought new opportunities, as well as new tensions, to post-industrialized Asian societies such as Japan, Korea, and Singapore. However, these three countries have different national identities due to past colonial history and more recent immigration. According to Esman (1992), Japanese immigration policies in the past were driven by the desire to maintain "ethnic purity" and prevent overpopulation. The desire shaped the historical experience of Japan's historic minorities, largely the indigenous minority (the Ainu), which has suffered severe discrimination, and the historic immigrants – Koreans who were recruited as workers for Japanese industry in the early part of this century, and particularly during World War II. There are more than 700,000 Koreans living in Japan, of whom 85 % were born in Japan. Many are now in the third or fourth generation of settlement and speak Japanese fluently. For a long time, it was extremely difficult for foreigners to gain long-term residency rights and virtually impossible to become citizens. Tracing the nation's history of colonization, occupation and neocolonialism, the current immigrant population in Japan is a result of several factors: a colonial past that led to immigrant inflows (Japanese returnees) from neighboring Asian countries, current foreign labor inflow (including documented, undocumented, and overstayed-visa workers), and admission of refugee inflows and asylum-seekers from the Asian continent. As a result, many immigrants remain highly segregated and experience discrimination in employment, education, housing and eligibility for public services. The makeup of immigrant and minority populations in Korea and Singapore is also complicated. For example, Barr and

Low (2005) summarized the historical influences of the political, social, and economic policies implemented by the British colonial government on the division of the people of Singapore, then part of Malaya, into racial groups. The authors of all four chapters in this part provide systematic and detailed information regarding the shaping and reshaping of immigrant and minority populations.

Challenges in educating diverse student populations in Japan, Korea, and Singapore draw together a group of distinguished scholars who focus their attention on redefining multicultural education and national and group identity in fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh chapters in this section. While all four chapters trace historical and macro-policy discourses on the national issues affected by multiculturalism, diversity and identity, each chapter studies specific situations, policies, and events in an individual country. These chapters reveal the uneven multicultural development in policies and implementation across different countries and the needed policy and implementation steps to bridge the gap between various communities. These chapters also explain how to construct a deliberative framework to create a sustainable democracy with shared values of individual dignity, multicultural diversity and national unity (Kim 2013). They also make suggestions for considering a newer educational paradigm for multicultural education.

In her chapter “Transnational Migration and Urban Education in Japan,” Okano identified “how best migrant children can be integrated into the mainstream schooling and the host society” in Japan as one of the most pressing issues facing urban education. Focusing on transitions from primary education to secondary education and higher education in large urban areas in Japan, her chapter reveals that the retention rates beyond compulsory education for children of immigrants have remained substantially below the national average in spite of the efforts made on behalf of the national government, local education boards and individual schools. Using descriptive national data and data from her qualitative study in Dai Primary school, Okano argues that governmental school programs alone are not enough to address the problems and, supported by her study’s evidence, that free, migrant-specific out-of-school programs (e.g., remedial academic coaching and entrance examination preparation) play increasingly significant roles in filling the gaps. She reports that collaboration between local schools and out-of-school programs have emerged in some localities as effective measures in promoting migrant children’s participation in schooling. She further argues that the increasing visibility of free out-of-school programs for immigrant children may have directed public attention to children from poor native families who are similarly struggling at school.

The next two chapters provide a thorough discussion on Multicultural education in Korea. However, each chapter makes its arguments using different approaches with different methodologies: Chang’s chapter focuses on historical and institutional policy analyses, and Jo and Jung’s chapter makes their arguments based on philosophical, ideological, and theoretical perspectives. Chang, in her chapter “Multicultural Education in Korea” reviews the development of the history of, and existing research in, multicultural education, and conducts an analysis on multicultural education policies in Korea, along with a critique of the changing definition of “multicultural families.” With carefully assembled descriptive data

covering a period of over half a century and thoughtful analyses of relevant educational policies, Chang highlights her discontent over the definition of “multicultural” in Korea. Chang contends that multicultural education should be for all children and families in Korea, not just for immigrant and minority children and their families. Based on that belief, Chang strongly advocated for a new direction for policy development and implementation.

In a departure from Chang, based on a philosophical and ideological examination of concepts, theories, and educational policies, Jo and Jung’s chapter, “Rethinking Diversity in South Korea: Examining the Ideological Underpinnings of Multicultural Education Policies and Programs,” aims to answer questions such as how the Korean education system understands diversity and how that understanding manifests in the development and implementation of policies and programs. Jo and Jung discuss several major challenges to educators and the causes and responses from Korean society. They highlight the contradictory understanding of multiculturalism and national unity, and the underpinning of the concept of “cultural nationalism,” which emphasizes the notions of “homogeneity,” “unity,” and “solidarity,” but de-emphasizes notions such as “diversity,” “heterogeneity” and “difference.” The two authors also show how schools launch efforts to provide equal and equitable education to diverse student populations on one hand, and the pressures to prioritize the meritocratic and elitist traditions on the other. By examining multicultural education initiatives in three metropolitan South Korean cities – Seoul, Incheon, and Busan – Jo and Jung stress the progress and pitfalls of those efforts, as well as the ideology that informs them. They concluded that cultural nationalism promotes an agenda of assimilation and creates social hierarchies not only between Koreans and foreigners, but also among native South Koreans, North Korean border-crossers and returning ethnic Korean migrants from various diaspora. Similar to Chang, the two authors also made a fundamental call for true multicultural education for the entire population to expand the notion of Korean peoplehood to embrace the true diversity of Korea’s population.

In Chap. 14, “Educating All Children in Multicultural, Multilingual Singapore: The Quest for Equity Amidst Diversity,” Goodwill and Low discuss how Singapore’s government implemented integrative educational policies to cope with ethnic division and tension in post-colonial Singapore (Ho 2009), which represents a diverse mix of various racial groups, cultures, languages, and origins (mainly of people from China, Malaysia, and India). As a city state, Singapore constitutes an urban nation and an urban school system – that is, employing several educational policies to successfully enhance social cohesion and advance social mobility among its multicultural citizenry. Goodwill and Low’s chapter begins with a brief history of Singapore to establish a contextual baseline, then goes on to use Singapore as an illustrative case to address the challenges in implementing integrative equity and language policies and practices for different racial groups through major developmental programs such as English education and bilingual education, teacher training, and recruitment and retention programs. Grounding their narratives in concrete contexts as they examine specific policies and practices, Goodwill and Low will lend their experiences and lessons to educators in other systems.

The section editor would like to remind readers that although the trends of policy models in responding to immigration and education in Japan, Korea and Singapore evidenced in this book indicate a philosophical and policy transition from assimilationism to pluralist/multiculturalism, there have been substantial exclusionary and assimilationist movements in all developed countries, and multicultural models remain controversial (e.g., Castles 2009). There are obviously many unsettled arguments and lingering questions put forward by the chapter authors of this book and many other scholars. For example, scholars (e.g., Kim 2013) analyzed South Korea's recent transition toward a multicultural society by highlighting some of the key problems for immigrants with regard to inequality, worker rights and human rights. They argued that South Korean multicultural discourse remains within the framework of the hierarchical assimilation policies of the government. Ho (2009) suggested that Singapore – a young, heterogeneous nation-state faced with interracial tension and strife from its inception – has managed to balance the demands of creating a unified “imagined community” (Anderson 2003) supporting diversity and promoting global perspectives. However, like any multiracial heterogeneous state with historical constraints, Singapore also faces the same struggles regarding balancing the promotion of national identity, diversity, and global perspectives through education. These tensions between the national and the global, as well as between unity and diversity, remain highly relevant in today's Singapore, with vast diversities in an increasingly globalized world.

Overall, the section editor hopes these chapters leave readers with a critically deepened understanding of the education challenges that Asian countries have faced from a variety of perspectives with myriad contextual considerations. We hope our readers will develop new answers for some of the larger and interconnected questions, such as: Who has access to what levels of education, with what outcomes, and why? Have the changes in educational policies and practices in the last 30 or more years provided greater equality, equity, efficiency, and quality, and how? What are the future directions for the shifts in pedagogical paradigms and policies changes? What are the theoretical framework(s), analytical lens, guidelines and benchmarks that policy makers and practicing educators can use to deconstruct and restructure their education system to accommodate the changed and changing student population? What are the historical, philosophical, and ideological foundations for the reconstruction?

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Chapter 8

Engaging Identities and Cultures in a Globalized, Postcolonial India: Implications for Decolonizing Curriculum and Pedagogy

Nina Asher

Vignette 1

Towards the end of the first decade of this century, I (Asher 2009) wrote:

[O]n a research trip to Mumbai, India (where I was born and grew up), I was stunned to read newspaper articles that talked of many Indian students today not knowing who Mahatma Gandhi was. I wondered: Is this loss of history – a mere six decades after the end of colonial rule in India – an indication that we are now in “post-postcolonialism?” Or does it reflect the re-colonization of the “East” succumbing to the lure of global capitalism and consumerism shaped by the “West?” This summer, when teaching a graduate-level course ... in Louisiana, USA...., on “Curriculum and Teaching in a Global Context,” I was similarly stunned when my American students informed me that they did not know anything about the Vietnam War – a phase of recent history that certainly casts a long shadow over the US-American consciousness even today. (p. 1)

Vignette 2

In 2014, Gautam Bhatia (2014, December 3), an architect and sculptor, wrote in his editorial-page article, “Insecure and insular in urban India,” in the leading Indian daily, *The Hindu*:

In the design of a recent house in Delhi, I was intrigued by how the owner’s interest in the building was sustained merely by the gadgets that were part of the home. All rooms had air conditioners and humidifiers, each fitted with its own fridge, television and home entertainment, Internet, security and alarm system. A private lap pool and barbecue extended along the side of the house; four cars were parked in the driveway. Gadgetry proclaimed independence for all the residents of the house, while old ideas of comfort, familiarity family togetherness were all but forgotten.

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It is easy to see how in the past 20 years the idea of private ownership has had a huge debilitating impact on urban life. The city has changed from being a congenial space of shared amenities and relationships to a fearful nightmare of private strongholds and walled compounds – insecure, insular and isolated. (p. 8)

Vignette 3

Varun (pseudonym) – a participant in my 2014–2015 Fulbright-funded qualitative research project on globalization and education in “economically liberalized” India – who was completing a master’s degree program in education at a university in a major Indian metropolis, reflected:

...Also I reflect on how it impacts the upper section of society and also the lower strata. So, you see a lot of tablets and computers and the Bisleri [brand] water bottles in villages but there is no electricity there! So giving tablets and laptops – which have information [provided] by the think tanks, which has no connection with their culture – is an indication. So, [for instance] we were trying to have media coverage of the work we were doing in Rajasthan, but the roads were very narrow. Yet everything is reaching out there! There are banners, there is Coca Cola, there is tablet. That for me is globalization. It has always been there for a while. But now with economic liberalization, it is in your face.

...

You can’t avoid it in the metros [metropolitan areas]. There is an identity crisis. In a tribal village, I was using this phone. The girls there asked me how I could use such a[n outdated] phone and not a touch-screen. That reflects the perception of urban areas, the mindset and the burden of civilization. So luxury is now becoming a need. It is very scary.

Gautam Bhatia’s and Varun’s words speak eloquently, evocatively to the effects of globalization, privatization, and consumerism in relation to urban contexts and urbanization in India today. In this chapter, I discuss identities, cultures, and education in globalized, postcolonial, twenty-first-century India – highlighting specific considerations pertaining to urban contexts – by drawing on key theoretical and policy-related writings as well as media reports to frame the issues, drawing on Akash Kapur’s (2012) *India Becoming: A Portrait of Life in Modern India* as an illustrative study, and considering implications for decolonizing education work. In framing this discussion, I consider how capitalistic forces such as privatization, consumerism, and corporatization drive cultural and educational shifts in transnational contexts – specifically the U.S. and India.

Postcolonialism and globalization – in theory and in effect – are inextricably intertwined. Various scholars have noted the ambivalent, intertwined relationship of the colonizer and the colonized (e.g., Bhabha 1994; Fanon 1952/1967; Gandhi 1998) and the effects of the expansion of capitalist ideology and relations across the globe (e.g., Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Appadurai 1996; Prashad 2006). Of course, the postcolonial situation is not identical in all parts of the world. Nonetheless, transnational forms of colonial oppression are controlled by the spread of Westernized imperialism through the globalization of the labor market, new

technologies, and global financial markets. Such forces – construed as spheres of social, cultural, political, and economic influence shaping human interaction – also shape educational discourses and practices in transnational contexts.

For instance, in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Arjun Appadurai (1996) discussed the production of “locality ... in new globalized ways,” (p. 9), in terms of such concepts as “ethnoscape, financescape, technoscape, mediascape, and ideoscape,” (p. 45). For instance, “ethnoscape,” according to Appadurai, is “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live... [where] moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree” (p. 33). “Technoscape” is “the global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology ... that ... now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries” (p. 34). “Mediascape” refers to “the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information ... which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media” (p. 35). Financescape refers to the rapid, complex flows of global capital and ideoscape refers to political ideologies of states and counterideological movements. These “scapes,” construed as dynamic spheres of social, cultural, political, and economic influence that shape human interaction today, are also useful in considering the multiplex (multiple and complex), hybrid identities and cultures in the increasingly porous, oft-blurring locales of “East” and “West” today. The three vignettes at the beginning of this chapter provide apt illustrations.

Critical thinkers in the U.S. education field (e.g., Kumashiro 2008; Taubman 2009) have noted that the last two decades have been marked by individual monetary gain (often read as “wealth” and “success”), the facile, virtual proximity afforded by digitization, the spread of western-style capitalism and corporatization across nations, and the effects of escalating consumerism, debilitating economic collapses, and environmental depletion – all in a context of increasing global interdependence. They note that U.S. education and schooling are being shaped today by the spread of high-stakes testing and privatization. In his essay, “The global war against teachers,” Vijay Prashad (2006) discussed how the “ruling class” (p. 12), in order to maintain its power, works to spread its particular ideology of capitalism and democracy, not only shaping discourses of national identity and security but also silencing speech, including that of teachers with the demand that they “stick to the facts” (p. 12) and not teach in ways that question the status quo. Mediocrity that maintains systems of consumption and production becomes the goal, not intellectual endeavor that interrogates, critiques, re-visions.

8.1 Key Considerations Related to Education and Urban Contexts in “Economically Liberalized” India

Several scholars have discussed globalization and privatization in relation to education and urban contexts in India today in terms of such issues as the de-funding of government (i.e. “public” in U.S.-speak) schools, the growing privatization of education, evolving youth identities, and the renewed dominance of English as the language of economic success. In his editorial-page article, “Dispossession, development, and democracy” in the daily, *The Hindu*, Michael Levien (2015, February 4) wrote:

...[E]conomic liberalisation prompted State governments to start acquiring land for private companies on a large scale. *The reforms of the early 1990s gave a greater importance to the private sector, which began demanding land not just for manufacturing ..., but for real estate, mineral extraction, and all manner of infrastructure under public-private partnership (PPP) agreements* [emphasis added]. State governments, now competing with each other for this investment, began systematically acquiring land for private companies for almost any private purpose that constituted “growth,” whether elite housing colonies, hotels, *private colleges* [emphasis added] ... (p. 8)

In his detailed, unsparing historical overview of India’s educational policy, Anil Sadgopal (2009) traced the genesis and effects of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) engineered by the World Bank and UN. According to Sadgopal, “In March 1990, India signed the ‘*World Declaration on Education For All*’ and ‘*Framework for Action To Meet Basic Learning Needs*’ adopted at the World Conference on Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs,” held at Jomtien, Thailand under the joint sponsorship of three UN agencies (UNDP, UNESCO, & UNICEF) and the World Bank. The twin documents together known as the Jomtien Declaration have since become the chief strategic instrument of neo-liberal forces in school education. Per the Jomtien Declaration:

...the State *must ‘progressively’ abdicate* its Constitutional obligation towards education of the masses in general and *school-based* elementary education (Classes I–VIII) in particular, become dependent on external aid even for primary education (Class I–V) and work in partnership with NGOs, religious bodies, and corporate houses... (p. 9)

The call for external financing of primary education was part of the IMF-World Bank’s Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) and the Social Safety Net, rendering education “*a commodity* that can be traded in the global market and offered for WTO negotiations” (p. 10). According to Sadgopal (2009), given “the hidden agenda of privatisation” of the SAP:

... The undeclared but operative strategy ... was to *let the vast government education system (from schools to universities) starve of funds and, consequently, deteriorate in quality*. As the school quality would decline, resulting in low learning levels, the parents, even the poor among them, would begin to withdraw their children from the system. A sense of exclusion from the socio-economic and political space would prevail. (p. 12)

The consequent low enrollment in government schools would be claimed as the ground for declaring them ‘unviable.’ School campuses, Sadgopal (2009) noted,

“could then be converted into commercial ventures such as the fee-charging elite private schools or the shopping malls, especially in urban areas, as is the emerging phenomenon all over the country.” (p. 12)

Writing about the demise of the formerly accepted “civilizational superiority” of the West in the context of “a consumerist revolution occurring in India,” Dipesh Chakrabarty (2012) noted that the “politics of culture in India today cannot be separated from the presence of media and consumerism in Indian public life” (p. 149). This focus on individual freedom to consume marks an “emerging rich-poor divide” (p. 150). Indeed, such issues are reflected in recent policies and debates related to education in India. For instance, India’s 2005 National Curriculum Framework, or NCF, focused on the implications of “globalisation and the spread of market relations to every sphere of society” (National Council of Educational Research and Teaching [NCERT] 2005, p. 9) in terms of education in general as well as specific content areas. As per the NCF, “A pedagogy that is sensitive to gender, class, caste, and global inequalities ... also locates these within larger structures of power and raises questions such as, who is allowed to speak for whom? Whose knowledge is most valued?” (NCERT 2005, p. 24). While the NCF’s focus on critical thinking, technology, and constructivist approaches in education was recognized (e.g. Khirwadkar 2007; Pandey 2007), some also wondered if this shift away from some of “the fundamentals of India’s much vaunted education” indicated a “dumbing down” of the curriculum (Mishra et al. 2006). More recently, as per India’s 2010 Right to Education Act (RTE), the provision of “free and compulsory education of all children in the age group of six to fourteen years” has been declared a “fundamental right” (<http://mhrd.gov.in/rte>). However the RTE – like the 2001 No Child Left Behind mandate in the U.S. – has been critiqued as an unfunded, unregulated mandate, implemented in the context of privatization (Bhuyan 2013; Mehendale 2010), with student learning levels remain unacceptably low (Acharjee 2013).

In addition, scholarly works (Advani 2009; Lukose 2009; Rowe et al. 2013; Shahani 2008) as well as popular writings (Adiga 2008; Kapur 2012) have focused on the effects of economic liberalization including the schism between rural and urban India, internal as well as transnational migration to Indian cities, identities of urban youth, and the economic significance of learning English. For instance, discussing “gender, youth, and consumer citizenship in globalizing India,” Lukose (2009) described “the zippies of ‘India Rising,’” by quoting from *Outlook*, a leading weekly news magazine:

... [A] young city or suburban resident, between 15 and 25 years of age, with a zip in the stride. Belongs to Generation Z. Can be male or female, studying or working. Oozes attitude, ambition and aspiration. Cool, confident and creative. Seeks challenges, loves risks and shuns fear. Succeeds Generation X and Generation Y but carries the social, political, economic, or ideological baggage of neither. Personal and professional life marked by vim, vigour, and vitality (origin: Indian). (p. 5)

In her discussion of “language and the postcolonial predicament,” Advani (2009) noted that globalization has further consolidated the reign of English as the language that has afforded “access to metropolitan white-collar jobs” (p. 45) in India since it gained independence from the British, nearly seven decades ago. Her

analyses of Indian textbooks revealed the privileging of the urban middle class in depicting employment (e.g. doctors, lawyers, engineers) and the omission of such occupations as “weavers, potters, sweepers” (p. 119). Further, Advani noted:

Absent from the idyll of rural India, for instance, is any suggestion of its hardship. There are no floods or famine, no landlords and bonded labour, no failed crops or dispossession. Instead, as we have seen, the countryside is beautiful, and the best aspects of modernity are within reach of the peasants. ... Such a picture reiterates the schism between the (urban middle-class) readers of the textbook and those whose life it seeks to portray. (p. 118)

With this framing then, the key questions that I discuss in the paper is: How are globalization and privatization in economically liberalized, postcolonial India shaping identities, cultures, education? What are the related implications for resisting recolonization in terms of curriculum, teaching, teacher education, research, and theory/discourse?

Before proceeding further, I situate myself as a researcher and scholar between “East” and “West,” focusing specifically within and across the porous contexts/borders of India and the U.S. As a U.S.-based scholar of Indian origin who has studied and worked in both contexts for a long time, I now have deep knowledge of both cultures. My research and scholarly writings in education are in the areas of postcolonialism, feminism, critical perspectives on multiculturalism, Asian American studies, and, most recently, globalization. Educational researchers (e.g., Gonzalez 2004; Hall 1999; Lipman 2005) have called for research that attends to globalization, shifts in global power relations, and multiplex hybrid identities and cultures, even as it focuses on equity, social justice, and quality education. For instance, according to Hall (1999), “Critical to the study of globalization and shifts in global dynamics of power are concerns with the interrelationships among power, knowledge and identity” (p. 123). Researchers have also cautioned against the pitfalls of conducting research in global times shaped by “coercive pressures of transnational institutions, such as the IMF and WTO, to impose the dominance of the market on all countries and every sphere of social life” (Lipman 2005, p. 317). Calling for “politically engaged ethnography,” Lipman urges researchers to examine “relationships between cultural and social processes and policies in schools” through “educational ethnography that links micro with macro from an anti-imperialist, anti-neoliberal position” and “activist research aligned with teachers, students, and community members as they act against the effects of neoliberal economic and social policy, militarism, and repression” (p. 319).

8.2 India Becoming: Incredible, Shining, and Tigerish, Too

Economically liberalized India has gained the attention of “Western” media in the twenty-first century. The India of the “Raj” is replaced now in the Western imagination by an India that is supposedly “Incredible” and “Shining,” and, borrowing from Aravind Adiga’s (2008) award-winning novel (*The White Tiger*), tigerishly

entrepreneurial even as it struggles to emerge from a shameful history of caste-based oppressions and atrocities. Rapidly urbanizing, India is home to Bollywood, brilliant tech expertise, and, of course, that remarkable transnational lifeline on which so many of us depend in this age of globalization – the call center staffed with appropriately accented English-speaking young representatives (Gulati 2005; Rowe et al. 2013). It is also depicted as a nation in which women’s rights lag behind and contestations around LGBT rights continue, even as it became the first nation to recognize a third gender officially. Of course debates around women’s and LGBT rights and representations remain present in the “West.” For instance, while Australia as well as several countries in Africa, Asia, Central America, South America, and Europe have or have had women heads of state, the US and Canada have not so far. And the U.S. continues, of course, to struggle to emerge fully from a shameful history of slavery and racism. The uphill battle to desegregate schooling continues – 60 years after race-based segregation in public schooling was ruled unconstitutional in the U.S. in the landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* case in 1954.

Akash Kapur’s sensitively written *India Becoming: A Portrait of Life in Modern India* – published in 2012 by Riverhead/Penguin captures many of the tensions – at times ambivalent and contradictory – of class, caste, gender, culture, and identity, in an “economically liberalized,” postcolonial India. Kapur is himself biracial with transnational identifications, and began researching and writing the book upon his return to India in the twenty-first century after having spent over a decade and a half overseas (in the U.S. and the U.K.). One may read *India Becoming* as his search for the home to which he thought (hoped?) he was returning, his effort – through his researches – to make sense of a country that seemed to be trying to become like “America.” (The quotation marks underscore how the proper noun “America” is used as synecdoche to refer to the U.S. – which of course is just one nation in the Americas – South, Central, and North.) In the prologue Kapur noted:

It was to this new nation – this country where rice fields were giving way to highways, farmland to software complexes, and saris to pants – that I returned in 2003. I was coming home, but in many ways it was to a home I didn’t recognize anymore. (p. 3)

Through the stories of the people he featured in his book, Kapur reveals how globalization and corporatization are shaping identities, cultures, and geographies in an India that has forsaken socialism for capitalism; shrunk investment in farming, focusing instead on the tech sector and the global corporation; and opted to repurpose rural land, yielding instead to “the beckoning magic of the new colonial metropolis,” which “frames the mythic journey to the city” (Nandy 2001, p. viii). Indeed, *India Becoming* speaks eloquently to Appadurai’s five “scapes” and the related implications for development and education in the context of India today.

For instance, Harsh – one of the people featured in Kapur’s book, who works at an American software company in, where else, Bangalore – lets Kapur know that he was reconsidering his original plan to work abroad. “He’d started thinking it would be silly to leave India. Europe and America were the past, he said. The future was in places like Bangalore – in cities that heaved with ambition and entrepreneurship and opportunity” (p. 46).

As Kapur wrote about the “more general movement toward meritocracy” (p. 34), away from a feudal and caste-based India, he also documented the perils, pitfalls, and pernicious outcomes of development. For instance, his descriptions of the anger of villagers, the ecological depredation, and the loss and despair of farmers as they lost not only their land but also sources of livelihood and ways of being in the face of development that catered to those from cities. For instance, Kapur noted that while the East Coast Road between Chennai and Pondicherry had become a modern highway convenient for city-dwellers, it had also become the site of numerous accidents and fatalities among those living in the villages and communities in the region that until recently had been rural. He cited Puroshothaman, a former farmer, who had sold land that his family had farmed for generations.

“I slogged all my life on that land, and I only made a loss,” Puroshothaman said. “To see a city fellow come in, put a little paint on some stones and make a fortune in three months – how do you think that feels? Of course it creates ill feeling. This village is filled with that kind of feeling.” (p. 235)

Kapur described the “emerging national mythology” that “exalted entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur’s lifestyle, that venerated capitalism and wealth accumulation in the same way that India had once venerated public service,” (p. 54). This focus on individual freedom to consume marks an “emerging rich-poor divide” (p. 150). And yet it is this national shift in identifying with a culture of capitalism that has opened up opportunities for so many who may not have had access to them in decades past. Witness Varun’s observations, per Vignette 3.

For instance, Kapur talked about Hari, a 27 year-old man, originally from Tindivanam – “a market town about 120 km south of Chennai,” and “a crowded, dreary place,” that Kapur knew “mostly as a traffic jam on the way to Chennai” (p. 51). Hari had left home at age 17 and, when Kapur met him, was working in Chennai at “a multinational business that outsourced research to India” (p. 50). We learn that Hari knew that he was different, that he did not quite fit into his hometown. Kapur wrote: “He said he had learned English from watching television, and from reading books and pamphlets at this mother’s workplace. From a young age, he was determined to be fluent; he knew that English was his ticket out of Tindivanam” (p. 61).

The English language remains one of the contradictions with which postcolonial India/ns live. Professional success – within India, in transnational settings, and certainly in an era of global corporatism – is the gain even as one may lose one’s own native languages and cultures. Frantz Fanon (1967/1952) wrote eloquently in *Black Skin, White Masks* about the effects of colonization on language, psyche, culture, and body. Fanon was from the French colony of Martinique, studied in France, and wrote *Peau Noir, Masques Blancs* in the language of the colonizer to critique the objectification of the black man as a result of the white man’s gaze.

Returning to *India Becoming*, we learn later about another facet of Hari’s difference – he is gay. Kapur narrated that Hari returned to India after a stint for work in London “with a clearer sense of his identity” (p. 272). Kapur wrote, “We didn’t

have to talk about ‘that thing’ or ‘it’ or ‘the way I am.’ Hari was able to call himself ‘gay,’ to speak about himself as ‘homosexual’” (p. 272). So while Hari was on the one hand caught up in the lure of a material culture – so much so that he amassed considerable debts – on the other he was able to break out of the constraints of heteronormativity and the socioeconomic and cultural limits of the small town in which he grew up. Thus *India Becoming* reveals the “enabling and constraining dimensions of globalization,” (Dimitriadis 2008, p. 137) and the possibilities, challenges, and contradictions related to negotiating hybrid identities, cultures, and self-representations in twenty-first century urban India.

Thus, *India Becoming* reveals the opportunities, the individual and corporate success stories within and beyond the borders of the nation as well as the struggles, challenges, and losses experienced in the context of globalization and economic liberalization. The insights it yields speak to issues of identity and culture in terms of gender, culture, class/SES, region, and nation. In conversation with Vinod Shetty, a Mumbai-based, leftist labor lawyer and activist, Kapur realized “that one man’s freedom was another man’s prison” (p. 196). Citing, for instance, India’s tech industry as a “shining success story,” Kapur also noted that “it employed only a little over two million people” in “a nation of more than one billion people” (p. 196). Kapur wrote:

The same economic path that in so many minds had unleashed India, set it on a trajectory to self-sufficiency, to Vinod marked a kind of national enslavement. The nation’s reforms, he told me, had started “the mortgaging of India.” He said he’d seen what happened to other countries that followed the diktats of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. They became, in his view, “neo colonies.” (p. 196)

One may recall that British colonial rule in India grew out of the establishment of the East India Company. Launched as a trading company in the year 1,600, it came to rule large parts of India. So, globalization and colonialism, in some ways, are old hat. In which case – what is different in twenty-first century India? The scale, the speed, and the “beckoning magic” of the city. The widespread reach of uneven change, of consumerism’s duping, insidious lure even as access to technology affords great convenience to the individual consumer, vendor, student, teacher, and citizen. For instance, with reference to multinational retailers overtaking traditional bazaars (e.g. vegetable markets), Vinod discussed with Kapur the inevitability of “unemployment for small traders across the nation” (p. 197). “What was the use of efficiency, he asked, if it put millions of people out of work? Shouldn’t the main objective of economic reforms – of any economic policy – be to provide employment and livelihoods to its people” (p. 197)?

Perhaps at the heart of *India Becoming: A Portrait of Life in Modern India* is the question of “the sobriety and moral purpose of a country before it succumbed to the bland homogenization of twenty-first century capitalism” (p. 12), as Kapur notes in concluding his prologue. Of course, this question of purpose, of the identity and culture of a country or a civilization at its core, at its heart, has also been central to the work of generations of scholars, activists, educators, community organizers, cultural workers, and others, in battling colonial and economic exploitation, racism,

caste-ism, patriarchy, and the need to focus on the social good over individual and corporate greed for many decades now, in many parts of the world.

Over the decades, as a teacher educator in the U.S., I have raised these issues in relation to the U.S. context not only in graduate seminars but also in the required, undergraduate “multicultural education” courses. (I have written elsewhere about how and why there is often a great deal of resistance from students in these required multicultural education courses. See, for instance, Asher 2005, 2007). Time and again, undergraduate students in elementary education programs – who are majority white and female and typically come from small towns, with limited exposure to “diversity” and “multiculturalism,” to study at the massive, top, public research university in their state – have narrated stories of such losses of livelihood in their own families and communities when large corporations made it impossible for small businesses to survive. While these students may (for various reasons) resist engaging the intersecting issues of race, gender, class, and nation in critical, transformative ways, they are, typically, able to analyze the detrimental effects of global corporatism more narrowly, in terms of their own lives and communities. So corporate colonization, in addition to being old hat “here” in India is also old hat “there” in the West. So, what gives? What lessons are we forgetting? Or simply not learning? Why? And what can we do in terms of education work to emerge from colonization – old and new, here and there?

8.3 Decolonization and Education: Thoughts on Curriculum and Pedagogy in an Era of Globalization

The detailed documentation that Peter Taubman (2009) presents in *Teaching by numbers: Deconstructing the discourse of standards and accountability in education* speaks to the deleterious effects of such commodification and corporatization in the present-day U.S. educational context. For instance, Taubman argues that the “audit culture” (p. 88) shaping the discourse and practice of accountability has led to the “loss of ideals” (p. 151), such as racial integration and economic equity, and has fostered in teachers a “melancholia” (p. 151). Noting that education now “consists of preparing for constant job retraining – all those twenty-first century skills” (p. 100), Taubman asks:

How did we allow the language of education, study, teaching, and intellectual and creative endeavor to transform itself into the language and practices of standards and accountability? How did it happen that we approved the use of pervasive testing that would shock us into compliance? How did we become complicit in the erosion of our own power, and why did we embrace the advice of salesmen, financiers, corporate lawyers, accountants, and millionaires? What led us to think that if we applied practices imported from the world of business we could solve our educational problems, and how did we surrender our right to define those problems? How did we lose our way? (p. 128).

Once again, we come up against the question of a moral purpose. Perhaps it is because the single-minded pursuit of capitalism has overshadowed the commitment

to a true democracy in the U.S. Successful entrepreneurship on the part of individuals (read “becoming multi-millionaires and billionaires”) trumps an engagement with strengthening a society “of the people, by the people, for the people.” It follows then that the private outstrips the public, the individual eclipses the social, the common. And, now, in the era of globalization, much of the rest of the world – or so it seems – has bought into the capitalist enterprise. It is this capitalist enterprise that requires us, even in educational contexts, to produce and consume tangible products (for instance, standardized tests), judge achievement and progress by means of measurable, quantifiable outcomes (for instance, scores on standardized tests), and come up with “quick-fixes” to boost performance and productivity (e.g. NCLB and Race to the Top in the U.S. context). This enterprise then keeps us – students, teachers, administrators – occupied with tasks that take us away from deep thought and foundational work (focusing instead, for instance, on grants-driven research in order to secure tenure), from critical self-reflection and contingent analyses, from cultivating the ability to read the world critically, from building community to achieve such goals as equity and justice in school and society.

The implications of these issues are, indeed, global – not only because the “aftermath of colonialism” (Hickling-Hudson et al. 2004, p. 3) pervades the metropolitan countries that built empires as well as the former colonies but also because systemic inequities are increasingly evident across educational contexts shaped by global capitalism and discourses of economic efficiency, accountability, and standardization (Jain 2015; Taubman 2009).

For instance, specifically, with regard to education in India, Jain (2015) noted that curriculum, teaching, and educational research in India today are being shaped by “growing privatization” and “foreign universities,” driven by profit, that are establishing campuses in India (p. 129). In her critique of the “private school agenda ... driven by markets and profit” (p. 730), Nambissan (2010) discussed the need to address poverty in rural and urban contexts, attending to such factors as caste and gender. Scholars (Govinda and Josephine 2005; Jain and Saxena 2010; Sarangapani 2009) have also raised such issues as the expansion of “public-private partnerships” (PPPs), the increasing reliance on “para teachers” (teachers appointed on a contract basis), and low teacher salaries.

8.3.1 *Implications for Curriculum and Pedagogy*

Noel Gough (2004) recommended “building transnational coalitions for public education that critically and creatively translate, adapt and expand national democratic ideals into international educational purposes” (p. 4). Reflecting the temper of the times, he urged curricularists to bear in mind that they need to prepare “future labour for a *global* economy” and “citizens for an *international* polity” (p. 4). To that end, he suggested that we think in terms of both “continuities and changes” in the “sociotechnical systems” that produce curriculum work as well as in the diverse “publics for which such knowledge is produced” (p. 10), across national borders.

And, Sheppard and Nagar (2004) recommended engaging “in collaborative work with one another and students, with educators in our local schools and communities, and with actors located in the global South who most directly experience the downside of neoliberal globalization” (p. 561). Furthermore, within the U.S. context, scholars have brought our attention to the need to develop the “worldliness of curriculum studies” (Miller 2005), build coalitions across different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups (Lam 2006; Ono 2005; Smith 1983/2000) in order to work towards social transformation, and map new mobilities and imagined geographies of place and networking that are influencing learning in a digital age (Leander et al. 2010). While these critical, theoretical analyses are pertinent to rethinking teacher education to foster critical global literacy, research- and practice-based analyses rarely appear in extant literature in either the U.S. or India.

Vignette 4: Pedagogical Challenges

Following constructivist thought and working to build from where the students are, I have used (along with other texts) an edited volume, *Rethinking globalization* (Bigelow and Peterson 2002), as a springboard for discussing issues such as global interdependence, consumerism, and the implicatedness of the “West” and the elite classes – the socioeconomically privileged – in relying on the exploitation of child labor in the “Third World.” (While these issues/analyses may seem facile and obvious to critical scholars for most of the preservice teachers in my classes, they are eye-opening.) Several of the articles in *Rethinking globalization*, written by K-12 teachers who draw on examples from their teaching practice, reveal – in accessible language – how different cultural frames as well as social and economic policies inform patterns of production and consumption in different parts of the world.

In the summer of 2010 (when I last taught the course), as we discussed the readings, the 35 students (1 African American woman, 3 Multiracial women of Color of Central/South American heritage, 30 White women, and 1 White male) began engaging Freire’s (1982) notion of “conscientization” and the concept of unlearning us-and-them binaries to arrive at in-between spaces so that we might recognize and build upon *both* commonalities and differences. Such learning reflected good progress. At the same time, several students were unable to accept the fact stated in one of the readings in *Rethinking globalization* that the U.S. is one of the two member nations (the other being Somalia) that have not ratified the U.N. Children’s Convention, pertaining to the rights of the child. Several of the students repeatedly said that they could not see why the U.S. would not do so. They surmised that how the document is worded could be the only possible reason. Despite reading critical texts and engaging in class discussions, they could not come to grips with the thought that the U.S. might actually be interested in keeping things as they are, rather than supporting efforts to end the exploitation of child labor.

But, in all honesty, one cannot count on one 15- to 16-week course alone to bring about lasting change in every student enrolled. With reference to the education field, Hickling-Hudson et al. (2004), writing out of Australia, noted that contemporary conditions of neoliberal capitalism have made for a limited conception of educa-

tional change and transformation. And I have argued that multiculturalism in the U.S. remains within a frame that situates “the White, Western, heterosexual, upper-class individual at the mythic center and others – queer, “ethnic” or in some way different – in their designated marginal locations” (Asher 2007, p. 70). Although multicultural education courses are now regularly required as part of the teacher education curriculum in the U.S. and the language of “multiple perspectives” and “cultural relevance” is widely used, stereotypic representations of diverse “others” persist in schools, classrooms, texts, and communities. Of course, our only recourse is to continue to persevere – in terms of theory, research, practice, and policy – in thoughtful, recursive ways.

Specifically in the context of India – with its mind-boggling cultural and linguistic diversity – educators and policy-makers will need to work to realize the RTE, especially in the context of increasing privatization marked by an erosion of government-funded schooling and the rise of elite and International Baccalaureate (IB) schools in urban areas. Curriculum and pedagogy, undergirded by critical, multicultural, and self-reflexive approaches will need to address issues pertaining to poverty, social justice, equity and indigenous knowledges, in systematic ways – in urban and rural contexts. And educational research and discourse will need to interrogate further the “recolonization” of language, identity, and schooling due to globalization and privatization and focus on illuminating viable alternatives.

8.3.2 *Rethinking Discourses and Difference Towards Transformation*

In her widely cited essay, “The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house,” Audre Lorde (1984) reminded us that we need to “recognize difference as a crucial strength” (p. 112). In the three decades since, a number of postcolonial and feminist scholars (e.g. Anzaldúa 1987; Bulbeck 1998; Connell 2007; Mohanty et al. 1991; Trinh 1989; Weedon 1999) have made significant contributions in terms of engaging difference. For instance, in her influential essay, “Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourse,” Chandra Mohanty (1991) argued for the need to critique the colonizing, hegemonic discourses of Western feminisms and at the same time address “the formulation of autonomous, geographically, historically, and culturally grounded feminist concerns and strategies” (p. 51). And in developing the powerful concept of a “*mestiza* consciousness,” Chicana, *tejana* feminist poet and writer, Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), reminded us:

The struggle is inner: Chicano, *indio*, American Indian, *mojado*, *mexicano*, immigrant Latino, Anglo in power, working class Anglo, Black, Asian – our psyches resemble the border-towns and are populated by the same people. The struggle has always been inner, and is played out in the outer terrains. Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society. Nothing happens in the “real” world unless it first happens in the images in our heads. (p. 87)

And Kelly Oliver (2004) noted that decolonization also entails, along with large-scale resistance movements, “psychic revolts that can take place in the everyday lives of ordinary people who resist domination” (p. 35).

Thus the work is both outer/systemic and also inner/psychic. Therefore, critical, self-reflexive scholars, educators, and cultural workers in multicultural, globalized twenty-first century contexts need to continue to: critique historical and extant relations of power; validate multiplicities within and across contexts; remain open to contradictions and engage ambivalent tensions; and engage discourses and pedagogies in relation to context. Such perseverance fosters equity and justice – here *and* there, in India *and* in the U.S., in relation to urban *and* rural contexts.

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Chapter 9

The Education Issues of the Children of Internal Migrant Workers in China

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The decades after 1979 have been the golden age for the Chinese economy. With the rapid development of the export industry, the GDP of China has experienced continuous growth from 261 billion US dollars in 1979 to 10,361 billion US dollar in 2014. This “miracle” was largely due to the contributions of the Chinese low-cost surplus labor forces from the rural area, as well as the continuous implementation of the Reform and Opening-up Policy since Deng Xiao Ping’s era. Of particular importance is that the internal migrant workers mainly power the growth of Chinese export industry and Chinese GDP.

Before the implementation of Reform and Opening Up Policy in 1979, China’s urban development was slow—from 1950 to 1978, the percentage of the urban population of China only increased from 11.2 % to 17.9 % (Wu 2004). This was due to the restriction of the planned economic and household registration system. From the beginning of the Reform and Opening Up till now, China has experienced blooming urbanization—from 1979 to 2011, the percentage of the urban population increased from 18.96 % to 51.27 % of China’s total population, China is right in the middle stage of a rapid urbanization process (Wang 2013). National Bureau of Statistics of People’s Republic of China (2015a) reported that in 2014, China’s urbanization rate has reached 54.77 %. The rapid urbanization in the past 36 years was largely due to the internal rural-to-city migration. Rural-to-city migration has already brought millions of poor peasants to the cities. According to National Bureau of Statistics of People’s Republic of China (2015b), in 2014, the number of internal migrant workers was 273.95 million, which was a 1.9 % increase from 2013.

Many internal migrant workers also brought their children (the migrant children) to the cities with them due to the severe poverty and safety issues as well as problems to find adequate child care and other difficulties in the rural areas they left (Lv

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2007). The schooling issues of migrant children surfaced as late as mid-1990s, when large numbers of young migrant workers had children or began to bring their children with them to the cities. By 2007, across the whole country, the number of children whose parents were migrants had increased to 28 million. Of these 28 million children, 22 million were left behind in their home villages while at least 6 million were in the cities (Liang and Chen 2007). And by the end of 2013, the number of migrant school-age children in the cities climbed to 12.77 million and this accounts for 9.3% of the total school-age children receiving compulsory education (Xinhua News Agency 2014).

With the increasing number of migrant children arriving in the cities, guarding their rights to receive free compulsory education in their destination cities has become an important agenda for the Chinese government at all levels. However, due to its decentralized fiscal and education system, the problems of migrant children have not been fully resolved. Some rural migrant children still have difficulties in accessing the public schools in their destination cities.

According to Li (2010, p. 175–187), the public school attending rate for the rural migrant children in the urban area ranged from 65% to 85%. That means 15–35% of migrant students still cannot attend public schools in the cities. And 3 years later, according to Du (2014), the vice minister of Education Bureau of China, in 2013 there were 12.77 million rural migrant children in the cities; 80.4% of them attended public schools in their destination cities. The rest of the migrant children have to either attend the low-quality private migrant schools in the cities or not attend school at all.

The other disadvantages that the migrant children have had is that they cannot be equally admitted to the local colleges and universities in their destination cities compared with the local urban children. Most migrant children, even if they have lived in their destination cities for many years with their parents, still cannot take their College Entrance Exam in their residential cities. They must return to their rural hometowns to take the exam, because they do not have Household Registration Certificate (Hukou) of their residential cities.

In China, nearly all of the top-notch universities (such as universities that participate in the government-funded 211 Project) are located in the major cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. These universities usually have specific policies that favor the enrollment of local students, i.e. make local urban students with Hukou much easier to be admitted than the students from outside (Ji Nan Shi Bao 2012). So, when the internal migrant children were required to go back to their rural hometown to take the College Entrance Exam, they were denied by their residential cities the same benefits in the college admission that the native urban students with Hukou had.

To tackle the schooling access and quality assurance for rural to city migrant children, this chapter aims to answer the following two major questions:

1. To what extent are the migrant children able to equally access the public education resources (e.g. public schools and equal opportunities to be enrolled by the local colleges and universities) in their destination cities compared with the

urban children from 1990s to now? What are the major obstacles? How have those obstacles been removed (or not removed) in recent years? Why?

2. What were public policies developed for the education of rural migrant children in the urban areas from 1996 to 2013?

To address these questions, this paper will present and analyze the existing research literatures regarding the educational issues of migrant children in various years, and the studies on the difficulties faced by the rural migrant children when they attend the public schools in their destination cities, as well as the poor conditions of the schools run by immigrants.

9.1 Historic Background of Migration, Rural Migrant Workers and Migrant Children in China

The term “internal migrants” refers to the people who move within the national borders (Bi and Szente 2010). According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (2014), in 2013 more than 260 million people in China were internal migrants, this number accounts for about 18% of the Chinese population, most of them had come to the major cities from the rural area. They work in the big cities doing all kinds of labor or drudgery that the normal city dwellers would not do and often receive a much lower salary than the local urban workers.

The children of the migrant workers are commonly called the migrant children. They may be born in the destination cities of their parents or in their parents’ rural hometowns. Because of the working status of their parents, most of them are not legitimately able to get a Household Registration Certification (Hukou) in their parents’ destination cities, so that they often cannot get equal treatments in their destination cities as compared to the native urban children in terms of equal educational access, quality assurance, etc. in terms of the free 9 years’ compulsory education (K-9), and the right to receive high school education (10–12 grade) in their destination cities, as well as the advantage of college admission.

The increasing number of internal migrant workers and children arriving in the big cities is the result of the largest urbanization movement in human history in any country, which was caused largely by Chinese economic reforms (Wang 2013). From the 1980s, when the Chinese government started to reform the central planned economy, it began to allow farmers to keep and sell their agricultural products in the market. This reform has greatly improved the peasants’ incentives and enthusiasm to do farming, as well as increased the agricultural productivity of rural areas. The rural areas did not need more agricultural labor, so surplus labor forces developed in the rural areas.

In 1980s, the “Reform and Opening Up” has entered a new stage. In order to develop a market-oriented economy and participate in the economic globalization, the government began to allow private sectors and foreign enterprises to participate in the national economy as well as lifted the ban on the internal migration by

allowing the rural peasants to be employed, open small business and even temporarily live in the cities. As a result, private factories and enterprises have been established in the towns and cities. These private enterprises have absorbed the surplus labor force from the rural areas. For decades, with the hardworking of the internal migrant workers, China has become “the factory of the world” producing inexpensive clothes, shoes, furniture, consumer electronic and home appliance that take a lion’s share in the world market.

These migrant workers made great contributions to the development of Chinese economy, but they received the lowest salaries in the cities. For example, in Beijing, the average monthly income of migrant workers is 2500 RMB, barely a living wage in the cities (Beijing Youth Newspaper 2012), while the people’s average income in Beijing of 2012 is 3,039 RMB per month (China News Network 2013). In Canton Province, which has the largest number of migrant workers (26 million) in China, the average monthly income of its migrant workers is 40 % less than the local urban dwellers, although they spend 50 % more time on their work than the local urban workers.

In addition, because of the restriction of the Household Registration Certificate, the migrant workers’ families face other types of discrimination in their destination cities and cannot acquire the same social welfare services as the native urban residents have enjoyed. These social welfare services include healthcare, education rights, retirement benefits and employment insurance as well as other employment related rights to jobs affiliated with government agencies at all levels. Among these inequalities, the most unacceptable one is that the migrant children cannot get access to high quality public education in the destination cities. Although the Chinese national government has urged the local urban government to guarantee the education rights of the migrant children in the cities, the local urban government, driven by their private interests, still set many obstacles for internal migrant children to have access to the high quality education resources in their destination cities.

9.2 The Educational Issues of Migrant Children

9.2.1 The Household Registration System (Hukou) and the Access to Urban Local Public School for the Migrant Children

Migrant children face administrative and financial obstacles in attempting to attend public schools in many cities. Among these obstacles, the Household Registration System is the major one. It was established in 1954, when the Chinese government began to implement planned economy (Li 2013). The major benefit of Hukou is that it makes easier for the government to manage the migration of its population and maintain public security and stability, especially after the ending of Chinese civil

war (1946–1949). China uses Hukou system to divide Chinese citizens into urban and rural residents, and separating the rural and urban residents in the aspect of accessibility and distribution of the social resources, products, welfare and services since 1950s (Qiao and Gong 2014). The Hukou is the internal passport system of China (Yiu 2014) and it is the biggest barrier of migrant children receiving equal education opportunities. Under typical circumstances, a person with rural Hukou status is not eligible for state services in the urban areas (including attending public or state schools in the city) (Montgomery 2012). In addition, the Hukou is primarily inherited from one's parents at the time of birth. Even if a child was born in the city, as long as their parents are rural Hukou holders, the child's Hukou is still registered in the same rural area where their parents registered. Thus the child still cannot enjoy the state services the other city residents are entitled to.

Administrative barrier are also major obstacles for migrant children to attend the public schools in the cities. There are some exceptions for which it is hard to qualify. In recent years (2015), some cities, such as Beijing and Shanghai, allow migrant children who do not own a local Household Registration Certificate to attend the local urban public schools as long as they have five certificates.

The five certificates include their parents' working certificate and temporary resident permits in the destination city, all family members' Household Registration Certificate, a house rental certificate in the city, as well as the certificate to prove that there is no one who can take care of the migrant children in their rural hometown (Beijing Municipal Government 2015). However, this underestimates what is actually required. The parents of migrant children may actually need to collect as many as 28 certificates because under umbrella of each item of the 5 certificates, there are many smaller certificates (Zhou 2015). For example, their parents' working certificate actually includes their working contract, their social insurance payment receipts, their employers' enterprise business license as well as the enterprise title number. The house rental certificate will include a house rental contract, rental tax payment receipts, utility fee payment receipts, house owners' ID and house owners' house ownership certificate. In addition, the parents of migrant children will also need to produce a marriage certificate, a population planning certificate and if they have two or more children, they also need to produce the certificate that they have paid the fine (social compensation fee) for their extra birth of the children (Goodburn 2009). The migrant children will also need to have a health certificate and an immunization record (Bi and Szente 2010).

To make matter worse, in the city of Beijing, even if some migrant children can successfully collect the 28 certificates, urban public schools can still deny those migrant students because of the limitation of the school's capacity (Yang 2015).

Before 2006 when the central government had yet to forbid the collection of temporary schooling fees and sponsor fees from the migrant children, the migrant children had to pay the fees from which most urban children are exempted if they wanted to attend any public school in their residential cities—which they usually cannot afford.

9.2.2 *Migrant Schools for the Migrant Children*

Many migrant children have to attend migrant-run schools until they reach the age of 12 when they will be sent back to their hometown in the rural areas to attend schools there. These migrant-run schools are normally unlicensed and the facility conditions are usually very poor. These migrant schools are founded by the private and for-profit groups, and they do not follow the standards and regulations required by the Ministry of education.

Goodburn (2009) studied those underground “black schools” for the migrant children in Beijing, and she found that these schools try to follow the state curriculum as much as possible but the biggest problem is a lack of high quality school teachers. Many teachers in the migrant schools had educational levels only slightly above that of their pupils. As mentioned by Kwong (2004), a study of 114 migrant schools in Beijing found over 65 % of teachers had no teaching experience and some had been construction workers, street hawkers, cooks, vegetable farmers, childcare workers and janitors. Also many migrant schools did not have facilities to offer some non-examination subjects such as PE, music and arts. Many private migrant schools served a large number of migrant students but the infrastructure is very poor. As Kwong (2011) mentioned that in 2000, there were 300 migrant children’s schools in Beijing with almost 80,000 migrant children attending and in 2008 about 134,000 students attended migrant schools. These migrant schools were often housed in abandoned warehouses, dilapidated buildings or even on open land. Some had no playgrounds, others no running water, and usually 50–80 students huddle in one classroom with poor lighting. It is surprising that the migrant children almost have never complained about the poor facilities in the private migrant schools. It may be that they were accustomed to the poor conditions at home, as well as to the schools’ poor physical environment. In many studies, the migrant school was described as a type of private-run, low-quality and inadequately funded schools without permanent addresses (Xiao 2011). Due to the poor facilities and extremely low education quality, most of the private migrant schools were on the verge of been completely shut-down. Some migrant schools survived over time, but they had to frequently change their school locations in order to avoid government inspection (Kwong 2004).

The ordinary public schools have better facilities, teaching staffs, curriculum, teaching and learning materials, while those segregated migrant schools were much more likely to have overcrowded classrooms, employed poor performing teachers, and provided a less nurturing atmosphere. Thus, the migrant children in the ordinary public schools tended to have higher achievement, higher self-worth, and better social competence (Lu and Zhou 2013). Urban public schools should admit all children without making distinctions. Education is a most important basic public service, and thus it should be accessible to everyone regardless of their place of origin, residential permission and social economic background.

9.2.3 Other Major Challenges to the Schooling of Migrant Children in the Cities

According to the research conducted by Mok et al. (2011) and Wang and Holland (2011), there are several other major challenges to the migrant children attending schools in their destination cities.

The most obvious one was the discontinuity of schooling experience due to the high mobility of migrant children. Migrant children belong to the floating population. Their parents changed jobs frequently, and they followed their parents to go to different cities, and attended schools in the cities where their parents work at (Mok et al. 2011). As mentioned by Wang and Holland (2011), migrant children were more likely to make schools transfer than local urban students. Further, the mobility rate of migrant children in migrant schools was higher than the migrant children in the public schools. The percentage of migrant children enrolled in the migrant children schools for 2 years or less was as high as 71 %, while the percentage of migrant children enrolled in the public schools for 2 years or less was 35 %. Moreover, even when in the public schools, the mobility of migrant children was much higher than that of local children.

The direct consequence of the high mobility of migrant children was that they had difficulties in catching up with the coursework. Schools in different regions vary in their curriculum, quality of teaching staffs and facilities. The quality of education varies across different regions of China. The different learning experiences and school environments may create great difficulties for migrant children to adjust to a new urban school if they make school transfers frequently.

The other challenge faced by the migrant children is that even if some of them have been admitted in urban public schools, they will be assigned to the public schools with the poorest facilities in the cities or in the suburban areas of the cities (Kunming Daily 2014).

Segregation and tracking within public school disadvantages migrant students in many ways. First, migrant students will likely be assigned to a separate class with other migrant children and apart from local urban students. In China, public schools usually assign children into different classes based on their academic performance. Because many migrant children have not received high quality formal education before they come to the urban public schools, their academic knowledge foundation is significantly less strong than the local urban students. As a result, their academic performance is usually lower than the urban students and they are likely to be assigned to a special class designated for them only.

Tracking migrant students into a special class actually does not bring any comfort to the migrant children and their parents. As reported by Kunming Daily Newspaper (2014), a representative member of National People's Congress of Yunnan Province mentioned that migrant workers spared no effort in getting their children to attend urban public schools. Yet, when they finally managed to get their children into the public schools, they found their children actually faced discrimination. For example, their children were often placed in a separated class or did not

have official school-record in the urban public schools. This congressman mentioned that the separation actually hurt the feelings of the migrant children and their families. Separating migrant children to a special class would not enable their adaptation to the urban public school environment. And on the contrary, it is a new form of discrimination for them.

The third problem is that the governments of the cities shut down many “unqualified” private migrant schools, even while some urban public schools were still closed for many migrant children.

The local government may have had a hidden political consideration regarding the closing of the private migrant schools and not completely solving the schooling issues of the migrant children in the destination cities. As mentioned by Kwong (2004), the local urban governments were afraid that resolving the problems relating to migrant children’s schooling would encourage more migrants to move into their jurisdiction and bring with them more social and educational problems.

According to Kwong (2004), the Chinese government at different levels has to consider the issues of social benefit allocations between the rural and urban dwellers. They may worry that the rural people could take too many urban resources in education and the urban dwellers might complain.

But on the other hand, we should consider why so many migrant children want to attend the private migrant school in the cities (not the public schools in their hometown) even if those schools are in a very low quality. The answer is clear. The rural areas are extremely poor and rural public schools are of the worst quality of all even compared with those banned illegal migrant schools in the cities. The urban areas may have sufficient funds to finance the development of their urban education, while the poor rural areas do not have money to improve their education system and infrastructure. The decentralized administrative and fiscal system has enlarged the disparity between the urban and rural area.

9.3 Beyond Compulsory Education

9.3.1 *Migrant Children Are Not Allowed to Take College Entrance Examination in Their Residential Cities*

The most important examination for the students in China is definitely the College Entrance Examination. As the only gateway to the tertiary education for most of the high school students in China, this exam will stream high school graduates into different professional and vocational tracks as well as different levels of higher education. However, this exam stratifies the population.

Due to the restrictions of their Hukou and the prejudices of the local urban governments, most of the children of migrant workers cannot sit for the college entrance examination in their destination cities, and they have to return to their place of origin to take the exam. As mentioned by Yuan (2012), the former Minister of

Education of China, migrant children and their parents must meet at least three requirements (三大准入) if they want to sit for the College Entrance Examination in their destination cities: (1) the parents must have stable jobs, stable income, paid a variety of social insurances, and have lived in the cities for a long period of time; (2) The migrant children themselves must have attended in the urban public school for certain consecutive years; and (3) The parents must work for the industries essential to the destination cities. Furthermore, each city was allowed to develop their own regulations for the migrant children to attend the college entrance exam in their residential cities.

This regulation provoked wide criticism from the general public, general public criticized the policy as protecting the interests of the native urban dwellers, and neglecting the education rights of migrant children, because it still permitted obstacles for many migration children in taking the exam in their residential cities (China Economy 2012). The floating migrant workers change their job frequently, and their salaries fluctuate drastically depending on their working places. Further, they may move to different working places. As a result, almost none of the migrant children could meet this standard. Actually this regulation made it almost impossible for the rural migrant children to sit for the exam in their destination cities. Ye (2012, p. 1) denounced the privileges of the urban students, he said “why did the urban citizens have the privileges? And why did not the rural students have the rights that they deserved to have? The urban citizens of Beijing and Shanghai have enjoyed the privileges for many years, why should we continued to allow them enjoy their privileges? Are the migrant children and children from rural areas not the citizens of China? Why shouldn’t we provide the migrant children equal treatments in the cities?”

As mentioned by Xinhua News Agency (2014), of 12.77 million migrant children in the cities, only 4,444 migrant students nationwide were allowed to take the examinations in their destination cities in 2013. Since the percentage was so small, it was obviously that the former Minister of the Education made a compromise when he made the regulations for the interests of native urban dwellers and sacrificed the interests of the migrant children in the cities. This is a major discrimination imposed on the migrant children.

The city governments were not interested in solving the issue of the college entrances examinations for the migrant students. If they allowed the rural migrant students to take the exam in the cities of Beijing and Shanghai, it would have encouraged more rural migrant students to come to take the exam in these cities. As a result, many rural migrant students would have been able to enroll in high quality urban universities. This would make the college enrollment more competitive. As a result, many local students who have Hukou would have lost the opportunities to be enrolled by the high quality local colleges and universities. The vice Minister of Education, Du Yu Bo, mentioned that:

In order to solve the College Entrance Exam problem of migrant children, we should not only consider the needs of these rural migrant students, but also not influence the interests of the local urban students of Beijing and Shanghai. (Modern Education Newspaper 2012, p. 1)

Actually, most of the cities only considered the needs of the local students. For example, in Beijing, although the city in 2013 began to allow some of the migrant children who met their requirements to sit for the college entrance examination there, the migrant children faced great discriminations when the local colleges and universities admitted students. Even if the migrant children get very high scores on the exam, they were not allowed enrollment in the bachelor programs of the universities. Instead they are only allowed to attend the low or medium level vocational or technical schools that the local urban students would never prefer to attend. In Shanghai, the plight of the migrant children was a little better than those in Beijing, for it allowed minimal number of migrant children whose parents met the special requirements attend the exam in Shanghai and enjoy equal college admission opportunities. However, for the vast majority of the migrant children whose parents did not meet the requirements, like in Beijing, they were only allowed to attend low-level vocational or technical schools regardless of their exam scores (China Education Online 2012).

It is very interesting to note that the China's practice of allocating rural migrant children to the vocational and professional training institutes was very similar to the US' practice after the Civil War in the US history. The Tuskegee Institute focused on cultivating practical vocational and trade skills of the African Americans, and this practice brought severe criticisms from many prominent African-American as well as educationists such as W.E.B. Dubois (College View 2014).

Even today, China still follows this discriminatory practice by channeling its migrant children to the vocational and technical schools. The outcomes of this policy may have resulted in a new generation of migrant children who will continue to work in the labor-intense industries (e.g., construction, sweat factories, etc.) and have little hope for social mobility.

9.3.2 Major Laws or Regulations Relevant to the Schooling Issues of Migrant Children

Historically speaking, Chinese cities with large number of internal migrant population were likely to fail to guarantee the education rights of migrant children because there had been no law to guarantee their educational rights until 1996.

Although the first *Compulsory Education Law* was published in 1986, it was not until 1996 that the central government (the State Council of People's Republic of China) began to consider the rights of internal migrant children to receive free compulsory education in their destination cities. According to *1986 Compulsory Education Law*, the government had responsibilities to provide free 9 years of compulsory education for the children who reach the schooling age (5–6). Governments of all levels received funding from central authorities and the local government were to use their own local budgets to provide education only for the local students who are registered as the residents of their locality (Xia 2006). The internal migrant

children were usually not considered as the residents of their destination cities because the migrant workers' families usually did not own the Household Registration Certificate of their destination cities. Without this certificate, they would forever be the temporary urban residents no matter how many years they had worked and lived in the cities. So, *1986 Compulsory Education Law* failed to legitimize the education rights of the migrant children from the rural areas who "temporarily" settled in the city with their parents. If the migrant children wanted to attend schools in the city area, they had to pay for their own education in the city. Although after 1996, other education laws tried to protect the education rights of internal migrant children, the migrant workers' families still faced many limitations as well as restrictions in access to the public education resources in the cities.

The government did not realize the schooling problems of migrant children until mid-1990s. In 1996, a *Provisional Acts Regarding the Education of School-age Children of Floating Population* (城镇流动人口中适龄儿童少年就学办法 (试行)) was enacted by the central government. This provisional act discouraged the rural migrant children from receiving compulsory education in the schools of the cities. It stipulated that state-run (public schools) only enroll children who hold local residence permits, which was nearly impossible for migrants to obtain at that time (Liang and Chen 2007).

Two years later (1998), the central government issued another *Temporary Regulation on the Schooling of the Migrant Children* (流动儿童少年就学暂行办法). This regulation, for first time, stipulated that governments at both the migrant origin and destination have the responsibility of providing education to migrant children (Liang and Chen 2007). According to the clause 3 and 7 of this regulation, migrant children who did not have guardians in their place of origin can temporarily attend the public or private schools in their destination cities (SCAU, College of Public Management 2011). However, the biggest problem with this regulation was that it allowed the destination urban public schools to charge Temporary Schooling Fees because the migrant children only "temporarily" attend the public schools in the destination cities. In addition to the "Temporary Schooling Fees", this law did not prevent the local urban schools from charging other exorbitant fees such as Sponsor fees. When this regulation was implemented, it actually encouraged local cities charge more fees from the migrant students. Migrant children come from the low-income families, they could not afford the Temporary Schooling Fees, Sponsor fees and many others (Cui 2003).

For example, in the capital city-Beijing, the local public schools charged rural migrant children a series of fees. These fees included an education compensation fee, a temporary schooling fee (placement fee), a miscellaneous fee, and a sponsor fee on top of their tuitions. When all of these fees were added together, they could range from 4,000 RMB to 6,000 RMB a year. It was a large sum of money for a lot of migrant workers' families with average annual income in 2002 of no more than 10,000 RMB (Goodburn 2009; Mok et al. 2011).

Fu (2011), Bi and Szente (2010), and Xia (2006) have mentioned that the migrant children in the city who want to attend the high quality public schools in the city center had to pay so called a "Temporary Schooling Fee (jie du fei)" which local

urban students were exempted from, as well as various donations and surcharges. The amount of those fees varied based on the reputation and location of the schools and they could be as high as 50 thousand yuan (equivalent to \$7,500) per year (Bi and Szente 2010). Thus many migrant children were prevented from going to the public schools because their family could not afford those expenses.

However, even when the new Compulsory Education Law came into effect in 2006 stressing the equal education rights between the local students and migrant students, many schools in the urban areas still charged migrant students the illegitimate temporary schooling fee (Xia 2006; Goodburn 2009). Even today in Beijing, according to Yang (2015), if the migrant children want to attend popular public schools or key schools, they have to pay a hefty “sponsor fee” which is far beyond the economic ability for most of the migrant families. The “sponsor fee” is said to be paid by the parents voluntarily, but everyone knows the “rules”. The sponsor fee is normally 100,000 RMB (16,666 US Dollar) and can be as high as 250,000 RMB (41,666 US Dollar) depending on the popularity and reputation of the school. The “sponsor fee” targets to the children who do not live in the school zone of the high quality public school, and it is not limited to the migrant children from the rural areas. But there is no doubt that almost none of the migrant children could afford the fee and even many native residents are not able to afford it.

The local urban public schools and local governments also had no interest to implement this regulation because it required the local government to use their own education budget to support the education of migrant children. Thus, this regulation in some ways actually restricted the education rights of rural migrant children in the urban areas.

In 2001, the central government issued the “*Decision on the Improving and Reforming on the Basic Education* (关于基础教育改革与发展的决定 2001)”, this decision stipulated that the migrant children should be placed under the jurisdiction of the government of the destination cities, should mainly attend local urban public schools, and that the local governments should take measures to guarantee the education rights of migrant children in the urban areas (两为主政策) (SCAU 2011). This decision encouraged the local urban destination government to tackle the schooling issues of the rural migrant children.

In 2003, the Central Government issued the “*Suggestions on Education of the Migrant Children* (关于进一步做好进城务工就业农民子女义务教育工作的意见)”. These suggestions required the urban public schools to enroll as many migrant children as they could and established that local government had the obligation to education all children residing in the urban areas regardless of where their family’s household registration certificates were registered (Wang and Holland 2011). These suggestions also required the local urban government to reduce or abolish the unequal fees charged to the migrant children who want to study in the local urban schools. It is important to note that it required that the rural migrant students and local urban children should be treated equally in terms of the fees that they are required to pay. Thus, for the poor migrant children, the local urban schools were to reduce their school fees, provide free textbooks for them, and provide assistance to help their schooling.

The key of implication is that the “2003 Suggestions on Education of the Migrant Children” required the local urban destination government to allocate a special budget for the compulsory education of the rural migrant children in the cities exclusively, and that special budget should be a subset of the total local compulsory education budget (SCAU 2011). This has caused substantial resistance on the city local governments to the implementation of this policy. Given the decentralized public finance system, the local urban governments had to use their own limited financial budget to support the education of the rural migrant children. At the same time this policy forbid the local governments to charge the migrant children exorbitant fees and asked them to charge migrant students and local urban students equally. Thus the implementation of this policy lacked financial support and the local urban governments had no enthusiasm to enact this policy. As mentioned by the Wang and Holland (2011), for many reasons the urban local governments have not implemented this provisional act to the full extent. Because central government has little enforcement power, this policy has been implemented only to the degree that the local government allowed.

In 2006, a new “Compulsory Education Law” was enacted, this law stipulated that the migrant children could attend the public schools in other places than their Household Registration indicates. They could attend the local public schools in the cities where their parents worked. In these cases, the local urban government should provide the rural migrant children with the equal educational opportunity to the local urban students.

In the March 2006, the central government issued “*The Central Government’s Suggestions on Solving the Multiple Issues of Migrant Workers* (国务院关于解决农民工问题的若干意见)”, among these suggestions, clause 21 stated that the destination urban government should shoulder the responsibility to educate migrant children in the urban area. It stipulated that the local urban government should enroll migrant children in the local public school system and that their education budget should also provide for the compulsory education of rural migrant students in the cities. The urban public schools should treat migrant students equally and Temporary Schooling Fee and other fees should be totally forbidden (Chinese Government 2006).

These suggestions represented a breakthrough in guaranteeing the equal education opportunities for rural migrant students and local urban students. This was because these suggestions also stipulated that governmental funds to public schools should be based on the real numbers of students in the schools, not based on the number of students who have local Household Registration. This is to say, as long as the local urban public schools take in rural migrant students regardless of their Household Registration status, the local public schools could get the same amount of the education funds from the local governments as when they enrolled the same number of the local urban students.

In 2010, the Chinese government made a *National Long-term Plan for Education Reform and Development* (国家中长期教育改革和发展规划纲要 2010–2020), and solving the education issues of the migrant children was also been incorporated in this plan. This plan not only consolidated the basic policy on the migrant chil-

dren: “the destination urban government should take main responsibilities on the provision of education for the migrant children, and the migrant children should mainly attend the urban public schools in their destination cities (两为主政策)”, but also at the same time, required the local urban government to work out plans for the migrant children to attend the High School Entrance Exam and College Entrance Exam in their destination cities (Chinese Government 2010).

From the laws and regulations above, we can see that the central government wanted the local governments to regard the migrant children as local students, and help migrant children in solving their education problems and provide improved social services for the migrant workers’ families. However, due to China’s decentralized administrative and fiscal system, the Chinese central government has limited power to enforce the laws in the local level. The local governments only implemented this law to the extent they wished (Wang and Holland 2011; Mok et al. 2011). So even through the central government vowed to settle the schooling problem of migrant children in the cities, the truth was that at the local level, many rural migrant children still could not attend urban public schools. As a result, they may have ended up attending unqualified underground migrant schools.

The changes of the education policies for the migrant children in the past two decades illustrate the fact that the Chinese government has slowly realized the importance of, and the challenges to, the education equality for the vulnerable migrant children. The increasing numbers of the rural migrant workers and migrant students arriving in the cities made Chinese government at different levels realize the urgency to address the needs of migrant children receiving public education and equal treatments in their destination cities. This may be a force that drives continual changes in the education policy for the migrant children in the cities.

9.3.2.1 Different Cities Have Developed Different Solutions to the Education Issues of the Migrant Children

Because of the decentralized education and governmental administrative system of China, the central government has given much freedom for the governments of different cities to work out their individual solutions for the education issues of the rural migrant children. Based on their own situations, different cities had work out their own plans to address the issues.

The governments of Wuhan, Tianjin, Hangzhou, Nanjing, Shaoxing, Jiaying, Ningbo, and Suzhou have tried to incorporate migrant children into their public education system as much as possible. Yet the city governments in Guangdong Province have had to rely on the private migrant schools to address the education issues of the rural migrant children.

In the capital Beijing, in 2009, there were about three million migrant workers and 418 thousand migrant children. Sixty-seven percent of these migrant children attended public schools, while the rest of the migrant children have to attend the low-quality private migrant schools (Li 2010; Yuan 2010). Compared with Guangdong Province, Beijing has done a relatively better job in ensuring the majority of the migrant children get into its urban public schools. However, at the same

time, in 2009, there were still about 200 private migrant schools in Beijing, and only about 60 private migrant schools had obtained a license for operation from the government. The Beijing urban government also provided a small amount of funds to help those licensed private migrant schools (Yuan 2010). Additionally, the Beijing government had chosen to close many of the unlicensed low-quality private migrant schools.

Like Beijing, Shanghai city in 2007 (Shanghai has 6.6 million floating population in 2007) has also incorporated large numbers of the migrant children (221,000) into its urban education system and this number accounted for 58.2% of the total number of migrant children (Li 2010, p. 181). In 2008, nearly 65% of the migrant children in Shanghai attended public schools (Yuan 2010). The urban government of Shanghai also tried to bring underground private migrant school under professional private educational management. For those low-quality private migrant schools, in order to improve and update their facilities, the Shanghai urban government provided a 500,000 RMB fund to each private migrant school. In order to get the funds, each private migrant school had to pass a third-party educational assessment and then sign a contract with district or county-level governments (Li 2010, p. 183). In 2007 and 2008, 116 private migrant schools were transformed into the professional management of the private education. Like Wuhan, the migrant children in the private schools of Shanghai also did not need to pay for the tuition and textbooks. The urban government also provided 1,900 RMB per person per year for the private migrant school to enroll migrant students in 2008, and the subsidy was increased to 3,000 RMB in 2009 (Li 2010, p. 183). The Shanghai government also shut down the private migrant schools which do not meet the private school standard.

Both Beijing and Shanghai have tried to increase the number of migrant students attending public schools. However, the numbers that needed served has also required that Beijing and Shanghai to try to increase the quality of private migrant schools. Closing many private migrant schools, though, may mean that some migrant students will continue to find it hard to receive an education.

9.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the education problems of the rural migrant children in the cities. All of the studies cited and analyzed in our chapter indicate that migrant children were not been treated equally in their destination cities, and their rights to receive compulsory education were not being fully guaranteed even though some helpful measures have been proposed and taken by the local and central governments.

Migrant workers are a vulnerable population in the cities. Migrant workers suffer from the institutional and systemic discriminations in the cities (Xiong and Yang 2012) and their children's rights to receive high quality education in the cities have been violated.

As many as 20% of the migrant children still have to attend low-quality private migrant schools, and attending these private migrant schools in the cities are still an important way for the migrant children to receive education in the urban areas. So, in order to help those private migrant schools, the government should legalize all of the private migrant schools. These schools should be improved with the professional management model as well.

Second, governments of all levels should provide sufficient funds to renovate the school facilities, improve the safety condition of the classroom, pay for teachers' salaries, teacher training, and maintain the professional operation of the schools. The central government should shoulder more responsibilities for the finance of migrant schools by providing special funds.

Third, the government of all levels should improve the quality of the teaching staff in the migrant schools. Currently, the teachers in the migrant schools are extremely low in quality, they are neither professional nor experienced. Many of the teachers in the migrant school are part-time teachers. Most of the teachers were not well educated. The majority of them have not received either a college education or professional training and they have not obtained teacher's certificates. Many teachers have only slightly higher academic skills and educational attainment than their students. The migrant school should recruit teachers from the colleges and universities, and in-service teachers should receive frequent professional training to upgrade their knowledge insuring they can use the latest methods to teach their students.

Currently, the most effective way to educate rural migrant children in the urban areas is incorporating them into public schools and mixing them with local urban children. In 2013, 80.4% of the migrant students attend public schools in the cities (OECD 2013, p. 58). However, simply placing migrant children together with the local urban students is far from enough. Effective measures should be taken to make migrant children from the rural areas better integrated into the urban society for a better life and an upward career mobility.

Xiong and Yang (2012) mentioned that it is far from enough for the urban governments to open the gate of the urban public schools to the migrant students, as the urban public schools have positive but limited effects on integrating migrant students into the urban society. The current education system in China has failed to provide migrant children sufficient opportunities to thrive in the cities and to have upward mobility in the urban society because the urban society repels the families of the migrant workers systemically and institutionally. Xiong and Yang (2012) also believe that since the discrimination towards the rural migrant workers still exists in the areas of employments, wages, occupation, social welfare, and higher education, simply providing the rural migrant children with opportunities to receive urban compulsory education will be inadequate.

The disparities between the urban and rural areas of China has been existed for decades, driving poor rural farmers leave their rural hometowns and work in more prosperous cities in order to seek for a better life for them and their children. But the discrimination that the rural migrants face in their destination cities has made them to realize the large gaps between their dreams and the realities in the cities. The poor plight of the rural migrant workers and their children in the cities indicates that

migrant workers have little social power to change their education situations in the destination cities.

Migrant workers are the most vulnerable group in the cities, and this vulnerability is caused by the social stratification in contemporary China. The governmental policies could either reduce or eliminate this vulnerability, but could not really remove all of the discrimination against the vulnerable groups of China. As in the case of the migrant children in China, although about 80% of the rural migrant children attended the urban public schools, only 4,444 rural migrant students nationwide managed to sit for the college entrance exam in their destination cities in 2013. Without a change in social stratification, even with all the positive changes in public school access at all levels in urban area, migrant children will still lag behind the other children in terms of social mobility.

Xiong and Yang (2012) mentioned that schools exist in a wide political-economic-social space, and the education is subordinate to the arrangements of policy and social power. Education may not be able to eliminate the social inequalities created by social power and economy. However, individuals, receiving a good education could change their fate, potentially empowering them to have a better life in the future, especially for the venerable groups.

By incorporating migrant children into the urban education system and reducing their difficulties in taking the college entrance exam, we could ameliorate the negative effects of institutional and systematic discrimination toward the migrant children and their families. It should reduce migrant workers' negative feelings towards the urban people and society, and promote social harmony and integration.

From the first appearance of the migrant children in 1995s till now, China has spent almost 20 years trying to solve the education issues of migrant children. Now migrant children are still facing much discrimination in the cities. Why has China taken so long to address this problem? The inefficient decentralized, education administrative and fiscal system is one important reason. Huge population and economic disparities of different regions is another reason. However, there is one important reason. The dominant social power is held by the people in the cities. The rural migrant working class has little power to change their inferior social status in the cities. The native urban residents are also reluctant to share their privileges and resources with the migrant workers even if the migrant workers have already made indispensable contributions to the growth of their destination cities.

China now is undergoing a process of profound economic and social transformation. Its public policies may still be incomplete in many ways to address the new emerging issues while protecting the legal rights of its citizens. The education experience of rural migrant children in the cities is evidence that China still has a long way to go to achieve equality and equity in education.

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Chapter 10

Promises and Practices: A Case Study on Compulsory Education Policy Implementation in a Large Migrant-Inflow City in China

Shuyin Liu, Wenyang Sun, and Elizabeth Barrow

China has been undergoing unprecedented population mobility since the 1980s, due to the government's gradual ease of migration restrictions and the acceleration of urbanization. The rapid development of industrialization and a market economy has contributed to an increasing rural-urban income disparity, thus more rural labors have been migrating to cities seeking employment opportunities (Hu et al. 2014; Jia and Tian 2010; Wong et al. 2007). These migrant workers are often referred to as a "floating population (流动人口)," a term often used to describe "the large and increasing number of migrants without local household registration status (*hukou*, 户口)" (Liang and Ma 2004, p. 467). According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (2014), the number of the floating population reached 253 million in 2014, which exceeded one sixth of the total population in China. The rapid increase in the floating population is represented in Fig. 10.1.

China is in an accelerated process of urbanization (Jia and Tian 2010; Wong et al. 2007), and the large scale movement of migrant labor from rural areas to more developed urban areas will continue to increase, thus adding to an already large population of floating migrants. Job vacancies created by economic expansion can be filled with the influx of migrant workers; however, a large floating population also contributes to new challenges, including increased demands on the city for immigrant workers' and their children's education, health care, and social security (Hu et al. 2014; Wong et al. 2007). The current trend of whole-family migration, as opposed to the individual migration patterns of several years ago, has resulted in more migrant children of compulsory education age (6–14 years old) enrolling in urban schools (see Fig. 10.2). This phenomenon has become increasingly high-

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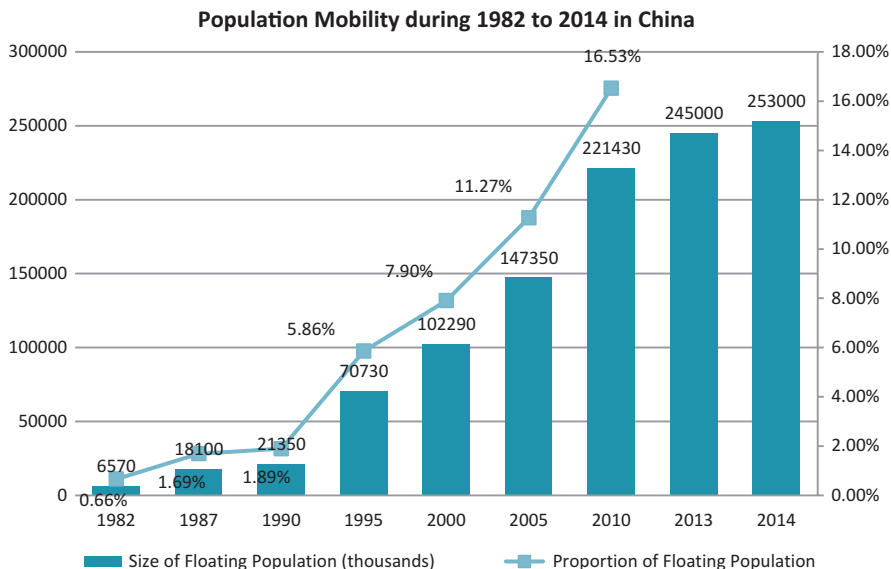


Fig. 10.1 Population Mobility during 1982–2014 in China. This figure is based on multiple data sources, including “*Report on China’s Migrant Population Development*,” by Department of National Floating Population and Birth Control, 2014, China Population Publishing House; “Nine trends on flow of floating population in China since the reform and opening up,” by C. Duan, G. Yang, F. Zhang, & X. Lu, 2008, *Population Research*, 32; “National Bulletin of the national 1 % population sampling survey in 2005,” by National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2006, *National Bureau of Statistics of China Website*, Retrieved from http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/200603/t20060316_30326.html; “Bulletin of the 6th national demographic census,” by National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011, *National Bureau of Statistics of China Website*, Retrieved from <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/html/fu03.htm>; “National Data,” by National Bureau of Statistics of China 2014, *National Bureau of Statistics of China Website*, Retrieved from <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=C01>

lighted in China and is contributing to several social problems (Chan 2009; Mao and Zhao 2012).

Although China’s central government has mandated that local schools accept migrant children, local authorities at the county level have resisted their enrollment because the population of local resident children with hukou determines school funding, therefore schools have no monetary incentive to increase their levels of migrant student enrollment (Chen and Feng 2013; Ren and Treiman 2013; Wong et al. 2007). When public schools refuse to enroll migrant children, these children must attend migrant children schools, which are typically operated by businesses with market-driven agendas. Compared to public schools, migrant children’s schools not only offer limited resources, since owners attempt to minimize the costs; these schools also encounter substantial institutional barriers, since they are “not in the system.” They go without updated textbooks, certified teachers, safe and workable facilities, and so on (Chen and Feng 2013, p. 77). The migrant children who are able to attend urban public schools often face discrimination from teachers,

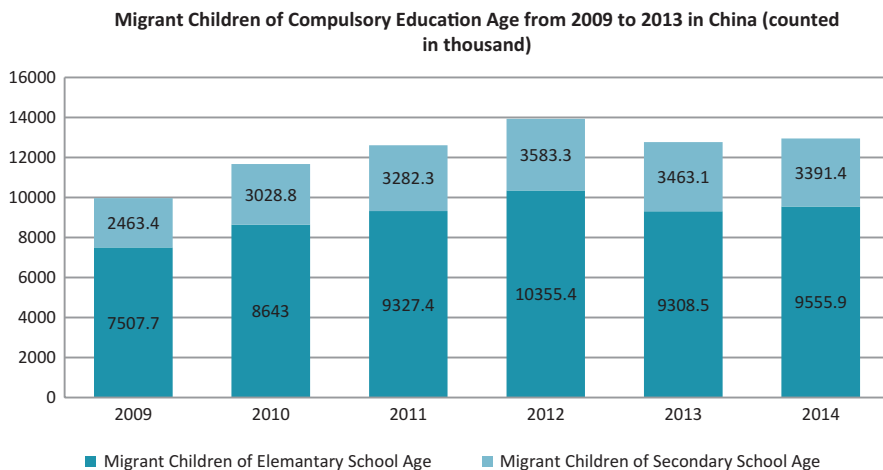


Fig. 10.2 Migrant children of compulsory education age from 2009 to 2014 in China. This figure is based on “National education statistical bulletin of 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014,” by Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China (2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014), *Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China Website*, retrieved from http://en.moe.gov.cn/Resources/Laws_and_Policies/201506/t20150626_191391.html; http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_1485/201008/xxgk_93763.html; http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_633/201203/xxgk_132634.html; http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_633/201208/141305.html; http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_633/201308/155798.html; http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_633/201407/171144.html; http://www.moe.edu.cn/srcsite/A03/s180/moe_633/201508/t20150811_199589.html

administrators, and local-resident students, which may negatively affect their psychological well-being (Chan 2009; Kwong 2011; Ren and Treiman 2013).

The Yangtze River Delta, a region with increased emigration, is gradually becoming one of the most attractive destinations for migrant workers. There, workers can find a good industrial infrastructure, convenient local and overseas transportation networks, and a rapidly expanding economy. Among the 22 cities in the Yangtze River Delta, seven have added more than one million migrants to their populations, including Wu City,¹ the second-largest migrant-inflow city in China (Bin 2013). Census records indicate that Wu City’s floating population reached 6.9 million in 2014, and now the floating population has surpassed the size of the registered population (People’s Government of Jiangsu Province 2015).

Hundreds of thousands of school age children arrived in Wu City with their parents over the past decade, adding pressure to the city’s system of compulsory education (Grades 1–9). The number of migrant children attending compulsory education in 2004 was 155,000; by 2013, that number had increased to 364,000. In 2014, migrant children enrolled in Wu City schools comprised 48.3 % of the total number of compulsory education-aged children in the city (Yangtze Evening News 2014).

¹“Wu City” is a pseudonym.

This project researched educational policies and their implementation pertaining to migrant children's compulsory education in Wu City. Over 6 months, the first author interviewed leaders of the local education authority and made observations about the policy implementation process. Research revealed that, when confronted with rapid population growth, systems of education in cities like Wu City had no capacity to meet students' needs effectively. Local education authorities are especially troubled, since they have limited resources and executive power to make decisions regarding the equity and quality of education for all resident and migrant children.

This chapter highlights the dichotomy of educational policy implementation at the city level regarding migrant children's compulsory education. In the promises-practice framework, the central government makes promises, while the local education authority is responsible for implementation. This chapter will reveal the specific conflicts local education authorities face, potential causes for these conflicts, and the reality of migrant children's education in a case study of one city in China.

10.1 Methodology

The data for this case study were collected from two main sources: (1) Archival and policy documents, and statistics related to the education policies of the central government and their related issues in Wu City (document analysis); (2) Interviews and informal conversations with officials of Wu City Municipal Education Department (MED), school principals, and parents. Analyses of the policies and archival documents from the central government level enabled the first author to illustrate how the central government made a promise to ensure the enrollment of the migrant children. Additionally, using data collected from the Wu City education department, local schools, and interviews with city officials and school administrators, the first author was able to further disclose the dilemma faced by local authorities when implementing the promises in policies.

The first author collected archival data, policy documents, and statistics from the Wu City MED.² The main sources of the data include: *The General Facts about Education in Wu City* (from 2004 to 2014), which included a summary of land use, population, GDP, and budget information, as well as statistics related to the elementary and secondary schools in Wu City; census data from the elementary schools and secondary schools that are directly administrated by the MED, which included general demographic information on the students and their family backgrounds; regulations and policies issued by Wu City MED regarding the reform of compulsory education and the education of migrant children; and the regulations concerning elementary school enrollment in recent years. The first author also conducted a

²To ensure the anonymity of the data, we do not provide complete citation and reference information.

Table 10.1 Information of the interviewees

No.	Position	Pseudonym as appeared in this paper
1	Director, Wu City MED	G
2	Deputy Director of Teacher Development, Wu City MED	Z
3	Deputy Director of Elementary Education, Wu City MED	H
4	Deputy Director of Early Childhood Education, Wu City MED	L
5	Deputy director of the Office of Supervision of Education, People's Government of Wu City	N
6	Chief of Policy and Regulation, Wu City MED	C
7	Chief of Planning and Finance, Wu City MED	S
8	Chief of Non-Public Education, Wu City MED	K
9	Chief of Guard and Security (former deputy Chief of Elementary Education), Wu City MED	Q
10	Migrant workers who petitioned MED for children's enrollment	M1, M2,

survey of migrant children's learning conditions and family background information during fieldwork in Wu City.

Additional data were collected from seminars and workshops (audited by the first author). Seminars, organized by the Wu City local government, included participation by the local Development and Reform Commission, the Public Security Bureau, and the Bureau of Finance. Workshops included teachers' workshops held by Wu City MED.

The first author also conducted 642 min of interviews with nine officials from Wu City MED and migrant working parents who had petitioned the MED for their children's enrollment in public schools. Table 10.1 includes pseudonyms for all individuals interviewed in this study, as they appear in this chapter.

10.2 Context

10.2.1 *Promises of the Central Government*

In 2001, China's central government mandated that regional areas with large floating populations of migrant workers must provide migrant children with a compulsory education. The State Council's (2001) *Decision on the Improving and Reforming of Basic Education* highlighted that governments at all levels should pay attention to migrant children's compulsory education, governments of high emigration areas should be the primary providers for migrant children's compulsory education, and full-time public schools should be the primary receivers of migrant children. This later became known as the "Two Primaries" policy and is the standard by which all related issues are judged. Despite the State Council's decisions, the

situation for migrant children did not improve significantly, and the lack of educational opportunities and poor schooling conditions incited strong discontent among migrant workers. On Teachers' Day 2003, Wen Jiabao, China's prime minister at that time, visited a migrant children's primary school, and wrote "Under the blue sky, and grow together" on a classroom's blackboard (China News 2003). Just 3 days later, China's Ministry of Education, State Commission Office for Public Sector Reform, Ministry of Public Security, National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Labor and Social Security issued a joint resolution that reinforced the "Two Primaries" policy that migrant-inflow regions should shoulder the responsibility of providing compulsory education for migrant children and treat them without discrimination. The *Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China* (National People's Congress 2006) was passed to further ensure the equal right to compulsory education for migrant children. The following clause was later added and amended at the 22nd Session of the Standing Committee of the Tenth National People's Congress, on June 29, 2006:

For a school-age child and juvenile whose parents are working or dwelling at a place other than their permanent residence, if he/she receives compulsory education at the place where his/her parents or other statutory guardians are working or dwelling, the local people's government shall provide him/her with equal conditions for receiving compulsory education.

Laws and regulations related to migrant children's compulsory education inspired promises indicating the commitment by the central government to provide equality of education for all children. What prompted the central government to make such promises? These laws were a response to the growing urbanization and market economy in China. The Chinese central government wanted to promote urban construction and economic development, and that required an increase in manual labor. In order to attract the needed workers, better laws protecting migrant workers and their families were needed (Knight et al. 2011). Also, promises of new laws protecting migrant workers were made under great pressure and protest from the general public. News reports across China highlighting the unfair treatment of migrant workers and their children, including the large numbers of migrant children dropping out of school, raised widespread concerns nationwide (Liang and Chen 2007). Migrant workers filled labor force vacancies in the cities and made great contributions to urban construction and economic development, and, over time, these workers and their children would gradually become citizens of their new city. In the meantime, however, these families deserved opportunities equal to those the locally registered people enjoyed. The central government realized the urgent need to address these practical issues, otherwise, they knew, social stability could be greatly undermined (Knight 2013). The guarantee of migrant children's equal access to compulsory education in inflow cities is an important aspect of floating population service. The central government's clear position and the promise of the "Two Primaries" policy served to soothe migrant workers' nerves and stabilize their emotions, thus, the government hoped, convincing them to stay and work in the cities.

10.2.2 A Promise-Practice Framework

Policy implementation falls under the jurisdiction of local education authorities (at both the city and county levels); the central government has no authority over local education practices. Local authorities must navigate the requirements of the “Two Primaries” policy, the leadership of the local government, the demands of migrant workers and their children, the discontent from the locally registered population, and the pressure from public schools and teachers. Hence, multiple conflicts of interest can occur at this level. Using Wu City and its ten counties as an example, there are conflicts between local interests and policy requirements from the central government, between economic development and education budgetary burdens, between education equity and quality, and between the mobility of laborers and the inflexibility in using resources for education. However, local education authorities at the city level are burdened by limited executive powers to resolve these problems, a condition that contributes to an environment of conflicts.

10.3 Findings: Policy Implementation in Reality

Based on the promises-practice framework, findings in this chapter reveal some specific conflicts and barriers local education authorities face when they implemented the central government education policies. Interview data provide the local officials’ interpretation and explanations of the causes for these conflicts, and their perceived dilemmas in terms of the potential solutions.

According to the statistics collected from Wu City MED, in the fall of 2013 there were approximately 383,800 compulsory school-aged migrant children in Wu City, which constituted 48.3% of the compulsory school-aged population. Among these migrant children, 74.4% were enrolled in public schools, whereas 25.6% were enrolled in private migrant schools. As the statistics above show, Wu City almost met the requirements of the “Two Primaries” policy by allowing the enrollment of migrant children of compulsory education age in public schools (General Office of the State Council 2006). However, local education authorities in Wu City experienced a backlash from various stakeholders, including opposition from local urban residents and protests from migrant worker parents. This caused increasing conflict for local authorities in Wu City as they strove to meet the requirements of the central government.

10.3.1 Conflicts Between Local Interests and the Requirements of Their Superiors

One of the difficulties in enrolling compulsory-aged migrant children in public school lies in the conflicts of interest among different counties in Wu City. The *Compulsory Education Law of the People’s Republic of China* (National People’s

Congress 2006) makes it clear that the governments at the county level shall mainly administer compulsory education, so county financing constitutes a major source of funding for compulsory education. However, due to differences in industries and economic patterns, there is an uneven distribution of the floating population among the counties of migrant-inflow cities, such as Wu City. In addition, migrant workers in Wu City often work in one county and live in another, which results in mismatches between the locations of their workplace and residential areas where their children are educated. In this case, counties that host migrant families with children (but which are not the location of the migrants' workplace) often take account of their own interests and do not want to share responsibility for carrying out the central government's policies. See Appendix A for charts explaining the population and registration status for elementary and middle schools in Wu City.

Counties II and JJ (see Table 10.1 for a list of county pseudonyms), in Wu City, house a variety of industries and maintain prosperous economies; they are becoming the main workplaces for migrant workers. On the other hand, county HH has more convenient living facilities and lower housing prices, thus it is becoming the main residential location for migrant workers. According to the "Two Primaries" policy and the tradition of principal of enrollment in the nearest neighborhood schools, county HH must accommodate the large numbers of migrant children of compulsory education age who live there, thus increasing HH's financial burden. As a result, county HH is reluctant to fund migrant children's compulsory education, when the economic value (production and taxes) of their parents' labor goes to other counties' prosperity, such as counties II and JJ.

The first author conducted a survey of migrant children's learning conditions and family background information during fieldwork in Wu City. The survey revealed a high-degree discrepancy among migrant children's residences and their parents' workplaces, as displayed in Table 10.2 (see Table 10.2). It can be concluded that most counties accommodate a significant number of migrant children whose fathers do not work there. School enrollment in county HH includes 20% migrant children in that category.

Under the circumstances of county-level finances supporting local compulsory education, if students want to go to school in counties where they live but where their parents do not work, the former are more likely to deny their enrollment, a practice that directly contradicts policies outlined by the central government. Such situations may need MEDs at the city level to coordinate, but the effects are quite limited. According to China's political system, functional departments at each level should be administered by the governments at the same level, and these should follow the operational guidance issued by their superior departments (Zhou 2009). Under such circumstances, education departments at the county level are mainly housed among the leadership of the county governments, therefore the MED of Wu City can provide professional guidance to county officials, but it cannot enforce policy implementation. As a result, when counties avoid the responsibility of caring for migrant children's compulsory education, the responses by the MED are not helpful in the matter.

Table 10.2 Mismatch of migrant children's residence and their fathers' workplace in each county in Wu City

County	Number of migrant laborers who live but do not work	Number of migrant laborers who work but do not live	Percentage of non-local employees' children at public primary schools
AA	1767	827	3.35 %
BB	1596	1096	2.70 %
CC	1635	928	4.58 %
DD	3212	1167	5.44 %
EE	2757	1734	3.76 %
FF	4658	3188	7.29 %
GG	2395	1641	4.43 %
HH	5210	2030	19.59 %
II	2146	3676	0 %
JJ	1844	2430	0 %

10.3.2 Conflicts Between Pursuing Economic Development and Fulfilling Compulsory Education Promises

Manual labor is required for urban economic development in many Chinese cities. The economies of most emigrant destination cities, including Wu City, rely greatly on processing trade and other labor-intensive industries, so there is a large demand for and dependence upon the manual labor force. The majority of migrants flowing into cities like Wu City are young adults with families. An increase in families means an increase in the number of school-aged children needing to attend school, which places demands on local economies to provide the infrastructure and resources required to educate them all.

In recent years, the number of migrant children of compulsory education age has increased rapidly in Wu City; therefore, public schools have experienced a severe shortage in educational resources. According to an interview with official B (see Table 10.1) in the Wu City MED, Wu City's 304 elementary schools had the capacity to provide education for only 79,000 students in 2014; in reality, 20,000 more students needed to be enrolled in schools. B predicted that, based on current trends, by 2020 if all the current schools (including private migrant schools) are still enrolling students, then Wu City will need to build around 110 new elementary schools and 100 new middle schools.

The growth of the migrant children population requires more teachers and staff as well as buildings; however, the availability of resources limits the number of new schools that can realistically be built. As official H said, "Funding is not the biggest problem for Wu City. The problem is the land" (interview notes). H mentioned that land is a rare resource in Wu City. When Wu City's government officials were planning the city, they encountered conflicts between zoning land for industrial or commercial purposes versus educational purposes. Government officials often pursued the maximization of economic interests at the expense of the educational needs of

the city's children. According to H, these zoning conflicts resulted in "sufficient money" for the county, but "no land" for new schools (interview notes).

The conflict between the pursuit of economic interests and the fulfillment of educational responsibilities is a common challenge for the governments of cities with increased floating populations. Local governments place a priority on solving local problems—usually they view economic prosperity as their highest pursuit, rather than addressing education issues. As local education authorities, MEDs are responsible for the organization of compulsory education, but, due to county control of all educational administration, Wu City MEDs are, in fact, quite powerless to challenge the choices of local governments.

10.3.3 Conflicts Between Equity and Quality

Wu City was one of the first cities in China to provide a universal 9-year compulsory education for local school-aged children in the 1990s. In the following decade, Wu City began to reduce class sizes to further improve education quality. However, when large numbers of migrants began flowing into the city, local education authorities had to expand school and class sizes to enroll more students, since the possibility of building new schools has been limited. An elementary school principal in County HH indicated that, 10 years ago, the average class size was 30 students, while nowadays every classroom is filled with students. Many classes even host 48 students, and therefore some students have to sit on either side of the teacher's podium (interview notes). This is not an uncommon case in Wu City. Most primary and secondary schools have been forced to overextend their limited educational budgets to accommodate more migrant children by expanding enrollment and enlarging class sizes. In a teachers' workshop held by MED, the first author observed that most teachers reported that they bore greater workloads and pressure, and had noticed a decline in the quality of students as more migrant children were enrolled. They also mentioned discontent among the local registered population, due to a decline in educational quality resulting from the reduction of per-student expenditures. During an interview with Q, the former deputy chief of education in the Wu City MED, he drew an analogy to describe the deflation of educational quality due to the over-enrollment of students: "This is just like purchasing food. Originally, 50 RMB was used to feed 1 person; but now, 50 RMB is used to feed 10 people instead. How could you not expect the degradation of food quality?"

Increased student-teacher ratios can also deter future teachers from applying to teach in Wu City. Under the requirements of the State Commission for Public Sector Reform (2014), the number of personnel supported by government finances should not be expanded, and staff levels in the primary and secondary schools should not exceed the existing allocation of personnel. According to the interview with H, Wu City is not endowed with any exceptions or policy exemptions regarding the allowed size of its schools' teaching staff, despite being a large floating population city accommodating hundreds of thousands of migrant children. Therefore, education

authorities have had to forgo hiring additional teachers to support the increasing student body at local schools.

It is a tough choice for local education authorities to make, between guaranteeing migrant children's equity access to compulsory education and ensuring the satisfactory quality of compulsory education for all. Based on an interview with official Z in the Wu City MED, the local registered population opposes the continued reduction of per-student expenditures to allow for the addition of migrant children's enrollment; however, local authorities' refusals to expand the public schools and therefore turn away migrant children from a public education will surely arouse protests and petitions from migrant parents (field notes). Currently, migrant children who are not admitted to public schools mostly study in local private migrant schools with poor conditions, which are operated by private owners who minimize the cost (Chen and Feng 2013). According to official Z, the MED of Wu City issued a document in 2006 aimed at improving the minimum standards for private school education for migrant children. The criteria for educational standards in the document were quite low, barely achieving the same educational level for public schools in Wu City decades prior. Regardless, 19 out of 95 private schools are still considered substandard. The vast majority of private schools for migrant children are in quite poor conditions, due to budget shortages and ineffective management, and the so-called qualified ones can only reach levels that were average in Wu City public schools nearly 20 years ago.

10.3.4 Conflicts Between the Uncertainty of Migrant Labors' Geographical Movement and the Local Investment in Compulsory Education

According to statistics provided by the Wu City MED, in 2013, the floating population in Wu City was over 6.5 million, of which 1.6 million people stayed for less than half of 1 year; 2.1 million people stayed for more than half of 1 year but less than 1 year; and the rest, 2.8 million people, stayed for more than 1 year. Migrants' mobility is largely affected by job opportunities. Although it is sure that rural laborers will continue to flow into cities with growing economic opportunities, it is difficult to predict the direction and magnitude of the floating population. As for Wu City, there is no clear picture how many migrant workers will flow into the city in the future, after it has already absorbed more than six million members of the floating population. Meanwhile, Wu City's local government has begun to realize that a foreign-capital economy and processing trade are not sustainable development patterns, so the city is actively seeking a transformation of its economic growth model (People's Government of [Wu City] 2012). This new economic growth model emphasizes the pursuit of economic quality rather than quantity, namely, a change from being labor-intensive to being knowledge-intensive. Economic transformation brings a change of labor demand—the demand for high-end technical workers will

surpass the demand for a general manual labor force. When migrant workers find it hard to get suitable jobs in Wu City under its new industrial conditions, they may begin to flow to other cities.

Local government and education authorities worry about the high liquidity of the floating population, which brings much unpredictability to public school systems. Expansion of education resources should be done after prudent planning; otherwise, new school buildings may become vacant when migrant workers begin to exit the cities. A director at the MED of Wu City, S, expressed his concerns about future enrollment. S said, “The population of migrant children will definitely decrease in the future. We are building so many new schools, and can only rely on the population growth led by the ‘two-child’ policy (compared to the one-child policy in the past 30 years) to make up the short supply of students in the future” (from the first author’s interview notes). Others worry that Wu City may become an even more popular destination among migrants, since the city is more accommodating of migrant children’s compulsory education, as compared to other cities.

The fixed educational funds determine that resources cannot follow along the population as it moves, or with every fluctuation in terms of educational needs. Local education authorities must strike a balance between the mobility of the floating population and the obligation to provide satisfactory education for all children with the fixed (inflexible) education resources.

10.4 Conclusion and Discussion

All in all, migrant children’s compulsory education is a complex social and management problem. The central government makes promises, and the local education authorities define the practices and implement them. This study highlights that local education authorities are situated in the middle of the promise-practice framework, between the promises regarding equity in education and the reality of educational practices. The dichotomy between promises and practices directly affects all stakeholders in this compulsory education issue (see Fig. 10.3).

Local education authorities have to face multiple pressures from the requirements of their superiors, the expectations of the floating population, and complaints from locally registered populations. Conflicts between a variety of expectations, values, and demands lead to compulsory education predicaments in migrant-inflow cities, and local education authorities’ powerlessness aggravates the situation.

The promises made by the central government are ostentatious; however, local practices are complicated and conflicting. As policy implementers, local education authorities such as MEDs are not given enough executive power to implement the policies, thus defeating the promise of educational equity.

This case study implies that the “Two Primaries” policy is more like a statement with strong symbolic significance than a must-implement policy. The central government made the statement to quell complaints and ease the indignation of migrant workers. The “Two Primaries” policy is a vague statement that neither clarifies the

PROMISES AND PRACTICES

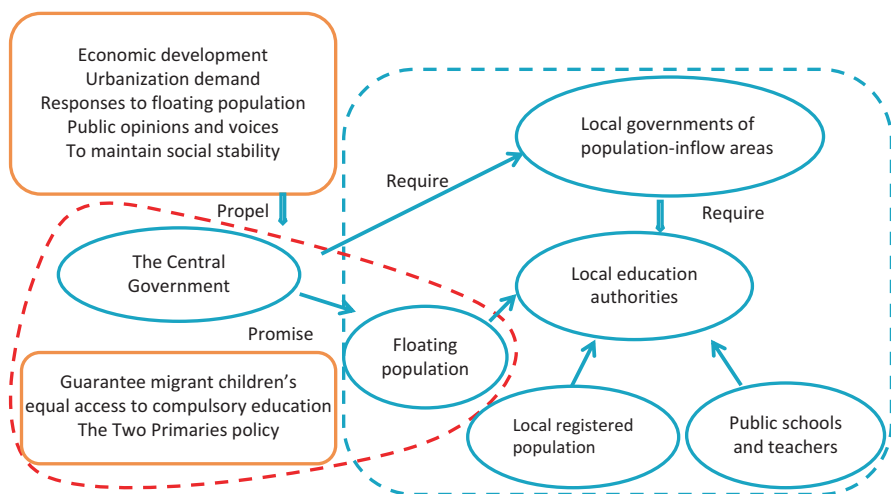


Fig. 10.3 A framework of promises and practices (This chart indicates the demands placed on the central government to issue laws of educational equity (promises) for the floating population, who are central to both national and regional politics and economic growth. However, as indicated by the chart on the right local education authorities face more demands from local stakeholders than the requirements of the central government (practices))

role of full-time public schools as the primary receiver of migrant children nor provides operational details for implementation. In the Compulsory Education Law of the People’s Republic of China (National People’s Congress 2006), the responsibilities of governments at each level are stated as:

Compulsory education shall be under the leadership of the State Council, be carried out under the overall planning by the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central Government, and be mainly administered by the people’s governments at the county level.

Individual regions and cities are charged with deciphering the meaning of the policy, thus leaving room for varied interpretations and implementations. This study suggests that an equal access to compulsory education for migrant children is far from protected and substantiated by the central government’s promise alone.

According to the law, the education administrative departments of governments at the county level shall be responsible for the implementation of the compulsory education policy, which means county-level education authorities maintain the responsibility of organizing compulsory education, thus allowing for the exclusion of migrant children from public education despite laws passed by the central government. Meanwhile, the Chinese central government adopted a policy whereby the “city leads the county” (Zhang and Wu 2006). In other words, although the governments and MEDs at county levels are implementing the compulsory education policies, these institutions remain under the control of city-level governments. The

central government passed policies on compulsory education, and made promises to the migrant population, that local governments at city and county levels are either unable or unwilling to carry out.

Provision of compulsory education for migrant children is a pressing and confound challenge. Meeting the challenge has been determined by balancing social, political and economic powers in the process of urbanization and migration during China's rapid economic development. This case study raised questions on the centralized policy making and the decentralized fiscal and administrative systems. Findings from this study may imply several suggestions, such as rethinking about the current hukou policies in China, getting different levels of governments on the same page to coordinate coherent policies, provide funding from solid and stable sources, and educate urban residents to appreciate and welcome migrant children in local public schools (See also Tian and Wu 2008; Xiong and Yang 2012; Yuan 2014).

In December, 2015, Prime Minister Li Keqiang signed the Decree No.663 of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the *Provisional Regulation on Residential Permit*, which emphasized the rights of residence permit holders' to public services in their resident cities/counties (The State Council 2015). Particularly, the new regulation mandates that the governments of county levels and above should incorporate public services for residence permit holders into annual fiscal budgets, and provide public services, such as compulsory education, to all residence permit holders. Compared with previous policies, the new *Provisional Regulation on Residential Permit* attaches rights including compulsory education, employment services, public health and family planning services, etc. to residential permit other than permanent household registration (or hukou), allowing for more people to enjoy public services. However, it is still a graduated rights protection system, meaning that still not all floating population can enjoy basic public services provided by governments at residential places. According to the regulation, people who have left their permanent household registration places and lived in other cities for more than half a year will be eligible to apply for the residential permit, if one of the following conditions is met: holding a legitimate and stable job, proof of legitimate and stable residence, and consecutive study at local schools. Unfortunately the new policy does not protect the rights of migrant workers who have lived in a city for less than half a year. Governments at the municipal level shall consider factors such as the administrative regions' economic development needs and settlement conditions when formulating implementation measures (The State Council 2015). The decision to issue residential permits is still the responsibility of governments at municipal levels, namely the local governments, and therefore these governments still control who is included in the public services and who is excluded. The new regulations, effective on January 1, 2016, will hopefully further carry out the promises from the central government by specifying the responsibilities of local governments on migrant children's education and lowering enrollment requirements, meanwhile putting more pressure on local governments to provide implementation. The problems of funding sources and conflicts of local interests still exist, and need to be solved with more careful negotiations among policy makers, local government and

MED officials, school educators and administrators, as well as parents with and without *hukou*.

Appendix A

Population and Registration Status of Students Enrolled in Elementary and Middle Schools in Wu City (2014).

Elementary School Registration and Enrollment

			Student enrollment in Wu City		Total
			Students with local household registration status	Students without local household registration status	
Grade	Grade 1	Number	45,366	44,308	89,674
		Percentage	50.6 %	49.4 %	100.0 %
Grade	Grade 2	Number	41,863	38,199	80,062
		Percentage	52.3 %	47.7 %	100.0 %
Grade	Grade 3	Number	47,403	35,761	83,164
		Percentage	57.0 %	43.0 %	100.0 %
Grade	Grade 4	Number	43,127	30,656	73,783
		Percentage	58.5 %	41.5 %	100.0 %
Grade	Grade 5	Number	39,614	26,738	66,352
		Percentage	59.7 %	40.3 %	100.0 %
Grade	Grade 6	Number	38,831	24,720	63,551
		Percentage	61.1 %	38.9 %	100.0 %
Total		Number	256,204	200,382	456,586
		Percentage	56.1 %	43.9 %	100.0 %

Middle School Registration and Enrollment

			Student enrollment in Wu City		Total
			Students with local household registration status	Students without local household registration status	
Grade	Grade 7	Number	41,799	19,814	61,613
		Percentage	67.8 %	32.2 %	100.0 %
Grade	Grade 8	Number	39,246	17,158	56,404
		Percentage	69.6 %	30.4 %	100.0 %
Grade	Grade 9	Number	37,413	13,554	50,967
		Percentage	73.4 %	26.6 %	100.0 %
Total		Number	118,458	50,526	168,984
		Percentage	70.1 %	29.9 %	100.0 %

The data of the two tables are provided by Wu City MED. For the anonymity of the case, we will not provide citation information

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Chapter 11

Transnational Migration and Urban Education in Japan

Kaori Okano

11.1 Transnational Migration and Urban Education in Japan

Target destinations for transnational migrants from the developing countries had long predominantly been urban centers in the developed West, regardless of their motivations (e.g., refugees, or economic migration). In recent years, however, Asian metropolitan areas have increasingly received migrant and guest worker families, including school-age children. Many urban centers in Japan now see a substantial number of students from Latin America, the Middle East and elsewhere in Asia.

Japan's system of education was underprepared for this influx. Although local governments and schools have provided a wide range of well-intentioned services to migrant children over the last two decades, social integration of migrant children has been far from successful. Migrant retention rate beyond 9-year compulsory schooling is low, less than a half of the national average. Given that 95 % of the age group complete high school diploma, migrant children without diploma are unable to secure stable employment as adults, which is likely lead to intergenerational reproduction of disadvantage. This will in turn affect the social cohesion of the entire society.¹ Education of migrant children has thus been one of the country's most pressing issues facing urban education in Japan.

¹Social cohesion generally refers to a harmonious society whereby members feel a sense of belonging. While academic conceptions of the term are extensive both in sociology and psychology (e.g., Bruhn 2009, p. 31–48), this paper uses the term social cohesion as a normative (or policy) goal (e.g., Shuayb 2012) Social cohesion is a positive outcome of the social integration of minority groups into the host society, whereby both minority groups and the host society make significant adjustments; which are ultimately beneficial to individuals and the society as a whole.

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This paper examines how the arrival of migrant children has changed the educational landscape in urban Japan with the following questions: How has the Japanese society responded to the needs of migrant children in education? How have migrant children experienced formal schooling and other educational activities? To what extent has education been effective in preparing them for post-school lives and integration into the mainstream society? The paper examines many ad-hoc measures that schools provide to enable their participation in schooling, and out-of-school programs which sprang up in the civil society.²

My conceptual concern in this paper is equity and diversity in education – how education policy and practice deal with cultural diversity in ensuring access to, and pursuing equity in, education in an Asian liberal democracy. Providing equal institutional opportunities to schooling does not lead to equitable outcomes for children from migrant and/or disadvantaged families. Sociologists have long provided explanations for this, such as the cultural deficit model and cultural difference theory (inconsistency between the dominant middle class culture at school versus the working class/minority culture at home) (e.g., Persell 1981; Pianta and Walsh 1996). More refined explanations involved a focus on differences in language codes (Bernstein 1971), and diverse combinations of different types of resources (cultural, social and economic capitals) and family strategies (or lack of) to manipulate these resources in pursuit of promoting their children's education (Bourdieu 1984). Regarding migrants' education and career trajectories, Ogbu's ecological explanation in reference to the terms of integration ("voluntary" and "involuntary" migrants) which affects perception of life chances provide a useful perspective (Ogbu and Simons 1998).

As we see below, contemporary Japan provides migrants with institutional access to mainstream schools, whereby they receive Japanese as Second Language (JSL) classes and "cultural adaptation" classes before being placed into mainstream classes. Heritage language and culture learning is only provided in a limited number of schools. JSL and "cultural adaptation" classes are considered by the government as more important in facilitating migrant children to achieve academically and in arresting school's reproduction of social disadvantage. This paper suggests, however, that neither attempts have been adequate; and that this has prompted the development of out-of-school education programs for both purposes.

It is better understood in terms of the continuum from one way assimilative incorporation (the minority group adjusting to the dominant society) to genuine two way incorporation (a symmetrical process) (Alexander 2013, p. 532). In reality, we find most societies are located somewhere between the two ends of the continuum. Education is considered one of the most effective vehicles for facilitating the integration of migrants (Grant and Portera 2011; Banks, 2006) and social cohesion (Engel et al. 2013). Failure to equip migrant children to attain a certain level of educational achievement typically leads to unemployment. Without appropriate knowledge of the host society's workings and language, young people find it difficult to participate in society, and subsequently experience a sense of alienation. Education thus affects their sense of political, social and cultural integration.

²See Okano (2014) for a comparative review of research on race and ethnic inequalities in education in Japan.

I begin with illustrating the multiethnic population in Japanese urban centers to set the context. After briefly examining the national government policies, I will discuss the current practice of education that migrant children experience at the local government level and at individual schools. The paper will then turn to how volunteer groups and NGOs provide out-of-school education programs specific to migrant children, and their collaboration with local schools. I will also touch on similar out-of-school programs for children from poor urban families.

This paper draws on the fieldwork that I conducted between 2006 and 2014 in the Kobe and Osaka regions, where I have maintained contact with several schools. Dai Primary School which I refer to later is one of these schools. I observed educational practices, interviewed teachers (including the principal and vice-principal), and collected primary sources in the form of school documents. The paper also draws on a wide range of primary sources that are available from other schools, central and local governments, local education boards, and NGOs.

The paper suggests that government school programs alone have been inadequate to meet migrant children's needs, and that migrant-specific out-of-school programs play increasingly significant roles in filling the gaps. Collaboration between local schools and out-of-school programs began emerging to varying degrees in some localities, which seems to have been effective in achieving the shared goal of promoting migrant children's participation in schooling. The increasing visibility of free out-of-school academic coaching for migrants began to direct the public's attention to children from poor families who similarly struggle at school.

11.2 Increasing Cultural Diversity in Japan's Urban Centers

The dominant outsiders' perception of the Japanese school population has been one of ethnically and culturally homogeneous children. Indeed the national system of education has long been based on the assumption that all students are Japanese and have Japanese language capacity (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999). It was therefore a challenge for schools when migrant children began settling in Japan in the 1990s. When faced with children who were different, schools actively tried to assimilate them into the dominant Japanese cultural norms. "Cultural adaptation" and Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) comprised the pillar of the schools' attempts, first provided in the 1970s for Japanese children who had returned from lengthy stays overseas for their fathers' jobs (Nukaga and Tsuneyoshi 2011).

It was not that Japan had never had a migrant population. Japan's population has always been multi-ethnic (see Table 11.1). Migrant minorities in Japan are often categorized into two distinct groups. One is "old-comer" migrants whose origin predate the end of the Second World War, and the other is so the called "newcomers" (new migrants), who started arriving in the 1980s. The former include ethnic Koreans and Chinese (descendants of former colonial subjects) who came to Japan (either by force or voluntarily) during Japan's colonial occupation of those territories; and who hold special permanent resident status. Both Korean and Chinese

Table 11.1 The estimated populations of minority groups

Minority groups	Japanese citizens	Non-Japanese citizens living in Japan
Ainu (indigenous)	Exact number unknown (24,000 self-categorized in Hokkaido; 300,000 in Japan)	
Okinawan	Exact number unknown (1.37 million in Okinawa-prefecture; 300,000 in other parts of Japan)	
Amerasians in Okinawa	Exact number unknown	
People of <i>buraku</i> descent	Exact number unknown (estimated 1.5–3 million)	
Ethnic Chinese	Exact number unknown (88,123 naturalized 1972–2003; 55,708 children of Chinese-Japanese marriages 1986–2005)	606, 889 (2007)
Ethnic Koreans	Exact number unknown (320,232 naturalized 1952–2008; 263,996 Korean-Japanese marriages 1955–2007; 133,253 children of Korean-Japanese marriages 1985–2007)	593,489 (2007)
Registered foreigners – excluding Chinese and Koreans		952,593 (including 316,967 Brazilians and 202,592 Filipinos)
Naturalised Japanese citizens	Exact number unknown (133,684 in 1952–2008, excluding ethnic Chinese and Koreans)	
Children of mixed descent where one parent is a Japanese citizen	Exact number unknown	
Japanese returnees	Exact number unknown (12,000 returned in 2008)	
Totals	Exact number unknown (3.93–5.70 million or more)	2,152,973

Sources: Okano and Tsuneyoshi (2011, p. 6)

communities maintain fulltime ethnic schools, which run independently of the mainstream schools. Across the country about 10 % of Korean and Chinese children attend the ethnic schools.

Newcomer migrants have come to Japan voluntarily in search of better lives since the 1980s, and significantly differ from the “old-comer” migrants mentioned above. Returnees from China (war-displaced Japanese and their families from North East China) and Indo-Chinese refugees started arriving in the 1980s. Then Japan’s economic boom attracted foreign workers from Asia and South America. The 1990 revision of the immigration law allowed for the first time unskilled workers to enter the country, provided they could demonstrate Japanese ancestry, leading to influxes of South American migrants. Labor shortages in the manufacturing sector, the high

value of the yen and unemployment in their homelands accelerated the process. While most originally planned for a short term stay, many ended up becoming long-term residents or remained permanently.

We have estimated that the total minority population is between 5.78 million and 7.85 million, approximately 5–6% of the total population (Okano and Tsuneyoshi 2011, p. 6; Sugimoto 2010, p. 7, 191–5). This can only be an estimate, because of the national government's failure to document information on the birthplace and descent of its citizens. Once a Brazilian takes up Japanese citizenship by naturalization or marriage, he or she becomes simply a "Japanese citizen". There is also no record of the number of children of mixed descent who have at least one Japanese national parent and therefore have automatically gained Japanese citizenship at birth.

Two official categories used by the Ministry of Education in describing the increasing diversity of the student population are: "foreign nationals" (non-Japanese citizens) and "students who require instruction in Japanese as a Second Language (JSL)" (Okano 2012, p. 58). However the reality is not adequately depicted by just these two categories. For example, fifth-generation Korean nationals living in Japan typically have Japanese as their sole language, while many migrant children who had Japanese citizenship (of mixed marriage or otherwise) require JSL support. In the last two decades, a more inclusive term, "children with special connection with foreign countries", began to be used first by teachers in Osaka area, then by some local governments, and more recently by the Ministry of Education. The term is more inclusive, in that it removes boundaries based on nationality and Japanese language proficiency.

11.3 Migrant Children Struggling in Urban Schools

Migrant children have struggled in mainstream schools to varying degrees, despite a diverse range of programs to address their specific needs. These programs will be discussed later in this paper. The most pressing challenge now is the fact that some migrant children do not attend school and stay at home unsupervised (since their parents work long hours), after dropping out of a mainstream school or choosing not to attend school in the first place (Sakuma 2006; Miyajima and Oota 2005). Many of these migrant children become unemployed and/or disaffected teens attending no form of education.

Primary and middle schools (Year 1–9) are more likely to manage to keep academically struggling migrant students since it is the period of compulsory education (until age 16). Admission beyond this, that is, senior high school (Years 10–11) requires applicants to succeed in entrance examinations (based on the compulsory education curriculum), but many migrant students are not equipped to perform well for the exam. Their academic language capacity remains inadequate, although many of them learn conversational Japanese within a few years and give a false impression that their Japanese proficiencies are fine. Therefore it is crucial to enable these

children to keep up with school work, and to strategically choose migrant-specific special entry systems to senior high school (as will be discussed later).

Fewer migrant children proceed to senior high schools than non-migrant ones. It is difficult to estimate the ratio nationally since some migrant students drop out before middle school completion, others never attended a Japanese school in the first place, either choosing a “school for foreigners (or ethnic schools)”, or stayed at home. Based on available documents, in 2006 the high school entry rate for migrant children ranged from 53% in Hyogo prefecture to 85% in Osaka prefecture (Zenkoku-Zainichigaikokujin-Kyôiku-Kenkyûkyôgikai 2007; Hyogo-ken Zainichi-Gaikokujin-Kyôiku-Kenkyû-Kyôgikai 2007); with an average figure of 67% for the 17 local governments which are members of the Association of Cities with Many Foreign Residents (*Gaikokujin Shûjûtoshi Kaigi*) (Gaikokujin-Shûjûtoshi-Kaigi-Yokkaichi 2005). The national average rate for all students has exceeded 98% in the last two decades (Monbukagakushô 2015). These young migrants are unlikely to secure stable employment in the mainstream labor market where a high school diploma is the minimum requirement. It is imperative to devise ways to have migrant children attending some form of educational institution until completion of Year 12.

Osaka prefecture has maintained the highest percentage of migrants entering senior high schools in recent years. I suspect that the infrastructure that Osaka had already accumulated in human rights education to address disadvantages faced by *buraku* children (descendants of feudal outcastes) and Japan-born Koreans made it easier to build programs for migrants. Osaka’s case offers optimism that schools can make a difference in promoting migrant children’s retention to post-compulsory schooling; but in other cities there is a long way to go. Migrant education is thus one of the most pressing issues facing urban education in Japan. We will now see how this is tackled at the national level, local government level, and individual school level.

11.4 National Government Policies on Migrant Education

Japan is not a migrant society in the same way as Australia, Canada and the US are. The national government does not see itself as leading such a society given Japan’s relatively low percentage of immigrants, compared to these societies; and has neither formulated a systematic national policy to address the cultural and ethnic diversity of the student population, nor seems intent to pursue this in near future.

The current basic position is that all Japanese nationals are required to attend 9-years of compulsory education provided by schools accredited as “mainstream schools” (so called “*ichijôkô*”) by the Ministry of Education; and that non-Japanese nationals residing in Japan are expected to do the same, although this is not mandatory. Non-Japanese nationals are not legally obliged to complete nine years of schooling under the Fundamental Education Act (*Kyôiku Kihon Hô*). This does not mean that the national government is unaware of the increasing number of migrant children in schools, judging from a range of ad-hoc “notices” regarding the treatment of foreign nationals that have been issued to date.

In early modern days (from 1868 until the end of the Second World War), the national government exercised overtly discriminatory policies for ethnic and cultural minorities, indigenous peoples, *buraku* people, and Chinese and Korean migrants (forced or otherwise), by creating separate schools for indigenous and *buraku* people and excluding non-Japanese nationals from free textbook provision. During the postwar years, however, the Ministry of Education's basic position on minority education has been the "principle of simple equality" (treating everyone in the same way) (e.g., Okano 2000), whereby students even those with special needs (e.g., gifted children, children from disadvantaged families) received little special treatment at school. Originating in a 1953 Ministry notice regarding "oldcomer" ethnic Koreans (Okano 2011), this passive and seemingly innocuous policy continued unchanged for the next 25 years.

A slight shift in this approach was observed in 1991. It was driven from two directions – the old-timer Korean minority and new migrants. First, the Ministry of Education for the first time acknowledged the operation of after-school ethnic classes for Koreans at government schools in Osaka, which individual schools had run ignoring the Ministry's position since the 1950s; and approved their continuation. In the same year, in response to the increasing numbers of guest workers' children in local schools, there was a nation-wide collection of data on the number of students who required Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) instruction, in order to inform future measures. Lacking central government guidance, local government and individual school initiatives had tried to meet the daily needs of migrant children but in ad-hoc matter (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999). It took more than 10 years after 1991 for the Ministry of Education to issue the national JSL curricula for primary schools and middle schools (Monbukagakaku-shô 2003, 2007).

The Ministry also responded to requests for practical information and guidance for individual migrant families and schools. It designed and issued a guidebook in several languages to be provided to migrant parents ("Guidebook for Starting School") (Monbukagakaku-shô 2005). In March 2011, it produced a 68-page guidebook for schools and teachers about accepting "foreign children" (Monbukagakaku-shô 2011), an addition to the large number of already existing professional books of this kind prepared by commercial publishers (e.g., Usui 2009). The Ministry provides a homepage devoted to "children living abroad and returnees" (*Kaigaishijo kyôiku kikoku-gaikokujin jidôseito kyôiku nado ni kansuru hômu pêji*, CLARINET)³; and only in March 2011 instituted another homepage of information for "students with a special connection to foreign countries" (*gaikoku ni tsunagari no aru jidô seito no gakushû o shiensuru jôhō kensaku saito*, CASTANET).⁴

³ A homepage devoted to "children living abroad and returnees" (*Kaigaishijo kyôiku kikoku-gaikokujin jidôseito kyôiku nado ni kansuru hômu pêji*, CLARINET). Retrieved May 1, 2015, from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/clarinet/main7_a2.htm

⁴ A homepage of information for "students with special connection to foreign countries" (*gaikoku ni tsunagari no aru jidô seito no gakushû o shiensuru jôhō kensaku saito*, CASTANET). Retrieved May 1, 2015, from <http://www.casta-net.jp>

In addition to separate measures and publications specific to the needs of migrants' education, the mainstream guidelines began referring to migrants and signaled a departure from the simple equality principle. Changes are seen in the national curriculum guidelines (*gakushūshidō yōryō*, officially translated as "course of study"), issued in 1998 for primary and middle school education, and in 1999 for senior high school education; and all updated with slight modifications in 2003. The new national curriculum guidelines provided educational practitioners with the scope for diverse interpretations to suit migrants' needs. They noted the need for special treatment for "Japanese returnees and those in similar situations", and encouraged schools to provide education that would effectively build on their prior overseas experience" (Chapter 1.5.2.7 in the primary school guidelines; Chapter 1.6.2.7 for the middle school guidelines; and Chapter 1.6.5.7 in the senior high school guidelines) (Monbukagakaku-shō 1998a, b, 2003). The needs of Japanese returnees (children of Japanese expatriates returning from a long period of residence overseas) and those of migrants differ in many respects, for example, in terms of their social class background and families' capacity to assist their children academically; but these guidelines illuminate the shared aspects (i.e., JSL and "cultural adaptation" to Japanese schooling). Indeed, international classes (*kokusai kyōshitsu*) often simultaneously cater for both Japanese returnees and migrant children (Okano and Tsuneyoshi 2011).

The current senior high school curriculum guidelines pointed out particular difficulties that migrants commonly experience at senior high schools, such as the needs of "students who are significantly behind their contemporaries in academic achievement" and stated that schools are encouraged to offer remedial teaching and subjects to ensure that students attain the compulsory education curriculum level (Chapter 1.6.5.6). These relevant points were maintained in the new 2009 version (Monbukagakaku-shō 2009), which was implemented in 2013.

I would suggest however that the most significant development is the Ministry's public statement about the benefits that culturally different students bring to all Japanese students. The latest national curriculum guidelines for primary schools and middle schools (issued in 2008 and implemented in April 2011) for the first time acknowledged this, and encouraged schools to provide migrant/foreign students opportunities to learn and maintain their own language and cultures (Chapter 1.4.2.8 for primary schools; Chapter 1.4.2.9 for middle schools) (Monbukagakaku-shō 2008a, b). These documents still use the term "foreigners"; but as we will see later, such a category is arbitrarily interpreted at local and school levels as "those with foreign roots".

11.5 Practice at the Local Level and Individual Schools

Individual schools were the first to respond to the needs of migrants, who unexpectedly appeared in classrooms in local schools in the early 1990s. Given the absence of national multicultural education policies, school-level practices have been ad-hoc

and trial-error in approach, which I have discussed at length (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999, p. 128–140). To this day, many studies (both academic and professional) have reported examples of programs addressing the needs of migrant children (e.g., Shimizu and Kojima 2006; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001; Watado and Kawamura 2002; Tsuneyoshi et al. 2011; Shimizu 2008).

When non-Japanese speaking migrant children began arriving, individual schools were compelled to “do something”. Schools first started with running JSL classes, creating “cultural adaptation classes”, also called “international classes”, where migrant children could feel comfortable, and in many cases appointed one of the existing experienced teachers as the coordinator in charge of migrant children. Schools were confused as to what to do, and sought advice and assistance from local education boards (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999).

Local education boards (which oversee government schools) and local governments then began to respond to the needs of migrant children at schools under their supervision. They started with providing financial assistance for what individual schools were already doing and in some cases recruiting extra teachers (part time or fulltime) to facilitate the integration of these children. Requests from these schools and local education boards compelled the national Ministry of Education to produce teaching materials for JSL and various guidebooks for migrant parents and teachers at schools which accepted migrant/foreign children.

Furthermore, a number of affected local governments have taken initiatives in creating multicultural education policies. In 2007 approximately 80 local governments maintained “policies for the education of foreign nationals in Japan” (*zainichi gaikokujin kyôiku hôshin or shishin*) (Zenkoku-Zainichi gaikokujin-Kyôiku-Kenkyûkyôgikai 2007, p. 26–8). While reflecting specific local conditions and histories, these local government multicultural education policies do share major elements (Okano 2006). They are: (1) involvement of the whole school population (not only minority students), (2) dissemination of accurate knowledge regarding Japan’s past and racial prejudice regarding other Asians; (3) promotion of respect for cultural differences and human rights, (5) JSL provision, (6) mother tongue maintenance, and (7) school assistance to establish post-school destinations for minority students. These elements are widely observed in similar policies elsewhere in the world (Banks 2010; Grant and Chapman 2008).

There is a significant degree of variation between individual schools and across localities, in how schools attempt to integrate migrant children. The absence of clear mandatory directives from the center, and the vague nature of the national government guidelines mentioned above have allowed local players (education boards, individual schools, and teachers) to interpret and implement the national guidelines with a degree of discretion as they see appropriately. Diversity across localities and individual schools can be a positive sign of responsiveness to unique conditions, but it also means that migrant children in some locations do not have the same access to migrant-specific education due to the lack of an enforced standard (e.g., Sakuma 2006).

11.6 Migrant-Specific Bilingual Classes at Primary Schools

One successful practice in promoting migrant children's school participation is migrant-specific bilingual classes at primary schools. Dai Primary School (pseudonymous name), one of the schools that I studied in my fieldwork, offered migrant language instruction in the name of bilingual JSL classes. In order to fund this, the principal secured a local government grant for JSL classes. He also secured further funding to employ extra teachers, on the grounds that Dai Primary has a large proportion of children from poor families. A principal's capacity to seek funding via the existing funding opportunities and to lobby makes a difference, as seen below.

Dai Primary School is a medium size school, located near Hyogo prefectural housing complexes accommodating migrants from China – returnees from China (war-displaced Japanese and their families from North East China).⁵ The school has a relatively large number of migrant children. In 2015 the school's student population was about 350, including 25 migrant children who required JSL. There were 22 teachers including the principal, vice-principal, a special education teacher, and a "teacher to assist student wellbeing" (*jidōseito shien kyōin*). The school has offered JSL classes since 1986. I have conducted fieldwork at this school since 2006.

A five-member team was in charge of meeting the special needs of the Chinese students. The principal personally approached a veteran teacher to take on the position of "teacher to assist student wellbeing" (*jidō seito shien kyōin*) and lead the team. In order to obtain this position, the school submitted a substantial application to the prefectural education board, arguing that the nature of the student population required such a position: (1) 25 students were migrants who required JSL; (2) 49% of all students received financial assistance for low income families (*shūgaku enjo*) from the education board; and (3) 26% of the school families were headed by a single-parent.⁶ It also stated that because of parents' long working hours the school was forced to pay special attention to the students' developmental needs. Dai Primary thus managed to receive an extra teacher (*kahai*) due to students' poverty, despite, by then, the cessation of the Ministry of Education scheme to provide an extra teacher for JSL.

The veteran teacher, Mr. Honma, spent considerable time cultivating relationships with the local Chinese community. He recruited two Chinese-speaking "volunteers" from the neighborhood (without going through the local education board) to teach Chinese and assist students when necessary. The school paid them in the form of supermarket vouchers. A teacher from the prefectural government's Center for Children's Multicultural Co-living visited the school regularly in order to assist newly arrived migrant children. The remaining member was Ms. Yuka, a young fulltime teacher who had recently begun her teaching career and whom the principal recruited because of her Chinese language proficiency.

⁵This is an abbreviation of the description of Dai Primary School provided in Okano (2012).

⁶Dai Primary School (pseudonymous name) (2006) Heisei 18 nendo gakkō hōmon shiryō [a document prepared for the education board's visit to the school 2006]. Kobe: Dai Primary School.

The School offered bilingual JSL, as well as Chinese language and culture classes, called “*Tonton kyôshitsu*” (児童教室 children’s classroom – “children” in Mandarin Chinese, and “classroom” in Japanese). Public announcements at school functions such as sports festivals and music concerts were also given in Chinese. Unlike many other schools, most migrant children at the school went on to senior high school; and the school hosted past students as a way of encouraging and inspiring current students.

Schools thus often generously interpreted vague expressions in the local guidelines and devised concrete ways to cater for the special needs of migrant children. Dai Primary School, for example, began teaching immigrant languages out of a concern that the loss of a first language would have negative consequences for learning Japanese and general academic achievement (Okano 2012), although teaching of migrant home languages is not mentioned in the national curriculum guidelines.

11.7 A Migrant-Specific Entry Scheme to Senior High Schools

What happens to these children when they complete compulsory schooling at 16? Do they manage to gain entry to senior high schools via competitive entrance examination systems? What happens to the bilingual capacities which these primary schools strove to maintain? There are two measures that some senior high schools provide in order to make admission to high school more accessible for migrant students.

The first is special consideration (or concession) for entrance examinations for new migrants (*nyûshi tokubetsu sochi*). These designated schools (often located in localities with relatively large numbers of migrants) provide migrant applicants with extension of examination time, phonetic readings of kanji characters, and permission to take language dictionaries into examination venues. This was offered by 30 prefectures in 2014, up from 20 in 2009 (Chûgoku-kikokusha-teichaku-sokushin-sentâ 2014, 2009).

The other measure is completely separate entrance examinations for migrant children (*tokubetsu nyûgakuwaku*). Common examples of such examinations include the replacement of social studies and Japanese language and literature examinations with long essays (which can be written in the migrant’s first language), and a reduction in the number of examined subjects (Okano 2012). As of 2014, 20 prefectures such separate entrance examination for migrant children (Chûgoku-kikokusha-teichaku-sokushin-sentâ 2014). Each school sets a quota for the number of students it will accept through this migrant-specific entrance examination. Some prefectures designate a large number of schools to participate in such special examinations, each accepting a small number of migrant children (e.g., Kagoshima prefecture); while others involve a relatively small number of schools,

each accepting relatively substantial number of migrant students, in order to avoid feelings of isolation amongst them (e.g., Osaka and Kanagawa prefectures) (Inui 2008, p. 35–36).

Osaka prefecture has attracted the attention of educational practitioners, in maintaining the highest percentage of migrants entering senior high schools in recent years. A research team estimated that this is due to the migrant-friendly senior high school and associated entrance examination system, specifically: (1) the large number of new migrant-specific places made available (2) generous eligibility conditions applying to special consideration for migrant children (e.g., flexible interpretation of time of arrival in Japan to include long-time resident migrants who would not otherwise qualify), and (3) entrance examination content which takes account of the needs of migrant children (e.g., Inui 2008, p. 40).

Many metropolitan education boards provide yearly information sessions on the senior high school entrance examination schemes for migrant children and what the boards consider to be “migrant-friendly schools”. The sessions explain in detail the application procedure, provided advice on how to prepare for the examination, and a list of schools with special entrance schemes and migrant languages offered in certain high schools.⁷

Migrant-friendly schools tend to have a long experience of accommodating local Japanese children from disadvantaged family backgrounds, and to have feeder middle schools with substantial numbers of new migrant children. They tend to be located near public housing complexes and cheap rental apartments. I shall discuss the interface of migrant children and children from poor families later.

11.8 Migrant-Friendly Flexible High School Course Structure

Despite gaining entry to senior high school through special schemes, migrant students continue to face challenges on the path to completion. They continue to require the schools’ deliberate efforts to facilitate and assist their study. For example, all five Osaka schools with the special entry scheme offer a “place of belonging” (*ibasho*) where migrant children feel comfortable in the center of the school building. They also conduct extensive human rights education across the curriculum for the whole school.

These schools also offer “migrant-friendly” subjects. They are what the school considers relevant and important for migrant children and include language subjects

⁷The information session, “Gaikoku kara kita kodomotachi eno shinro gaidansu” (literally translated as “Guidance for deciding on post-school destinations for children from foreign countries”), has been jointly organised by the Hyogo-prefecture Education Board, the Kobe-city Education Board, the Himeji-city Education Board, and the Himeji International Association (Himeji-city Kokusai Kōryū Kyōkai).

such as Mandarin Chinese, Korean, Portuguese, Spanish, Tagalog, and Vietnamese. Senior high schools began offering the wider range of such subjects (developed by the individual schools) because of a large-scale structural reform of the senior high school system in the late 1990s. The reform aimed to make post-compulsory schooling more flexible and diverse in order to meet changing needs, by providing greater subject choice (Okano 2009). The policy also aimed to merge schools and reduce their number, in the face of declining student numbers due to the declining birth rate.

It is innovative that some migrant-friendly senior high schools made a deliberate decision to capitalize on this general structural reform in order to facilitate migrants' school completion. More diverse types of senior high schools and school-based curriculum development allowed individual schools to respond to the needs of migrant students in a way that was not possible before (Okano 2012). In the new types of senior high schools, individual students can make their own curricula by selecting from a wide range of subjects designed by their schools. These subjects are expected to reflect local needs and conditions. Some schools chose to offer classes on the migrant languages (Chinese, Vietnamese, Spanish, Korean, etc.) and the history of these countries, which would assist immigrant students ultimately in graduation from senior high school. As of April 2013, 1,337 such high schools were operating in Japan (Monbukagakaku-shô 2014).

Individual schools have discretion about staffing. Some schools recruit fulltime teachers, while others employ teachers for such subjects from a "human resource bank" located within the local government. Schools also offer subjects to prepare migrant students for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (the Japanese equivalent of TOEFL); and for university entrance examinations where they can take their first language as a foreign language (instead of taking the English examination which the majority of students do).

The quotas for migrant students at these migrant-friendly senior high schools have been readily filled, indicating that a healthy demand exists for the special entrance examination. Osaka Education Board's homepage explains the special entrance examination in six languages. There is now in place a long-term pathway for migrant children from primary school to senior high school. Seeing this, migrant children are now more likely to remain at school and proceed beyond compulsory education.

These migrant-friendly high schools exist in localities where a substantial number of migrants reside and where local governments are committed to their support. We should note that migrant students in other localities are typically excluded from the benefits of this type of schooling (e.g., Zenkoku-Zainichi-Gaikokuin kyôiku-Kenkyûkyôgikai 2011, p. 7–8). This is the gap which neighborhood communities, volunteers, and after-school homework clubs are attempting to fill.

11.9 Filling the Gaps Through Out-of-School Programs

There is no doubt that migrant children are now provided with a larger number of, and more sophisticated, migrant-specific programs, and non-migrant students and their parents are more familiar with the presence of migrant classmates, than two decades ago. Anecdotal stories are aplenty about non-migrant students making life-long friends with migrant children and appreciating the differences that the latter bring to school. There are also stories of migrant children being bullied at school, feeling alienated and refusing to attend school. School and local education boards have been responding to what they see as the needs of migrant children; but as I emphasized earlier, there are significant variations across schools and local governments. In this context, it is not surprising that voluntary initiatives have gradually emerged outside school, particularly in urban centers, which attempt to fill gaps in facilitating migrant children's participation in mainstream schooling.

One of these gaps is what migrant families are unable to provide for their children. Schools in Japan generally expect that parents or older siblings can assist in children's homework at primary school level; and if problems arise they would advise the teachers. Student progress is monitored by school and family. In the teacher-parent communication book (*renrakuchō*), students list daily homework and homeroom teachers regularly communicate specific messages about the child to his or her parents. Parents can also communicate with teachers via email. Schools soon realized that communication with migrant students' parents was difficult because of their lack of Japanese language proficiency, and began providing messages in multiple languages by enlisting volunteer university students of foreign languages (e.g., Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Tagalog, etc.). Realizing that migrant students cannot rely on assistance with homework from their families, individual class teachers began offering individualized assistance after school. Teachers were therefore pleased when offers to assist migrant students with their homework came from outside the school.

There are seven categories of out-of-school programs to facilitate migrant children's learning, although overlaps exist: (1) specific homework assistance, and general academic tutoring; (2) fulltime courses to prepare for high school and university entrance examinations, (3) academic Japanese language classes, (4) seminars on migrant-friendly schools and strategies, (5) provision of "places of belonging" (*ibasho*) outside school, (6) ethnic language and culture classes, (7) provision of regular interaction with the elderly of the ethnic group in order to nurture a sense of one's own culture. In addition, community-based providers attempt to promote local schools' understanding of migrant children by sending to the schools elderly people of the migrant community and instructors, as well as "cultural materials" (e.g., for cooking classes). Local school children are also welcomed to visit these providers as a study trip.

The most prevalent forms of out-of-school programs are small neighborhood-based classes to assist migrant students' homework and provide remedial teaching. If there are sufficient participants, they are organized systematically in age-grade

classes. These after school and weekend programs enable migrant children to keep up at school and are led by volunteers such as university students and retired teachers. There are varying degrees of coordination with local schools (Okano 2016). In some cases, homeroom teachers of migrant children are heavily involved in out-of-school programs in close collaboration with volunteer teachers. Homework assistance is offered by many small neighborhood centers (Nakamatsu 2016), semi-autonomous divisions within local government offices, large scale NGOs,⁸ and ethnic organizations.

The second type of out-of-school program is the fulltime day-course. These are provided by large scale NPOs, such as the “Multicultural Free School” located in the Multicultural Symbiosis Center Tokyo.⁹ Fulltime courses are designed to meet the needs of over-aged migrant children who are excluded from attending government middle schools, in order to prepare them for senior high school entrance examinations. Some participants may have completed nine years of schooling before arriving in Japan. The systematic course runs 6 h daily (3 h in the morning and 3 in the afternoon), allowing students to enroll either in all-day course or the afternoon classes only. The Center applied for and won purpose-specific funding under the “Rainbow Bridging School Project”, which covers some of the operating costs, keeping fees at USD600 for 2 months of attendance. Of the 59 students who attended the fulltime course in 2011, 49 attempted the entrance examinations. Forty six succeeded.

The third type of out-of-school program is Japanese language classes for academic purposes. These classes emerged in recognition that daily life language proficiency was inadequate for succeeding in the entrance examinations to senior high school and universities. Fourthly, these provide valuable information about schooling for migrant children, such as which high schools offer separate migrant-specific entrance examinations. Seminars are held for migrant children and their parents covering the concrete content of the examination, high school curricula and career paths.

Lastly, these out-of-school programs offer migrant children with a “place of belonging” (*ibasho*). In being unable to fully engage with their host community, migrant children feel isolated, and seek a place where they feel genuinely

⁸ See for example the following large scale NGOs.

Takunka Kyōsei Center Tokyo. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://tabunka.or.jp>

Tabunka Kyōsei Center Kyoto. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://www.tabunkakyoto.org>

Shinjuku Tabunka Kyōsei Puraza. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://www.city.shinjuku.lg.jp/foreign/japanese/plaza.html>

Tabunka Kyōsei Kyōiku Network Kanagawa. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://www15.plala.or.jp/tabunka/>

Tabunka Kyōsei Network Naganoken (NPO). Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://www.mirai-kikin.or.jp/mirai/group/1834.html>

Chūshin Tabunka Kyōsei Network (Matsumoto) NPO. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://www.city.shinjuku.lg.jp/foreign/japanese/plaza.html>

⁹ Tabunka Free School, Takunka Kyōsei Center Tokyo. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://tabunka.or.jp/project/freeschool/>

comfortable interacting and can share experiences with other migrant children outside school. Out-of-school programs for migrants (e.g., homework clubs and language classes) provide these students with a sense of mutual assistance, solidarity and identity. Their experience (even of a fulltime course which focuses on entrance examination preparation) therefore differs in this respect from academic coaching schools (*juku*) for mainstream Japanese students (e.g., Roesgaard 2006). These places also provide migrant children with regular opportunities to interact with senior members of their migrant community and learn about ethnic culture, which helps cultivating self identity.

One of the largest organizations assisting migrant children is the Multicultural Symbiosis Center Tokyo. The initial Multicultural Symbiosis Center emerged as a small information hub for foreign residents in Kobe after the Hanshin-Awaji earthquake in 1995, and subsequently expanded in scope and branched out to other cities (Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto). The centers now operate as independent NPOs but still share the name, Multicultural Symbiosis Center. Further centers with similar missions and the same name have been established in other cities as well (e.g., Hamamatsu, Tachikawa, Nishi-Tokyo, and Gunma).

The Multicultural Symbiosis Centers Tokyo¹⁰ (the Tokyo center hereafter) operates a fulltime day-time course for over-aged migrant children who are excluded from attending government middle schools. The Center also offers evening courses, comprising 90 min sessions 4 days a week for migrant children who attend local government middle schools and wish to proceed to senior high school. These courses are similar to those at commercially operated cram schools. The curriculum covers Japanese, English and Math, and includes remedial teaching as well as preparation for the entrance examination.

The Center also provides more conventional, free programs for migrant children. In the Saturday homework club (“Kids Project”) children aged 13–18 study with volunteers (often university students), covering academic subjects and essay writing. Kids’ Project also offers academic and career counseling in multiple languages (Chinese, Tagalog, Spanish, English, Thai, and Korean) and advice on attending senior high schools and universities, and the entrance requirements for these institutions. For primary school age students and their mothers, the Center runs “Parent-children JSL”.

11.10 Out-of-School Programs for Children from Poor Families

The increasing number of out-of-school initiatives to facilitate migrant children’s participation in mainstream schooling have raised public awareness of their struggles. In the last 5 years we have seen an emergence of various out-of-school

¹⁰Takunka Kyōsei Center Tokyo. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://tabunka.or.jp>

initiatives provided for children from poor families, which are similar to those offered for migrant children. Many of these programs involve free academic coaching. Initially volunteer groups and NPOs began offering them (Saito 2015), and some local governments provided financial assistance (Sato et al. 2015). A large number of free out-of-school academic coaching programs are still run by volunteer groups and NPOs. As the media has begun to pay more attention to these programs, there is a greater awareness of “poverty amongst children” (*kodomo no hinkon*).

While poverty and education has long been one of the major concerns in sociology of education elsewhere, it had not been discussed widely in Japan either in the academia or the public sphere (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999, p. 83–88). When reference was made to poverty and education, it was in the context of the education of minority *buraku* children (descendants of feudal outcastes). One reason for the failure to focus on poverty in education is because it has been relatively invisible in Japan in comparison to other societies (Ishii 2014; Morimitsu 2011). The poor in Japan do not reside together in slums and specific areas, but are dispersed; and receive government financial allowances (e.g., living protection allowance and funds for bringing up children), which enable them to mask their poverty (Ishii 2014). But this has caused poor families to be isolated from other families in a similar plight, and invisible to the public to a large extent.

One in six Japanese children under 18 (16.1 %) live in poverty (Kôseirôdô-shô 2013), when poverty is defined as living with less than half of the median annual income. In the context of education debates and government discourse, poor families (*hinkon katei*) are often defined as single-parent families, and as families receiving living protection allowance (*seikatsu hogo*) and/or local government financial assistance for children’s education (*shûgaku enjo*). Receipt of both local government allowances is determined by a formula that takes into consideration of family income and the number of household members. In 2013 the retention rate to senior high schools amongst children from poor families was 89.9%, substantially lower than the national average of 98.4% (Kôseirôdô-shô 2014). It is difficult to obtain data on the poverty rate amongst migrants, since government surveys on employment, welfare receipts and income level do not differentiate migrants from non-migrants (Omagari, et al. 2012, p. 11–12). Omagari and her colleagues (2012, p. 11–12) devised ways to measure poverty amongst migrants by for example seeking data from the local association of South Americans; and concludes that South American unemployment rate was over 40%, compared with the national average of 5.7%, immediately after the Lehman Shock.

The national government implemented the Act to Promote Measures to Reduce Child Poverty [Kodomo no Hinkon Taisaku Suishin Hô] in January 2014, which requests local governments to establish concrete plans to reduce poverty (Naikaku-fu 2015). As of February 2015, 184 local governments (35 %) already began providing “learning assistance” (*gakushû shien*) in the form of academic coaching (Sato et al. 2015). They include Kawasaki, Shizuoka, Osaka, Saitama, Yokohama (Sakuragi 2013), Oita (Yomiuri-Shinbun 2013) and Kochi. The media have reported some examples of such initiatives. Shizuoka prefecture proposed four priorities in its “Plan to Reduce Child Poverty”: (1) assistance with children’s education,

(2) supporting daily lives; (3) assisting parents' employment; and (4) financial assistance (Asahi-Shinbun 2015). Kyoto prefecture formed a committee to consider measures for countering child poverty in October 2014 and proposed concrete plans for individual schools to adopt (Hatano 2015).

I suggest that the relative visibility of migrant children struggling academically at school and attending migrant-specific out-of-school programs has shed light on children from poor families who face similar conditions. Migrant children struggled academically not only because of their Japanese language inadequacy but also because parents and older siblings could not assist them with their homework. Children from poor families faced the same similar problem, although poor Japanese language was not an issue. Mainstream schools have been reluctant to provide overt institutional assistance specific to children from poor families in the past, perhaps because the dominant school culture is to treat all students equally, at least overtly (Morimitsu 2011, p. 284). Many teachers have personally assisted with homework and remedial learning after school and by paying various fees (e.g., school excursions) that their parents could not afford out of their own pockets; but these efforts were not visible to the public. Faced with some successful examples of out-of-school migrant-specific programs, attention began turning to children from poor families.

Arrival of migrant children in Japanese urban centers forced local schools to devise and implement migrant-specific programs to facilitate their integration into mainstream schooling. These programs alone were not sufficient to cater for their needs, which quickly prompted volunteers and NGOs to provide out-of-school programs. A recognition of their success, we now see similar out-of-school programs also being provided for children from poor families who also struggle at school. Schools respect these providers of free out-of-school academic coaching and value collaboration with them to a greater extent than 20 years ago.

11.11 Conclusions

One of the most pressing issues facing urban education in Japan is how best migrant children can be integrated into the mainstream schooling and the host society. Migrant children's struggles manifest themselves in both the daily practice of schooling and, more clearly, at the completion of compulsory education, where a substantially lower number of migrant children manage to gain admission to senior high schools via entrance examination.

Responses to the needs of migrant education were initially formulated and practiced bottom up in individual schools trying to provide for migrant children. As shown above, the system of education has gradually attempted to devise ways of accommodating the needs of migrant education at the levels of national government and local education boards. Individual schools have continued to create and implement programs to suit local conditions, including language assistance, cultural adaptation classes (so called "international classes"), special consideration for

migrant students in entrance examinations, separate high school entry examinations for migrants and migrant-friendly curricula.

The paper argues that out-of-school educational programs for migrants play increasingly significant roles in urban education in contemporary Japan, to the extent that some affected schools depend on their contribution. There is collaboration between local schools and out-of-school programs to differing degrees; and such collaboration seems effective in achieving the shared goal (of assisting migrant children's participation in schooling). These programs attempt to offer: (1) specific homework assistance, and general academic tutoring; (2) fulltime courses to prepare for entrance examinations, (3) academic Japanese language classes, (4) seminars on migrant-friendly schools and strategies, (5) provision of "places of belonging" outside school, (6) ethnic language and culture classes, (7) provision of regular interaction with the elderly of the ethnic group in order to nurture a sense of one's own culture. Community-based providers also attempt to promote local schools' understanding of migrant children.

The increasing number and prominence of out-of-school programs for migrant children began to direct our attention to children from poor families who experience similar struggles at school. Volunteer groups, NGOs and later local governments began offering these children out-of-school programs of a similar kind to those for migrants. There is a greater acknowledgement that schools' collaboration with out-of-school providers of free academic coaching is also effective in assisting children from poor families.

One of the concerns with these out-of-school programs is that the program and teacher quality exhibit significant variations. As they are not registered as mainstream schools (*ichijôkô*) by the Ministry of Education, these programs are not required to conform to government regulations and guidelines regarding minimum standards. But it is precisely because of the relative autonomy the programs enjoy that they can provide classes to suit the specific needs of particular groups of migrant students. Out-of-school educational programs have thus attempted to fill the gap in dealing with cultural diversity, and in ensuring access to, and equity in, the education of migrant children. How to strike an appropriate balance between these program's relative autonomy and public concern with quality is left to the discretion of individual schools and local education authorities.

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Chapter 12

Multicultural Education in Korea

Insil Chang

12.1 Introduction

The dawn of the twenty-first century has been accompanied by significant new trends, such as those related to information technology and globalization. In addition to these worldwide trends, Korea has also witnessed the advent of a multicultural society. The foreign population in Korea has grown at a rapid pace; as of 2016, its foreign population, including multicultural families, was more than 2,001,828, which accounts for approximately 3.9% of registered Korean residents. This influx of foreign residents has influenced the children of multicultural families. Furthermore, almost half of these multicultural families are currently living in urban areas. There were 141,181 children of multicultural families in 2014, compared to only 25,000 in 2006, an increase of over five times in just 8 years (KOSIS 2015). More specifically, in the urban areas such as Gyeonggi-Do, Seoul, and Incheon, of the 17 total provinces, the total number of multicultural residents living in these urban areas is 694,513, which accounts for above 50% of the entire multicultural population (KOSIS 2016).

Korean society has traditionally emphasized the virtue of homogeneous ethnicity and taken pride in the so-called “pure bloodedness” of its members. As a result, it is experiencing difficulties as it struggles to adapt to an increasingly diverse society. In response, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) has expressed its concerns regarding Korea. At its 71st session, held in Geneva in 2007, the CERD noted that “the emphasis placed on the ethnic homogeneity of the State party [Korea] may represent an obstacle to the promotion of understanding, tolerance and friendship among the different ethnic and national groups living in its territory” and recommended that it “adapt appropriate measures in the fields of

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teaching, education, culture, and information, to recognize the multiethnic character of contemporary Korean society” (Hankyung 2007). This attests to the fact that Korea is no longer an ethnically homogeneous society and is transforming itself into a multicultural one.

Following the Korean War, which broke out on June 25, 1950, the Korean peninsula was divided into two countries—both were predominated by one ethnicity: Koreans. In its effort to establish legitimate grounds for unification, South Korea built an ethnic identity based on the stories of Dan-Gun, a mythical figure who was believed to be the progenitor of the Korean ethnic group. In this process, it created an “imagined community” based on the notion that Koreans are of the same blood root; this point was then emphasized in school textbooks (Park 2009). Many Koreans who received such instruction from an early age grew up being proud of Korea’s ethnic homogeneity. In the late 1980s, however, this status was challenged externally, as Korea began to see an influx of foreign workers, an increase in interracial marriages, and a rising number of multiethnic offspring. Nevertheless, Koreans found it difficult to let go of the myth of single ethnicity, which took root in society through decades of education. It was not until the 2007 revision of the national education curriculum that the term “single ethnicity” disappeared from textbooks.

Kim (2005) observes two large categories of multicultural societies. The first are societies built upon immigrants, such as the United States and Canada. Such societies have consisted of people from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds since their foundations. The second are those that began as single-ethnic societies, but later developed into multicultural ones in the course of industrialization and globalization. Korea falls under the latter category, and a close look at how Korea is becoming a multicultural society and conducting multicultural education in order to adapt to this change will provide understanding worth considering for countries that are going through a similar transition. Moreover, it will provide the opportunity to contemplate the future direction for multicultural education in Korea. In this context, this study delves into how Korean society has shifted into a multicultural nation, the concept of multicultural families, the direction of studies and policies concerning multicultural education, and directions for the development of multicultural education in Korea, especially in urban areas.

12.2 Korea as a Multicultural Society

12.2.1 *The Transition to a Multicultural Society*

There exist several contending views to explain the origins of a multicultural society in Korea. The first group advocates that ancient Korean society was a multicultural and multiethnic one (Chun 2009). As shown in *Cheo-yong-ga* (*Cheo-yong’s Song*), the Silla Dynasty (57 BC–AD 935) was a multicultural and multiethnic society marked by international trade and migration. Other literature also contends that

ancient Korea was a multiethnic country, as the Goguryeo dynasty (37 BC–AD 668) began expanding its territory (Park 2009). The descendants of fallen Goguryeo later established the Balhae dynasty (AD 698–926), which was in close connection with the Mohe tribe. Later on, a number of other tribes also became assimilated into the Balhae dynasty. As a result, the combined population of other tribes exceeded that of the Yemaek tribe, which mainly made up the Goguryeo, thus making the Balhae dynasty a much more multiethnic country compared to its predecessor (Park 2009).

The modernists or constructionists, by contrast, contend that the most notable immigrants in Korea's modern history were the Japanese. They also regard the Korean nation as a modern product of nationalist ideology that was exposed at the end of Chosun dynasty (Em 2001). The Treaty of Ganghwa (also known as the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity), in 1876, allowed Japanese citizens to move freely into the Korean Peninsula. This migration was further accelerated by Imperialist Japan's rule of Korea, which began in 1910; ultimately, the total number of Japanese people living in Korea was around 170,000 in 1945 (Lee 2006). The influx of Chinese migrants, who settled in Korea as merchants, began in 1882 after the Choson dynasty (1392–1910) signed a treaty of communication and commerce with the Qing Dynasty (Park 1981). Prior to this period, they argue, Korea was a status society with a clearly defined vertical hierarchy, that divided people into elites (*yangban*), commoners (*semin*), and slaves (*chenmin*). In this view, the Korean nation was born only with Korea's integration into the modern world system of nations and subsequent rise of ethnic-nationalist historiography (Shin 2006).

A third group of scholars argue that Korean society's transition into a multicultural society is a rather recent trend. They explain the reasons for Korea's transformation into a multicultural society by attempting to address the recent change in Korea's industry, labor markets, and globalization. After the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988, the Korean economy was faced with the issue of a labor shortage. In 1991, the government addressed this problem by introducing a training program through which Korean companies that operate overseas could invite foreign employees to Korea for industrial training. In 1994, this program expanded to small- and medium-sized companies that were not active overseas, so a large number of foreign workers could enter Korea's workforce. As a result, the number of foreign natives in Korea surged at a rapid pace. In 2004, Korea began to receive the foreign workforce as laborers, rather than trainees, as the government adopted a system permitting foreign employees, that replaced the training program completely in 2007 (Park 2008).

Interracial marriages, which mainly involved unwelcomed marriages between Korean women and American soldiers, took on a different aspect in the late 1980s as Korea experienced an acute shortage of brides. As a result of urbanization, cities became crowded, whereas rural communities lacked a sufficient female population for their bachelors. These bachelors began to seek marriages with foreign brides, and the first candidates were Chinese women of Korean descent who were able to enter Korea more freely after Korea and China established diplomatic ties in 1992. Today, these bridal candidates vary in terms of nationality; Korean men marry brides from Southeast Asia, Mongolia, and countries that were former members of the Soviet Union.

The influx of foreign workers and brides, which began in the late 1980s, is clear evidence that Korea has rapidly become a multicultural society in a short period of time. Given Korea's trends of economic development, low birth rates, an aging population, and labor shortages in the so-called "3D (difficult, dirty, and dangerous) sectors," the foreign workforce will continue to grow. Furthermore, the number of foreign workers will increase for manual labor and high-quality jobs alike. In addition, the worsening imbalance of the male-to-female ratio, and the growing number of single women avoiding marriage, means that Korea will continue to see a shortage of Korean-born brides and a rise of interethnic and interracial marriages. Despite this apparent shift into a multicultural society, ethnic Koreans are having difficulties getting along with people from different cultural backgrounds due to both the deeply rooted faith in the myth of single ethnicity and their lack of experience with multicultural families. In this respect, Korea is in great need of a multicultural education that will not only assist immigrants in adapting to this society, but also facilitate fundamental changes in how Koreans perceive these immigrants.

12.2.2 *Concept and Status of Multicultural Families*

The term "multicultural family" does not appear in other multicultural societies. It is, however, widely used in Korean society, along with the term "multicultural education". In Korea, a multicultural family can be described as a family consisting of members of different races, ethnicities, or cultures. Before adopting this term, multiracial/multiethnic children were referred to as *honhyeol* (혼혈아) or *twigi* (mixed blooded people), *Komerican* (derived from the words Korean and American), *ainoko* (a Japanese word for children born from interracial unions), *Kosian* (derived from the words 'Korean' and 'Asian') or *onnurrian* (온누리안, derived from the Korean word *onnuri* which stands for "the whole world"). To eliminate the negative connotation of some of these terms, the Citizens' Movement for Health and Family, an organization constituted of 30 civic groups, proposed the terms "multicultural family" and "second generation of multicultural families" in 2003 (Wikipedia, multicultural family). These terms became widely adopted in 2006, when the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development officially announced its Policy for Supporting the Education of Children from Multicultural Families.

There are different categories of multicultural families in Korea. In the academic world, the term "multicultural family" covers three minority groups: the families of foreign workers, interethnic marriage families, and families who are outcomes of the North Korean refugees policy. However, the coverage of multicultural families varies according to how different government agencies utilize it. The Ministry of Education, for instance, confines this term to families of foreign workers and interethnic marriage couples, excluding North Korean refugees, for whom it provides separate support. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF), on the other hand, puts top priority on social integration and thus applies the term to immigrants seeking permanent residency in Korea. On the basis of this approach,

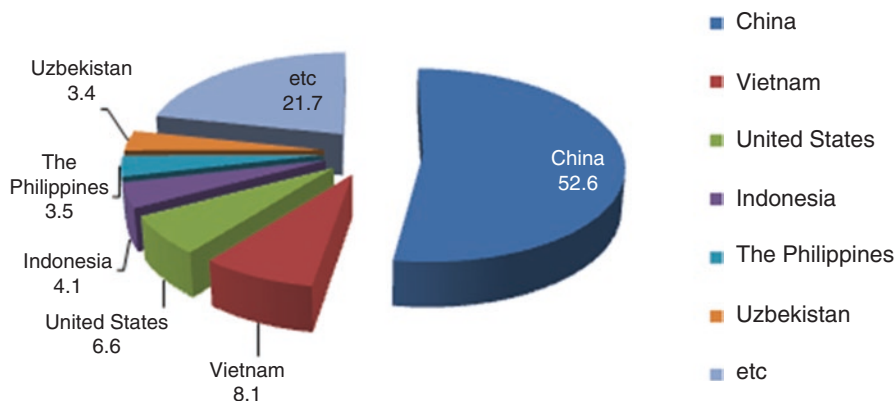


Fig. 12.1 Nationality of foreign workers in Korea. Note. Ministry of the Interior (2015)

MOGEF enacted the Support for Multicultural Families Act on March 21, 2008, and, as of 2010, only the families of marriage immigrants and Korean citizens by naturalization were subject to such support.

However, according to Banks (2001) and Sleeter and Grant (2007) “multicultural” is a term that encompasses not only race and ethnicity, but also gender, social status, culture, language, religion, sexual orientation, disabilities, and ideology. In this broader sense, “multicultural families” should refer to all families on earth. In this perspective, the distinct use of “multicultural family” in Korea is likely to breed prejudice and discrimination by drawing a line between migrants and mainstream citizens, suggesting that children are distinguished according to their parents’ countries of birth. Like the United States, the expression “at risk” is used as a collective term for students who require support for various reasons: for example, English may not be their first language, students may be unable to keep up in class, or they may be financially challenged. As these reasons often overlap with one other, such students receive support under a comprehensive system, rather than from separate ones. Similar to the United States, future Korean policies should help mitigate any difficulties individual families face and address their specific needs, rather than trying to help them simply because they are multicultural families.

As mentioned above, Korea’s academic definition of multicultural families includes foreign workers, marriage immigrants, and North Korean refugees. Among foreign residents, migrant workers were the largest group of total aliens in Korea. The total registered number of foreign workers was 608,116 in 2015 (Ministry of the Interior 2015), and the number is increasing by about 80,000 per year. The number of male foreign workers is 442,616 (72.8%), while the number of female workers is 165,500 (28.2%). In terms of nationality, the majority was from China (52.6%), and then Vietnam (8.1%), the United States (6.6%), Indonesia (4.1), the Philippines (3.5), Uzbekistan (3.4), and other states (see Fig. 12.1).

Table 12.1 Region of marriage immigrants in Korea

Province	Total	Man	Woman
Total	305,446	51,655	253,791
Seoul	74,629	19,791	54,838
Busan	11,720	1,368	10,352
Dague	7,827	871	6,959
Incheon	19,397	3,554	15,843
Gaengju	5,540	447	5,093
Daejeon	5,750	644	5,106
Ulsan	5,750	709	5,041
Seojong	741	74	667
Gyeonggi	89,877	17,999	71,878
Gangweon	6,697	421	6,276
Chungbook	8,736	808	7,928
Chungnam	14,019	1,373	12,646
Chenbook	10,291	517	9,774
Chunnam	11,316	401	10,915
Gyeongbook	13,045	867	12,178
Gyeongnam	16,836	1,405	15,431
Jeju	3,275	406	2,869

Note: KOSIS (2015)

The number of marriage immigrants, which was 93,786 in 2006, increased by three times to 305,446 as of 2015. The number of female foreign brides was 253,791 in 2015, which accounts for 83 % of all foreign-born spouses, while that of male foreign spouses is 51,655. A regional breakdown of this population reveals that a significant number of them reside in Gyeonggi-do, Seoul and Incheon—the Seoul Metropolitan area (urban areas)—followed by Gyeongsangnam-do, Chungcheongnam-do, and Jeollanam-do, which is a stark contrast to the common belief that most marriage immigrants live in rural areas (see Table 12.1). In regards to nationality, 48.4% of marriage immigrants were from China, followed by Vietnam (24.1%), the Philippines (5.1%), Japan (7.4%), and other locales (KOSIS 2015).

North Korean refugees, whose number is growing by the year, are a special group of people created from Korea's unique circumstances. Unlike any other immigrant group, North Korean refugees share similarities with mainstream Koreans in terms of appearance and language. However, the education they have received in a distinct ideological format, which has existed for more than six decades, makes it difficult for them to adjust to South Korean society (see Table 12.2).

In 2015, the total number of North Korean refugees was more than 26,000 (KOSIS 2015). Like most foreign workers and immigrant marriage families, many refugees also live in urban areas. Many of them live in the Gyeonggi-do, Seoul, and Incheon provinces. Because these urban areas have large industries and good education systems, many refugees choose to live there.

Table 12.2 Living regions of North Korea refugees in Korea

Province	Seoul	Gyeonggi	Incheon	Busan	Gyeongbook	Gyeongnam
Man	2,283	1,970	721	286	230	261
Woman	4,532	5,677	1,748	682	770	744
Total	6,815	7,647	2,469	968	1,000	1,005
Province	Dague	Chungbook	Chungnam	Gaongjoo	Gangwoon	Daejen
Man	162	199	258	143	170	131
Woman	543	811	888	433	506	398
Total	705	1,010	1,146	576	676	529
Province	Jennam	Jenbook	Ulsan	Jeoju	Total	
Man	151	122	163	55	7,305	
Woman	442	400	363	174	19,111	
Total	593	522	526	229	26,416	

Note: KOSIS (2015)

12.3 Multicultural Education in Korea

12.3.1 *The Misconceptions of Multicultural Education in Korea*

The notion of what constitutes a multicultural education varies among scholars. Banks (2001) suggests that the central goal of multicultural education is to reform schools and other educational institutions, to allow students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds and social strata to experience equality in education. Bennett (2011) shares this view by defining multicultural education as a comprehensive approach to teaching and learning and a movement toward equal education in schools and classrooms by reforming curriculums, obtaining multicultural abilities, and eventually realizing social justice. In short, the ultimate goal of multicultural education is fulfilling the ideal of equal education by reforming the curricula of schools and educational institutions.

However, the concepts of multicultural education in Korea are distorted in several ways. The first misconception of multicultural education in Korea is that the related theories, terminology, definition, and goals are mixed with those of “education for international understanding.” Multicultural education in Korea takes on an entirely unique aspect; by combining it with the existing education for international understanding, scholars have concluded that Korea is pursuing vague concepts of multicultural education that differ in terms of its definition and goals. This is attributable to not only society’s misconceptions about multicultural education, but also the course of the discipline’s development in Korea. Multicultural education was first introduced in Korea in the 1980s by academics who studied American multicultural education (Kim 1984), but it was not until 2006 that multicultural education studies came into full swing. Following Hines Ward’s (an American football player born to a Korean mother and an African-American father) visit to Korea, the

Ministry of Education and Human Resources established the Policy for Supporting the Education of Children from Multicultural Families, which led to a number of studies and policy papers on multicultural education. In reality, however, there were not enough scholars experienced in multicultural education studies to oversee such projects, so experts of education focused on education for international understanding. Accordingly, multicultural education in Korea took the form of education for international understanding combined with multicultural education.

Education for international understanding was first introduced by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1946, after World War II, as a means of preventing war and maintaining peace. Its main goal was world peace, rather than equal education, and it aimed at enhancing international cooperation and understanding through education. Education for international understanding was adopted to promote the understanding of the other cultures that exist outside national boundary (Park 2008), and, as is apparent from its representative Cross-Cultural Awareness Program (CCAP), its main focus was maintaining world peace through a better understanding of other cultures. In contrast, the goal of multicultural education was equal education, meaning that it concentrates on reforming educational curricula to promote critical thinking and facilitate the ability to look at a problem from different points of view (Campbell 2010). In contrast, multicultural education in Korea was broadly understood as a type of education that introduces the culture of other countries, because it is combined with education for international understanding.

The second misconception about multicultural education is that it is not for mainstream Koreans and is solely for multicultural families (Yang 2007). While multicultural education should be a type of education for both the majority and minority groups, multicultural education, especially in terms of multicultural policies in Korea, might be misunderstood as education for minorities. For instance, the government support for multicultural education tends to restrict educational support to multicultural families. The government also defines the term of multicultural education as “educational support for minorities,” while education for majority groups (who are ethnically Korean) is defined as “education for multicultural understanding.” Since the language used with majority and minority groups are different, some argue that there is cogent evidence that multicultural policies focus more on minorities, rather on the entire population.

The third misconception is derived from the belief that Korean society is completely different from other countries, in terms of ethnicity and historical conditions, and therefore Korea should take a different approach for multicultural education. It is true that multicultural education in Korea is conducted in different circumstances and conditions than elsewhere. For instance, Korea is the one of a few countries in the world that is divided into two countries. Despite their similarities in language and ethnicity, South and North Korea contrast sharply in terms of culture and political ideology. For this reason, Korea might, indeed, need its own approach to multicultural education. This, however, does not mean that Korea needs to implement a fundamentally different theory for multicultural education; it should be the actual policies and the ways the policies apply that might differ from other

countries' application of the notion. Park and Kang (2009) insist that Korea should first discuss whether its multicultural education will put more weight on assimilation or on multiculturalism, before adopting any relevant policies. Some scholars insist that the policies should focus on assimilation, because Korea is 97% pure-blooded Koreans, and thus other people should assimilate into the culture. However, studies have shown that disregarding one's own culture and language while assimilating fully into Korean culture results in foreigners ultimately having more difficulty adjusting to Korean culture (Resmik 2006). Therefore, rather than assimilation, multicultural education in Korea should focus on adapting for multicultural families, understanding the differences for Koreans, and ensuring that foreigners also keep their cultural values while adapting.

12.3.2 *Research on Multicultural Education in Korea*

In order to understand the direction of multicultural education in Korea, it is necessary to take a look at how it is studied. A search through the National Assembly Library for academic journals or dissertations published in Korea on the keyword "multicultural education" provides necessary insight. The first paper on multicultural education that was published in an academic journal dates back to the 1980s (Kim 1984). Such papers continued to appear during the period from 1990 to 2005, but it was not until 2006 that they began to become increasingly significant. Dissertations on multicultural education first emerged in the late 1990s. Like papers in academic journals, they have shown a significant rise since 2006, but most were Master's theses. This study, therefore, looks only at the papers published in academic journals to grasp the direction of multicultural education research in Korea.

Initially, most of these papers focused on introducing the multicultural education systems of other countries (Kim 1984), or on studying multicultural education concerning curricular subjects such as art, music, and early childhood education (Kim 2002; Park 1995). Around ten papers on multicultural education were published per year until 2005; their subjects ranged from civic education (Seol 2004) to case studies on *Kosian* children (Oh 2005). There were few studies on multicultural education curricula; only the 2003 and 2006 studies by Chang connect multicultural education with educational curricula.

In 2006, multicultural education studies in Korea began to increase in number and expand in range. In terms of their relevance to curricular subjects, these studies broadened in range to include not only art, music, and early childhood education, but also Korean, social studies, ethics, and world geography (Chang 2013; Cho 2014; Jung and Hwaong 2014). Such studies took the format of seeking ways to conduct multicultural education for each curricular subject in the classroom. Whereas earlier studies tended to introduce multicultural education approaches used in the United States, recent studies have introduced or compared the cases of various other countries, such as Germany, Singapore, and China (Choo 2009; Kim 2009; Lee 2014a). Some studies were centered on the difficulties faced by

multicultural families—for instance, the difficulty for their children in adjusting to school life—and delved into the specific cases of children of marriage immigrants and foreign workers (Oh 2009; Son and Park 2015), while others suggested ways to support teaching and learning for children from multicultural families (Oh 2008; Won 2009). Most recently, there have been papers that analyzed school textbooks and pointed out the problems of multicultural education in Korea (Kim 2008; Kim and Gwak 2014), or those that linked curricular subjects with school curricula (Chang 2015). Some studies that observed the awareness of a multicultural society were unique in their choice of subjects; they also selected teachers or students who were not from multicultural families, rather than members of multicultural families only (Go et al. 2015; Mo 2009). Similarly, other studies examined the effectiveness of multicultural education programs on children from non-multicultural families (Chang and Jeong 2009).

Some scholars take the lifelong education perspective, suggesting that multicultural education should develop as part of a lifelong process for all learners regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, and class, engaging with civil society. As a way of doing this, the combined education can provide lifelong learning opportunities to immigrant families in collaboration with various organizations. Thus, they contend that multicultural education and lifelong education should be combined to form a new education approach for future society (Lee 2014b).

What is most notable of the recent trend in multicultural education studies is that scholars today are inviting a wider range of subjects compared to the past. However, most of the studies still tend to focus on the multicultural education of minority students. As a result, there are not many studies on the impacts of multicultural education for the majority group, although this is as important as educating the minority group. Furthermore, there are only a few studies that explore how teachers and students of non-multicultural families perceive a multicultural society, and much less when it comes to researching multicultural education programs for majority groups.

An overview of Korea's multicultural education studies program suggests that it is time to establish a clearer concept of the idea, so that multicultural education can take a firm root in Korean society. In Korea, the concept of multicultural education does not go any further than the notion of assimilation and tends to concentrate on assimilating multicultural families into the existing Korean culture. Some of the approaches are based on subtractive models (e.g., Valenzuela 1999), rather than additive models (e.g., Gibson and Hidalgo 2009). Policies and curriculum that adopt an additive model usually value and support the maintaining of heritage languages and cultures. Furthermore, multicultural education is not confined to a single curriculum subject. Studies of this kind were likely carried out by scholars from various areas of expertise, which might have led to diverse concepts, understanding, and foci according to who conducted the study, and a distorted direction for studies on multicultural education. This, however, often occurs in the initial stage of adopting multicultural education, so to ensure that multicultural education develops in a constructive and productive direction, scholars in Korea need to establish a clearer concept of the notion and conduct studies on this ground.

12.3.3 Policies on Multicultural Education in Korea

In Korea, the task of supporting multicultural education is shared by a number of government agencies, such as the Ministry of Education (ME), the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF), the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MOHW), the Ministry for Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MIFAFF), the Ministry of Justice (MOJ), and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST). Among the 17 ministries in Korea, 11 are involved with multicultural education and policies. Among these ministries, ME plays a central role in multicultural education, while MOGEF plays a key role in supporting multicultural families. This study will therefore concentrate on the policy direction and projects set forth by ME, while considering the projects conducted by municipal and regional education authorities and programs carried out by schools.

Before exploring Korea's multicultural education policies, it is worth examining the existing legal system concerning foreigners and multicultural families. In a broad sense, Korea has the following set of laws for foreign natives: The Nationality Act, the Immigration Control Act, the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans, and the Act on the Employment of Foreign Workers. In regards to their treatment, the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea (implemented by the MOJ) and the series of laws that prohibit discrimination based on country of birth, ethnicity, race, skin color, and circumstances surrounding family (established by the National Human Rights Commission of Korea) are in place (Park 2006). In September 2008, MOGEF established and implemented the Support for Multicultural Families Act, through which it promotes the helpful treatment of foreign natives, refugees, marriage immigrants and their children, while supporting their adjustment to Korean society and improving their relationships with Korean citizens.

Policies concerning foreign natives are discussed and coordinated at a pan-government level by the Committee for Policy on Foreigners, which is chaired by the Prime Minister. In terms of education, the Framework Act on Education and the Enforcement Decree of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act prevent discrimination against children of other races/ethnicities and enables convenient school admissions and transfers for children born to foreign native for protection (Jeon 2009). Furthermore, all children's right to education is protected by a series of UN conventions on human rights, including the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1991) and the Convention on the Rights of Children (1991) (Jeon 2009). To sum up, Korean society is equipped with a legal system for protecting the basic rights of foreign natives and multicultural families, yet discrimination against people of different races and ethnicities still exists. For example, although legal policies do explicitly state that there should not be any prejudice towards multicultural families, many Koreans have difficulty accepting this. Koreans were educated to believe that pure-blooded marriages are superior to mixed-race marriages. Furthermore, Koreans

have been engrained with the belief that they differ from those of multicultural families.

Since implementing the Policy for Supporting Education of Children from Multicultural Families in 2006, the ME began to show a greater level of attention towards multicultural education, and it has continued to establish various plans and policies such as the “Policy for studying and supporting ways to promote multicultural education in schools” and the “Policy for supporting education to enhance the abilities of children of multicultural families”. Multicultural education’s policy goals are: First, pursuing an enhanced capacity to educate students and parents of multicultural families; and second, improving the general public’s understanding about and tolerance for a multicultural society in Korea (Jeon 2009). To this end, the Ministry is executing various projects in connection with municipal and regional educational authorities, as seen in Table 12.3.

A majority of the programs developed in 2009 were for parents and children of multicultural families. The provinces and cities differed in terms of the programs they ran for students from multicultural backgrounds, but some were shared in common: mentoring, programs for experiencing Korean culture, Korean classes, and special classes. In addition, the main features of programs for the parents of multicultural families were Korean classes, counseling, and education for understanding Korean culture. It is apparent that the programs for multicultural families aim at helping them to adapt to Korean society, rather than trying to understand and respect their cultures.

Among the programs for non-multicultural individuals, a great proportion was for teachers. Teacher training, the operation of schools for multicultural studies, and the distribution of materials and support for study groups are representative of such programs. Yet, teacher training has its limitations, in that trainings are only offered to those who are interested in the subject. Accordingly, the level of teachers’ awareness and understanding about multicultural education remains low. Furthermore, unlike other countries, only a few Korean education universities’ or teachers colleges’ students are subject to lectures on multicultural education. As a result, most novice teachers are arriving at schools with insufficient knowledge and expertise in multicultural education.

Out of the 17 provinces and cities in Korea, only two (Daegu and Chungcheongnamdo) currently operate programs for parents of non-multicultural families, but even they fail to approach the core of multicultural education, as they are mainly training programs for parents or joint campaigns with multicultural families and majorities. When it comes to non-multicultural children, these programs—for instance, CCAP, classes for learning about the cultures of immigrants’ home countries, and book purchasing—do not go any further than introducing them to those cultures. Following the 2007 revision of the national educational curriculum, certain content on multicultural education were added to textbooks. Yet, the low level of knowledge and experience of teachers are keeping multicultural education from being fully integrated into the national curriculum.

A few of the provinces and cities are conducting comprehensive multicultural education projects that involve multicultural and non-multicultural families and

Table 12.3 Multicultural education programs conducted by provincial and municipal education authorities

	Teachers	Students			Parents		Others	Compre-hensive
		Multicultural families	Others	Multicultural families	Multicultural families			
Gyeonggi-do	Development and distribution of materials on multicultural education; teacher multicultural training	Education camp during vacation; special curriculums and extracurricular activities; partnering of teachers and students; special classes for children of foreign workers	Essay writing on subjects of multicultural; designate multicultural education week; special curriculums and extracurricular activities	Teachers' visits to multicultural families; Korean classes for parents				Five color multicultural community; mentoring between multicultural and other families; multicultural education centers
Daegu	Training program for school administrators; special lectures and presentations on model cases of multicultural education; central schools for multicultural education; development and distribution of materials; support for model schools; counseling	Mentoring by university students					Training program for parents	Multicultural summer camp

(continued)

Table 12.3 (continued)

	Teachers		Students		Parents		Comprehensive
			Multicultural families	Others	Multicultural families	Others	
Daejeon	Central schools for multicultural education; operation of special classes; establishment of schools for multicultural understanding; presentations on model cases; study group on multicultural education; training of teachers; awards for teachers; special curriculums; Expert workshop	Online contents on the Korean language and culture; mentoring by university students; materials on teaching Korean culture; assignment of guardians and counseling and mentoring for students from North Korea; learning diagnosis program; Online learning	Class for multicultural understanding	Internet-based education for 20 parents; counseling; distribution of materials on school life; provide hanbok (Korean traditional costume)	ME Center; 2+2+2 Campaign for creating a happy culture; mentoring program for book reading; vacation camp	Contest on model multicultural families; Support for visits to country of birth	
Seoul	Development of materials for teaching Korean; central schools for multicultural education; teacher training	Programs for teaching Korean; camp for experiencing Korean culture; Korean class; mentoring by university students	Language program		Program for multicultural families to socialize; foster and appoint bilingual teachers		
Chungcheongnam-do	Development and distribution of materials for teachers; teacher training; presentation of model cases	Special class for students with poor performance; appointment of teachers to teach Korean in farming and fishing towns; volunteer group of teachers; online schools; mentoring; special program for teaching that all peers are brothers and sisters	Material on school life; special learning programs for parents; program for understanding Korean culture	Special class for global happiness	Joint campaign for promoting better understanding about multicultural society	Multicultural education center; MOU between Daejeon branch of the Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) and the Rotary Club	

Note: Ministry of Education (2010)

teachers. Some programs, such as Gyeonggi-do's multicultural community and Daejeon's "2+2+2 campaign for creating a happy culture," are unique. Most multicultural education related programs administer these programs separately—multicultural families work with other multicultural families, while Koreans work only with other Koreans. The problem with such programs is also that they do not continue for a long period of time; they often end up as one-time events. It is therefore crucial that authorities introduce comprehensive programs with lasting effects by encouraging continued mentoring among multicultural and non-multicultural families and teachers.

To observe the overall trend and individual features of multicultural education programs that elementary, middle, and high schools are carrying out on the basis of relevant laws and ME policies (Cho 2008), Cho analyzed the multicultural education programs of seven schools for policy studies (five elementary schools and two middle schools), two trial schools (both elementary schools), and 29 ordinary schools (14 elementary and 15 middle schools). A significant number of programs in the elementary and middle schools were "cultural education programs." Next on the list were: language, adjusting to school life, understanding a multicultural society, building a stronger sense of identity, and raising community spirit. Results from Cho's study illustrate that most classroom programs are designed to introduce foreign cultures to students, or to introduce the children of multicultural families to Korean culture and language. Aside from cultural education, elementary schools tended to have a greater proportion of language programs, while middle schools promoted programs that encourage a stronger sense of identity. In other words, elementary schools emphasize basic knowledge of the Korean language, whereas middle schools place more weight on identity, given that adolescence is the time for building up one's identity. In terms of the length of programs, middle schools exceeded elementary schools, and the ordinary schools surpassed the policy studies schools. Such programs were usually carried out through extra-curricular activities, rather than formal classes.

Whereas schools for policy studies placed considerable weight on the goal of promoting a better understanding of multicultural society, ordinary schools focused on cultivating the ability to adapt to other cultures, fluency in Korean, and improved academic performance. Ordinary schools had a low proportion of programs for fostering community spirit, as they rarely ran programs that involved both multicultural and non-multicultural students. In contrast, most of the programs run by schools for policy studies were for all students or non-multicultural students. Yet, the subjects of these programs were limited to the food, the costumes, and the customs of other countries and failed to cover a wide range of issues such as culture, cooperation, bias, identity, equality, equity, and diversity. In some surveys, teachers' lack of knowledge and awareness regarding multicultural education were found to be the main cause for this shortcoming (Cho 2008). It is not surprising that many Korean teachers lack knowledge on multicultural education, because they have little experience with it. Since Koreans have a strong attachment to other ethnic Koreans, teachers might have difficulty in adopting more plural and multicultural positions. Thus, the first major task for multicultural education should be to determine whether

Korea can develop democratic institutions that can treat people living in Korea equally, not simply because they share the same blood but because they are democratic citizens of Korea.

12.4 Conclusion

12.4.1 Discussion

Not very long ago, Korea was still emphasizing its single-ethnic identity. Historical research, however, suggests that Korea has been a multiethnic country since ancient times. In 2006, the biracial American football player Hines Ward visited Korea and heightened the country's interest in multicultural education. Today, Korea uses the term "multicultural family" widely and provides support for the three minority groups, marriage immigrants, foreign workers, and North Korean refugees, that fall under this category. By the author's opinion, the term "multicultural families" may be at risk of triggering prejudice and discrimination, as it suggests a distinction among children according to their parents' country of birth. In this sense, it is best that it should be changed or redefined, yet currently it is used for the purpose of concentrating support for these aforementioned minorities.

Multicultural education in Korea developed in a way that is combined with education for international understanding, so it took a distorted form that emphasizes "cultural education." The ultimate goal of multicultural education is equality and equity in education, and reforming the educational curriculum to cultivate the ability to think critically and consider other points of view is an integral aspect (Bennett 2011; Campbell 2010). However, multicultural education in Korea—represented by the CCAP—centers on promoting better understanding of other cultures. Relevant policies and school programs focus on assimilating multicultural individuals into Korean culture, rather than encouraging them to adjust to Korean culture and simultaneously respecting their own. In addition, although various theories point out that multicultural education is for minority and majority groups alike (Yang 2007), Korea offers multicultural education for minorities and education for multicultural understanding for majorities. There is also the misconception that Korea's multicultural education theory is different from that of other countries, but in truth, it is only the understanding and application that differ.

To date, multicultural research in Korea has contemplated multicultural education and its connection to certain curricular subjects, introduced overseas cases, analyzed the reality of multicultural families and the difficulties they face, proposed ways to teach and support learning for children of multicultural families, studied textbooks and curriculums, and shed light on how the mainstream perceives the multicultural society, but it excludes studies of the political and social power of multicultural families. Compared to the past, the range of research is becoming diverse, but still tends to focus on immigrants' adaptation into Korean society.

Furthermore, because scholars who have little background on multicultural education carry out some of this research, it may carry misconceptions and lead to misunderstandings and a somewhat wrong direction for multicultural education.

Although Korea has laws for multicultural families and a system for protecting their basic rights, discrimination against different races and ethnicities, and prejudice against multicultural families still exists in terms of educational access, educational outlets and outcomes, employment opportunities, and so on. To resolve this issue through education, the Ministry of Education and the municipal and provincial education authorities are conducting a number of multicultural education projects. Aside from teacher training, however, most projects are concentrated on multicultural families. In short, these are projects that encourage prompt adjustment to Korean society, rather than promoting understanding about other cultures. Programs for non-multicultural students do not go further than introducing them to other cultures. This trend is witnessed not only in government policies, but in schools as well. A close look at the multicultural programs that are being run by schools shows that most of them are on the subject of “cultural education.” This is, according to Banks (1993), a contribution approach, and it is essential that the education curriculum is reformed to take a more sophisticated, additive, or transformative approach.

12.4.2 Direction for the Development of Multicultural Education in Korea

This study suggests a future direction for Korea’s multicultural education as follows: First, Korea needs to build a clearer concept of multicultural education. As mentioned before, multicultural education in Korea is combined with education for international understanding and stresses the understanding of other cultures. There is no doubt that understanding other cultures is a significant element of multicultural education, but a reformed curriculum that brings about a changed perspective that allows individuals to have critical thinking (Bennett 2011; Campbell 2010) is more important. Critical thinking means to alter one’s way of thinking. For example, when one needs to make a decision, rather than thinking only of one’s own opinion, it is necessary to look at other people’s perspectives and their thoughts. On the basis of a clearer concept, Korea should acknowledge different cultures while assisting multicultural families in adapting to Korean society, rather than pressing them to become assimilated. We must also refrain from confining multicultural education to race and ethnicity only and realize that the term “multicultural” includes a variety of factors such as gender, social stratum, religion, etc., as well as the impacts of their intersectionalities. Studies on the appropriate use of the term “multicultural family” are also necessary.

Second, multicultural education is not just for minorities, but for majorities as well. Projects conducted by education authorities or schools tended to be concentrated on minorities. Multicultural families account for almost 3 % of the Korean

population (but the proportion in the cities can be much larger), and it is essential that the government provides adequate support for them. Such efforts, however, will be successful only when the remaining 97 % show a changed mindset. In the future, there should be more emphasis on multicultural programs for majorities, in order to shift their perspective and encourage them to tolerate differences.

Third, school administrators and teachers should also be subject to multicultural education. In the United States, multicultural education emerged from efforts to resolve racial issues through education (Chang and Jeong 2009). Education not only exposes students to new experiences, it also alters their way of thinking. In this sense, the perspectives of school administrators and teachers can have a significant influence on students. Currently, there are ongoing training programs for teachers and administrators in place, but there is an urgent need to modify how they are run (Chang 2010). In addition, multicultural education lectures, which are now open in only a few education universities, should be offered to students of teachers colleges as well, so novice teachers can be better equipped with cultural knowledge and sensitivities, culturally relevant attitudes, and teaching approaches when they arrive at schools.

Fourth, a curriculum reform is required. Humans can change their way of thinking on the basis of experience and education (Chang 2002). For instance, Koreans came firmly to believe that Korea is a country of single ethnicity due to what they were taught in school. In this sense, a changed way of education, or a new curriculum, will lead individuals to have different perspectives. On the basis of the 2007 reform of the educational curriculum, textbooks now include illustrations or examples that involve multicultural education, but this is only a contribution approach. To take the more sophisticated additive or transformative approaches, we need to reform the curriculum and cultivate students' ability to think critically and consider other perspectives.

Fifth, studies on the identities of parents and children of multicultural families are necessary. The identity issues of children from multicultural families have the potential to instigate both personal and social problems. It is essential that Korean society assists these children in maintaining their identities while offering tender care for the emotional scars they may sustain in the course of adapting to society, and such support must concern their parents as well (Yoon 2008). Studies on needs of multicultural families based on their living areas are also necessary. Although the common belief is that multicultural families live in rural areas, they mostly reside in urban areas such as Seoul, Gyeonggi-do, and Incheon. Because the needs of those in rural and urban areas differ, there needs to be programs developed specifically for multicultural families in urban areas.

Sixth, it is recommended that a single government agency take the initiative of supporting multicultural education, rather than have it shared among a number of different agencies. Currently, the Committee for Policy on Foreigners, which is chaired by the Prime Minister, is responsible for pan-government discussions and coordination of relevant policies. Yet, due to budgeting issues, the involved government agencies run individual programs, most of which are for the small number of multicultural children in the country. This invites criticism regarding the inefficient

use of budgets in the bureaucratic process, and possibly reverse discrimination. To prevent overlapping programs and the waste of money, a single government agency must take the main responsibility for this issue.

Last, Korea should develop a program that can emphasize the strength of multicultural families. To date, most multicultural education programs have focused on assisting these families to overcome their difficulties in terms of culture and language. However, Gyeonggi-do and Seoul have successfully shed light on the strengths of multicultural parents by teaching them to become bilingual teachers and assigning them to kindergartens, elementary, middle, and high schools. These programs not only emphasized these parents' advantages, in terms of language and culture, but also encouraged their employment. In this regard, we must move away from the prevalent view that multicultural families require assistance and seek projects that can promote a positive view of their strengths.

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Chapter 13

Rethinking Diversity in South Korea: Examining the Ideological Underpinnings of Multicultural Education Policies and Programs

Ji-Yeon O. Jo and Minseung Jung

13.1 Introduction

G. Cameron Hurst II dubbed the cultural nationalism in contemporary Korea “uri-nara-ism” (Moon 2000, p. 156). “Uri” can be translated as “our” and “Nara” as “country” in English, so the term can be translated as “Our nation-ism.” “Uri-nara-ism” is a combination of Korean nationalism and collective identity that is so embedded in everyday lives of people in Korea. Uri-nara-ism contributed to Korea’s economic recovery (often referred to as the “Miracle of Han River”) from the devastation caused by over three decades of Japanese colonialism and the subsequent Korean War; it helped to inspire extraordinary self-sacrifices among Koreans who shared the common goal of nation-building. Korea emphasized the notions of “homogeneity,” “unity,” and “solidarity” in order to strengthen the state power, which was also sustained by “uri-nara-ism” or what the authors may refer to more generally as “uri-ism.” “Uri” promotes oneness and creates a boundary between “us” and “them.” In this context, notions such as “diversity,” “heterogeneity” and “difference” have been somewhat deemphasized in the sociocultural lexicon of Korea.

However, due to recent demographic and social changes, Korea now faces challenges to maintaining a national identity based on homogeneity. As unprecedented numbers of people participate in transnational migration, Korea has become an emerging hub for receiving migrants from all around the world, especially from the inter-Asia region. The presence of immigrants has challenged the existing notion of Korean peoplehood that privileges ethnic and cultural congruity among its people.

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In this chapter, the authors explore interplay between the ideological underpinnings that uphold the notion of “Korean-ness” and the discourse of “multiculturalism” in Korean education. We start by providing general information on urban education in South Korea, then, examine current educational policies and programs for migrant children, paying particular heed to how the Korean education system understands diversity and to how that understanding manifests in the development and implementation of policies and programs. Through policy analysis, we identify both progress and pitfalls in how the Korean education system serves migrants or children of migrants. In addition, we identify the ideological foundations underlying particular educational policies and programs, and delineate the philosophical tensions within them. We conclude with preliminary sketches of what equitable education for migrant students might entail.

13.2 Urban Education in South Korea

Urban South Korea (Korea hereafter) is an educational mecca. Private educational institutions (*hagwons*) are located on almost every corner in the residential and downtown areas of urban Korea. There are hagwons for subjects such as English and math and for enrichment activities such as taekwondo, fine arts, dance, and foreign languages. There are hagwons for almost every Korean—English hagwons for preschoolers, academic enrichment hagwons for elementary and secondary students, test-prep hagwons for high-school students and those who need to repeat their college entrance exams, and foreign-language hagwons for college students and even for adults who are already in the workforce. The ubiquitous presence of hagwons offers visual evidence both of Korean educational zeal or “fever” (Seth 2002) and of the privatization of education; all hagwons are private institutions where attendees spend time learning subjects of their choice in addition to their regular school or work.

In keeping with Korea’s national zeal for learning, Korean students have been widely recognized for their educational achievements. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) assessed 15 year olds in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries; the results, published in 2012, ranked Korea third in math and within the top 5 and top 10 in reading and science, respectively.¹ In the United States, President Barack Obama and Education Secretary Arne Duncan have praised Korea’s education system and its academic achievements in multiple public addresses (Fenton 2015; Strauss 2014). But such congratulatory international recognition reflects only the rosy side of the country’s education. It does not reflect the fact that Korea’s extreme academic competition has many adverse side effects, such as the often overwhelming burden of paying for private education and the high levels of psychological stress and increasing suicide rates among students. The 2012 PISA report notes, for example, that the percentage

¹ In math performance, Korea was tied with Hong Kong and Taipei.

of Korean students who described themselves as happy at school was the lowest among students in all OECD countries (OECD 2013, p. 21).

Nevertheless, despite the costs of privatization and the psychological burden of competition, Korea has above-average equity in education opportunities. According to the 2012 PISA report, Korea's rates of school enrollment and of advancement to higher education have improved remarkably in the past few decades. Over 90% of school-aged children are enrolled in elementary, middle, and high schools, and the overwhelming majority of high-school students pursue postsecondary education. In 1990, only 27.1% of high-school graduates attended postsecondary institutions, but that percentage increased to 62% in 2000 and 75.4% in 2010. The rate declined to 70.9% in 2014, but this may be due to high college tuition and worsening prospects for employment even among those with a college degree (Statistics Korea 2015). Overall, the 2012 PISA report and school-enrollment data published by Statistics Korea indicate high levels of educational achievement among Koreans and equity in education opportunities in Korea.

In this context, issues of equal access and of securing educational rights might seem to have been relegated to the past. However, in the shadow of Korea's education empire is a cohort of students who do not benefit from proper educational opportunities and who are therefore becoming an undereducated underclass in urban South Korea: the children of migrants. Their educational attainments are in stark contrast to overall educational achievement in Korea. Many migrant children drop out of school or choose not to enroll in schools in the first place (Hong 2009). The dropout or non-enrollment rates of migrant students are startling: 15% in elementary school, 40% in middle school, and 70% in high school (Won 2008 cited in Hong 2009). As of 2009, 26,015 migrant students were enrolled in school, but an estimated 17,000 migrant children were not, for a variety of reasons. Furthermore, while educational policy allows children of illegal immigrants to attend school, many of their parents choose not to register or enroll them in school, fearing deportation once the system discovers their immigration status (Hong 2009). The educational status of migrant children presents an urgent dilemma for urban education in Korea, not only in terms of their right to receive a proper education, but also in terms of their foreseeable disadvantage in a country so obsessed with academic achievement that social mobility largely depends on it.

13.3 Changes in the Urban Ethnoscape

In the aftermath of the Korean War (1950–1953), not only did the country remain divided into North and South, but the entire peninsula continued to suffer the ravages of that war. Starting in the early 1960s, the South Korean government began to actively promote emigration to foreign countries, hoping to overcome its impoverished economy and to earn foreign reserves. Since then, close to one million Koreans have emigrated overseas and overall seven million ethnic Koreans live outside the Korean Peninsula, which includes diaspora Koreans, recent migrants and temporary

residents. However, the migration trend shifted from emigration to immigration in the 1990s as Korea acquired status as a developed country and experienced shortage in labor in manufacturing and service sectors.

As of 2015, Korea is home to approximately 1.74 million foreign residents, who thus comprises 3.4% of the total population in the country (Korea Immigration Service 2015). Although the proportion of foreign residents to the total population remains small, the dramatic overall growth of this population merits attention: in 1990, only 49,507 foreigners resided in South Korea (Korea Immigration Service 1990), but the registered foreign-resident population increased to 210,249 in 2000 and to 918, 917 in 2010 (Korea Immigration Service 2009; Korean Immigration Service 2015). Thus, the number of foreign residents in Korea increased by a factor of 35 between 1990 and 2015. Especially in the 2000s, the annual growth rate of the foreign-immigrant population in Korea was highest among all OECD countries. Among the 1.74 million foreign residents, migrants from China comprise the overwhelming majority—Chinese (259,166) and Korean Chinese (694,256) (Korea Immigration Service 2015)—followed by migrants from Vietnam (199,950) and South Asia (86,634). An increasing number of migrants also come from the Philippines, Japan, Cambodia, the United States, and the Commonwealth Independent States (CIS).

A unique feature of the migrant population in South Korea is the presence of ethnic Koreans from various diasporas. Approximately 50% foreign residents in Korea are descendants of Korean diasporans and have lived outside Korea for decades or even for multiple generations before migrating to Korea. These ethnic Korean migrants—who arrive from countries such as China, the United States, Japan, and the Commonwealth of Independent States—may possess different levels of affective connection to South Korea than do other non-ethnic Korean foreign migrants, and some of them have even acquired Korean language proficiency and cultural knowledge while growing up in diaspora.

Another unique feature of Korean immigration is the increasing number of North Korean border-crossers. Although the two Koreas still maintain the world's most fortified borders, and although illegal border-crossers risk imprisonment and even execution by the North Korean government, more and more North Koreans are escaping their country, mainly via the border between North Korea and China. Although the majority of North Korean border-crossers live in China as illegal migrants, some of them have successfully navigated the treacherous journey to South Korea. Although only 633 North Korean border-crossers made it to South Korea after the Korean War between 1953 and 1998, the number of border-crossers increased dramatically after 1998: an average of 1,000 North Koreans defected to South Korea annually between 2001 and 2005 and over 2,000 did so annually between 2006 and 2011. As of 2015, more than 28,000 North Koreans have settled in South Korea (Korea Hana Foundation). Although the South Korean government categorizes diaspora Koreans with foreign citizenship as foreign residents or as overseas Koreans residing in Korea, the government categorize North Koreans as *Bukhan ital jumin* (North Korean defectors) or *Saetaemin* (new settlers), not as foreign residents, and thus tends to grant these migrants South Korean citizenship

almost immediately after they pass background checks and complete resettlement training. The South Korean government also provides initial financial assistance for their settlement (although the amount of such assistance has substantially decreased in recent years in response to the dramatically increased number of border-crossers).

Just as foreign residents in Korea arrive from diverse countries of origin, they also have diverse reasons for migration. According to the Korean Immigration Service (KIS) Statistics (2015, p. 351), the largest group of migrants work in the unskilled and low-skilled labor sector: 270,569 non-Korean foreigners (E-9 visa) and 282,670 ethnic Korean foreigners (H-2 visa), which comprise approximately 32% of the total foreign-resident population. Another 289,427 ethnic Korean foreigners reside in Korea with the F-4 visa, which provides quasi-citizen benefits to overseas Koreans. There are also 150,994 marriage migrants (KIS 2015, p. 728).² Marriage migrants from China form the largest group (36,059 Chinese, 24,604 Korean Chinese), followed by Vietnamese (39,725) and Japanese (12,063).³ In 1990 the international marriage rate was a mere 1.2% of the total marriage rate, with only 4,710 such marriages, but by 2007, there were 37,560 such marriages (Lim 2009). Between 2004 and 2008, the international marriage rate was consistently over 11% of the total marriage rate each year (Seol 2009; Lim 2009). Korea also hosts an increasing number of international students, business entrepreneurs with all sizes of enterprise, and employees of multinational corporations.

According to 2015 foreign-resident population data published by South Korea's Ministry of Interior, the migrant population is concentrated in the Seoul and Gyeonggi region. Of 1.74 million foreign residents, 457,806 reside in Seoul itself, and 554,160 reside in Gyeonggi Province. In both areas, the foreign-resident population constitutes 4.5% of the total population, as compared to the national ratio of 3.4%. Among the six metropolitan areas in South Korea, Incheon Metropolitan City, which is within the Gyeonggi region, hosts the second-largest number of foreign residents (91,525), and Busan Metropolitan City hosts third-largest number of foreign residents (57,801). Thus, the Seoul/Gyeonggi Areas—Seoul Metropolitan City, Incheon Metropolitan City and Gyeonggi Province—hosts approximately 65% of the foreign-resident population. Considering South Korea's extremely high proportion of urbanites (over 90% of the total population), the concentration of foreign migrants in the Seoul Capital Area is not surprising, and the issue of urban education can therefore be applied to the majority of educational contexts in the country (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transportation 2013).

²Data on the foreign-resident population often differs by the institution that collected the data. For example, foreign-resident population data published by the Ministry of Interior in 2015 documents 608,116 foreign workers in total and 239,692 marriage migrants (147,382 marriage migrants hold foreign citizenships, and 92,316 are naturalized Korean citizens).

³Foreign-resident data published in 2015 includes both non-naturalized and naturalized marriage migrant population numbers. According to the data, Korean Chinese form the largest marriage migrant population, with 30,925 being non-naturalized and 34,678 naturalized, followed by Chinese (35,474/25,572), Vietnamese (38,661/20,100), and Filipino/a (10,427/6,926).

The increase in the foreign-resident population has predictably resulted in an increase in the number of children born in households where one or both parents are migrants. The Korean government categorizes them as multicultural (*Damunwha*) children. According to a report on current state of the foreign-resident population (Ministry of Interior 2015), 207,693 *Damunwha* children live in Korea, and 183,732 of them are from households in which one parent is a native Korean and the other parent is a foreign migrant; the rest are from households in which both parents are either foreign migrants or diaspora Koreans. Marriage migration tends to involve marriages between Korean men and foreign women, most of whom are from other Asian countries. Among *Damunwha* children, 57,856 are of Vietnamese heritage, 39,160 are of Korean Chinese heritage, 20,584 are of Filipino heritage, and 17,195 are of Japanese heritage. The phenomenon of international marriage between Korean men and foreign women is fairly recent; while there were only 20,180 *Damunwha* children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools in 2008, the number of school-aged *Damunwha* children has rapidly increased since then, more than tripling, to 67,806, by 2014 (Ministry of Education). Although this number includes foreign-born students who have migrated to South Korea and students whose parents are both foreign, the overwhelming majority (57,498) are *Damunwha* students, that is, born in South Korea with one foreign migrant parent, usually the mother. Among children from multicultural families, 83.4% are enrolled in elementary school, 12.1% in middle school, and 4.5% in high school (Hong 2009).

Although an accurate number is hard to obtain, the Korean Ministry of Education estimates that 50–60% of children from multicultural families are not enrolled in school at all (Song 2012). The non-enrollment rate of *Damunwha* children is in stark contrast to South Korea's overall enrollment rate, which is over 90%, for general school-aged children. The high non-enrollment rate of *Damunwha* children is usually attributed to the undocumented status of parents and to the economic cost of education. However, these explanations are not satisfactory: not only has the number of undocumented migrants decreased substantially due to recent immigration reforms and amnesty campaigns, but education is compulsory through the ninth grade and provided by the Korean government at almost no cost to the families. As the phenomenon of foreign marriage migration matures in Korea, the number of *Damunwha* students is most likely to increase both rapidly and continuously into the future. Thus, it is urgent that South Korean urban education systems find ways to provide educational access to children of migrants. However, due to an extremely intense national focus on academic achievement and privatization of education, neither the Korean government nor urban education systems are equipped to handle issues of diversity or to provide equitable educational environments for children of migrants.

13.4 Educating Children of Migrants: Multicultural Education in the Korean Way

The demographic and social transformations Korea experienced during 1990s and 2000s were accompanied by changes in the country's education system, under the banner of "multicultural education" (*Damunwha Gyoyuk*). To respond to the needs of Damunwha children, South Korea's central and local governments rapidly instituted a variety of policies and programs. For example, between 2005 and 2008, the total budget to "support education of children from multi-culture (Damunwha)" increased 6,415%, and hundreds of new education programs emerged nationwide (Lee et al. 2008). Considering the fact that, due to the country's relative ethnic and linguistic homogeneity (Hong 2009), the term "multicultural education" was almost unknown and certainly considered irrelevant to the Korean context prior to the 2000s, the sheer number of multicultural initiatives and budget increases that have taken place since then is impressive although the efficiency and educational value of those initiatives still need to be thoroughly investigated.

According to article 2 of the Multicultural Family Support Act of 2014, "Multicultural Families" are families composed of either a Korean citizen and a marriage migrant, or a Korean citizen and a naturalized Korean citizen (Ministry of Government Legislation 2014). This legal definition failed to include not only the families of unskilled foreign labor migrants, who form the largest proportion of the foreign resident population, but also the families of two foreign-migrant parents, study abroad students, and unregistered migrants.⁴ By the offering a legal definition of multicultural family that specifies at least one Korean parent, the Korean legal system demonstrates the degree to which it privileges *jus sanguinis* (i.e. right of blood; ethnic heritage)—it does so even in imagining a multicultural and multiethnic society.

As Korea's history of multicultural education is still quite brief, there has been no thorough investigation of multicultural initiatives. A decade has passed since the first major multicultural programs were implemented, and the time is thus ripe for learning from the progress and pitfalls that have taken place thus far in Korea's efforts along these lines. In this section, we discuss multicultural education initiatives implemented by local and national educational systems, looking first at programs and policies implemented by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education.⁵ We then examine nationwide data on and analysis of multicultural education policies

⁴Migrants who have not established legal residence status are called *Mideungrok Ijumin*, which means "unregistered migrant." In this chapter, we adopt the term "unregistered migrant," which is translated term of Korean term rather than the term "undocumented migrant," which is more commonly used in the United States.

⁵We focus on Seoul Metropolitan City due to the density of its foreign-resident population and for its centralized educational system, which operates under one Office of Education even though there are lower-level, local, district-based education departments. A close examination of Seoul will be more fruitful and more suitable for the scope of this chapter than studying provincial areas with many different cities.

and programs at both the city and province levels, as published by Korea's Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (renamed the Ministry of Education in 2013) (Park et al. 2010). By examining nationwide data we provide a macro and comparative picture of multicultural education in Korea.

According to information provided by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, multicultural education is provided only in selected schools. In Seoul Metropolitan City, "Designated Damunwha-education-oriented schools (*Damunwha Gyoyuk Jungjeom Hakgyo* in Korean)" provide multicultural program to both Damunwha and non-Damunwha students. Damunwha schools are chosen from among schools that both enroll a significant number of Damunwha students and have applied for the designation. As of 2015, 15 schools provide multicultural education in Seoul Metropolitan City: 7 elementary schools, 4 middle schools, 2 high schools, and 2 alternative schools (an elementary school and a high school). Each one receives a different level of funding—5 million, 5.5 million, or 6 million Korean won (KRW)⁶ (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2014a; Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2015a). In addition, nine Damunwha preparatory schools (*Damunwha Yebi Hakgyo* in Korean) provide transitional programs for recently immigrated students to help smooth their transition to mainstream classrooms and schools; these schools receive approximately 28 million KRW to provide Korean language and culture classes and counseling services. There are also four research schools for Damunwha families (two elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school), each of which receives approximately 10 million KRW for and conducting research and developing programs to strengthen Korean language education through Korean as a Second Language classes. Starting in 2015, Seoul Metropolitan City also provides approximately 7 million KRW each to six kindergartens for Damunwha programs (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2014b, 2015b).

The selection of the "Designated Damunwha-education-oriented schools" (Designated Damunwha schools hereafter) and funding amount for them changes every year. Funding for Designated Damunwha schools decreased from ten million KRW in 2014 to five million KRW in 2015, but the number of supported schools increased from 11 in 2014 to 15 in 2015 (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2014a, 2015a). The number of Damunwha preparatory schools increased from 6 in 2014 to 9 in 2015, but funding remained the same for both years. In 2014, seven different schools offered 20 special classes for students returning from foreign countries, but support for this program was eliminated in 2015. The number of research schools increased from 3 in 2014 to 4 in 2015, even though funding for each school stayed the same (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2014b, 2015b).

Analysis of Damunwha school locations suggests preferential educational support for certain groups of foreign residents. Foreign residents of the same nationality

⁶Based on the exchange rate as of November 23, 2015 (1 USD to 1,158.75 KRW), 5 million KRW is equivalent to 4,315 USD, and 5.5 million KRW is to 4,746.50 USD (<http://www.usforex.com/currency-converter>).

or of similar cultural or linguistic backgrounds tend to congregate in their own preferred areas within Seoul, which have created several distinct ethnic enclaves in the city (Kim and Kang 2007). As indicated by the population distribution of registered foreign residents in each “*gu*” (borough or district), the three largest foreign-resident groups have concentrated in separate metropolitan districts (Seoul Metropolitan Government 2015). The first- and second-largest foreign-resident populations—Korean Chinese and Chinese—have clustered in two districts in southwest Seoul (*Yongdeungpo* and *Guro*), while the third-largest foreign-resident population, Americans, live in central or south Seoul districts (*Yongsan/Seodaemun/Mapo* and *Seochol/Gangnam*). The majority of Damunwha schools are located in these districts as well: of 15 Damunwha schools, 5 are in southwest Seoul and 6 are in central Seoul. However, more than 70% of foreign residents in Seoul are either Korean Chinese or Chinese, while only 3% are American. Thus, the system of Damunwha schools skews to supporting American and other foreign-residents groups who reside in central Seoul—this is hardly representative of the current status and needs of the overall multicultural student population.

A report published by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) (Park et al. 2010) shows that the number of Damunwha policies implemented and programs offered vary widely from one local education system to another, and that students are presented with an unbalanced offering of programs with different priorities. According to the MEST report, for example, the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education allocated an overwhelming proportion of its Damunwha education budget to language education: 1.76 billion KRW out of a total budget of 1.85 billion KRW, or approximately 95.6%, in 2009 (Park et al. 2010, p. 48). This represented an increase from an already incredible 90% budget allocation in 2008 (ibid, p. 45). The other two areas of Damunwha education administered by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education—cultural education and multicultural understanding education—received a mere 2.6% and 1.7% of the total budget, respectively.⁷ In terms of the number and proportion of students who received Damunwha programs, 97% of the total budget of Damunwha programs was allocated to children of marriage migrants or labor migrants (no distinction between the two were made), with only 3% reserved for returned children from overseas.⁸

The Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education more evenly distributes its budget among three Damunwha education policies—language education (37.1%), cultural education (42.3%), and multicultural understanding (20.5%). Also, whereas Seoul provides eight programs that primarily emphasize language and cultural education for children of marriage and labor migrants, Incheon provides 14 programs with more emphasis on education for multicultural understanding.

⁷ Since the percentages calculated in the report (Park et al.: 48) are incorrect, the authors recalculated the percentage based on the budget amount given in Figure II-1 on page 49.

⁸ *Gyiguk Janyeo* (returned children) are mostly the children of study-abroad students or of employees who worked for the government or multinational companies and were thereby stationed overseas for long periods.

Examination of multicultural education policies, programs, and budget allocations in both Seoul and Incheon Metropolitan Cities suggests that on-the-ground understanding of multicultural families and children is far broader than the legal definition, which encompasses only families composed of one Korean parent and either a marriage migrant or a naturalized Korean parent. However, North Korean defectors are still neither classified nor perceived as multicultural, and the Damunwha education system therefore provides no budget for creating programs aimed at children of North Korean defectors or children who are themselves defectors. North Korean defectors and their children are supported under different policies and programs than are Damunwha children; for example, North Korean issues are overseen not only by the Ministry of Education, but also by the Ministry of Unification. It is worth noting that Damunwha children, too, come under the jurisdiction of programs that are developed and implemented by multiple ministries, including the Ministry of Government Legislation, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Public Administration and Security, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Health and Welfare. Communication between various ministries in order to develop consistent and efficient Damunwha programs and policies currently poses a great challenge.

Damunwha education programs and policies in Busan Metropolitan City are different in two main ways: first, Busan includes North Korean defectors as beneficiaries of Damunwha education; second, Busan's budget is well balanced in five different areas of Damunwha education—language, culture, (social) systems, vocation, and multicultural understanding. Not only is Busan's Damunwha education system more inclusive of diverse groups than are the programs of the other two metropolitan areas, but it provides the highest number of programs, 30 in total. However, like the other metropolitan areas, Busan still lacks programs that promote a better multicultural understanding of the general population. And while its overall fairness and inclusiveness are evident at the level of policy, a micro-level evaluation of program implementation is still needed.

Many multicultural families are struggling to provide proper education for their children, and “multicultural education” has become a pressing educational and social issue in contemporary Korea. Discussion needs to move beyond *whether* the educational system needs to provide multicultural education and toward *how* to provide proper education for linguistically and culturally diverse students. Thorough reflections on how the education system interprets the meaning of “multi-culture” and on how it approaches multicultural education are generally absent in both the policies themselves and in analyses of those policies. The term “multi-culture” has largely been interpreted to mean “celebration of difference” or “tolerance,” which leads to a superficial understanding of diversity. The programs implemented to provide multicultural understanding have focused on hosting “international festivals” and other similar events, and critical examinations of the lives and experiences of people with cultural and linguistic diversity are few.

13.5 Transformation of Korean Society Through Dynamic Interplays Between “Korean-ness” and “Multiculture”

Close examination of the Damunwha education policies and programs of three metropolitan areas has revealed a few important insights into the current state of multicultural education in Korea. First, Damunwha policies and programs vary widely with regard to budget allocations, prioritized areas of education, number of schools, and beneficiaries. Second, despite these differences, the programs largely focus on teaching Korean language and culture and on helping multicultural students to adjust in Korean society; these programs largely ignore the migrant heritage of these students, creating a void in heritage language and culture education. However, since the main beneficiaries of current Damunwha education are the children of marriage migrants, efforts to honor migrant parent culture and language could facilitate communication between migrant parents and their children, and thus positively influence family dynamics. Third, Damunwha education largely concerns itself with students who are already in school and does not address non-enrollment and dropout rates, which are serious issues. According to the MEST report (Park et al. 2010), children of Japanese marriage or labor migrants constituted the largest percentage of Damunwha students in all three metropolitan areas. In Seoul, for example, there were 60% more children of Japanese migrants enrolled in school than there were children of Korean Chinese migrants enrolled. Yet the Japanese foreign-resident population did not qualify in even the top five largest foreign-resident populations, while the Korean Chinese foreign-resident population was overwhelmingly large. The MEST report thus clearly indicates the existence of odd discrepancies between actual population numbers and school enrollment numbers, especially among children of Korean Chinese or Chinese migrants. Rather than investigating potential causes or otherwise drawing attention to this phenomenon, the report merely calls for the development of more bilingual materials, in Japanese and Korean, to serve the Damunwha students with Japanese heritage.

In Korea, educational systems and institutions have played a significant role in promoting and maintaining the ideal of Korea as a homogeneous society and in emphasizing the importance of national unity (Hong 2009, p. 388). At the same time, the Korean education system has repeatedly changed its approach in order to accommodate each new economic and political agenda set by the state. During previous eras, for example, anti-communist and pro-industrialization curriculums were integral to school programs. In the 1990s, when “globalization” and “internationalization” emerged as major state agendas, the Korean education system quickly adapted by expanding English education to all school levels, including the elementary level, and this was followed by a dramatic increase in the number of native English speakers hired in public schools and private Hagwons.

Given such mutability, what is the fundamental goal of multicultural education? What is revealed by the discrepancies among different educational programs in how they define multicultural students and family, as well as by the general discrepancy between such on-the-ground definitions and the legal definition of the same? Why

do multicultural programs overly privilege Korean language and culture? Why is there an absence of interest in promoting the heritage languages and cultures of Damunwha students? What might explain the apparent mismatch between the migrant population and the migrant student population, and why are there no programs or policies to address this issue?

The presence of immigrants has generated confusion and contradiction within the Korean populace, raising questions about who belongs to Korean society and who counts as Korean. The dramatic increase in the numbers of incoming migrants with diverse backgrounds has, for example, popularized the expression “multi-culture” as important to social, political, and academic discourse. “Multi-culture” has become an overarching concept that encompasses diversity, difference, and heterogeneity, most particularly challenging the bedrock notion of “Korean-ness” that emphasizes “purity of blood” and “homogeneity of culture” and derives from the constructed myth that all Koreans came from a single ethnic group (Shin 2006).

Thus, foreign migrants have not been readily accepted as full members of Korean society. They have been subjected to many layers of social, political, and legal discrimination, much of which is informed precisely by essentialized notions of Korean identity. According to Lim (2009), Koreans tend to conflate race and ethnicity, which has served to create an exceptionally rigid and narrow conceptualization of national identity, belongingness, and citizenship—to be considered an “authentic” or “pure” Korean, one must have Korean blood. Unlike the law of the United States, which grants citizenship based on *jus soli* (whereby any person born in a U.S. territory qualifies), Korean citizenship law is based on *jus sanguinis* (whereby any person of ethnic Korean heritage qualifies). Korea therefore strictly regulates the process of naturalization and citizenship for persons of mixed blood and for long-term foreign residents in Korea.

However, even having pure Korean blood does not guarantee social acceptance. The land of birth and upholding of Korean values, morals, and beliefs also influence how a person with Korean heritage is accepted in the society. For example, North Korean border-crossers are treated differently than other ethnic return migrants. Although the border-crossers face discrimination in the job market and social isolation, they are more likely to be considered authentically Korean than other ethnic return migrants.

Seol and Skrentny (2009) term Korea’s complex social and cultural system of intra-ethnic stratification “hierarchical nationhood.” While nationhood is usually understood as horizontal and equalizing concept, ethnic return migrants are stratified in South Korea according to their diasporic origins, thus, hierarchy within nationhood is formed; the hierarchy is legally determined by citizenship and immigration law and socially determined by acceptance of migrants by Korean citizens.

Before 1990, Korea had a tightly regulated immigration policy and extremely selective, largely patriarchal citizenship laws. For example, citizenship was granted only to children born in Korea to Korean fathers. In 1997 statutory revisions eased restrictions, granting citizenship to all children with at least one Korean parent, but prior to that change, mixed-heritage children of non-Korean fathers (e.g., children of American soldiers and Korean women) were denied citizenship and were not

fully accepted as Koreans. While unjust tradition that privileges patriarchy is abolished, unjust tradition still persists in the legal definition of Damunwha family, which again privileges having at least one Korean parent.

Though the legal definition of the Damunwha family encompasses coethnic migrants, social discourse often excludes coethnics from Damunwha status, as the popular image of the multicultural family involves one parent who is both ethnically and linguistically “foreign.” At least Damunwha programs are offered in the areas where Korean Chinese are concentrated. In contrast, North Korean defectors are not included in legal definition of Damunwha and they are even excluded from receiving benefits from Damunwha education in two out of three metropolitan areas, which can be a prime example of inconsistency among Damunwha programs. Thus, the term “multi-culture” functions not an inclusive term that denotes a culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse population, but a differentiating term that primarily signifies socially and economically underprivileged migrants, thus embedding the notion of social hierarchy in the discourse of “multi-culture.”

What is interesting and unique in the Korean context⁹ is that Koreans stratify coethnics not only according to their biological and territorial ties to Korea, but also to the neoliberal logic that is based on relative degrees of economic and political development of their diaspora homelands. Through the process of stratification, Korea has created a complex and contradictory web of power and hierarchy that privilege migrants from the developed countries and discriminate against migrants from the less developed countries. The social system of stratification influences not only the everyday lives of Koreans and migrants in Korea, but also their economic, social, and political rights and their access to justice.

Rigid notions of Korean identity have resulted in a toxic hierarchical ethnic nationalism, lending credence to Lim’s (2009) warning that “identities based on a notion of ethnic and/or racial homogeneity can be dysfunctional and even dangerous.” Identity may provide national unity in a time of crisis, but it also can be used as a mechanism to marginalize, oppress, and subordinate people and groups who do not fit neatly into the “image” of Korea. By creating imaginary categories such as “foreign” and “other,” essentialist understandings of Korean identity have engendered xenophobia and racial and ethnic hatred. By privileging Korean culture and language, a commitment to narrow definitions of Korean identity has prevented recognition of Damunwha students’ heritage cultures and languages, forcing them onto the lower rungs of the social hierarchy. Such fundamentalism is apparent in the implementation of education policies. Although many Damunwha programs emphasize language and culture education, both philosophically and financially, what they actually provide is largely limited to Korean language and culture education. Indeed, these policies and programs, which are developed and administered top-down, are largely predicated on assimilationist beliefs. There is little emphasis on the heritage languages and cultures of immigrants and their children.

⁹Similar stratification has been reported in the Japanese Brazilian context, but the Korean context is complicated by the larger size of the diaspora and by the phenomenon of North Korean border-crossers.

In this context, the state's big push for multiculturalism may seem somewhat puzzling. To understand the burgeoning, but superficial, support for multicultural education, we need to understand South Korea's agenda of globalization (*Segyewha*). Globalization has been a major state agenda since the 1990s, and it had coincided with increasing rates of immigration. Korean understanding of globalization has been congruent with advanced industrialization, a policy of openness to foreign nations, and the cultivation of global competitiveness and competency. In order to become an advanced country worthy of respect, Korean politicians argued, Korea had to globalize. Korea's globalization campaign was an elite-oriented effort to strengthen the country's market competitiveness; its agenda was predicated on drawing global attention to Korea's cultural uniqueness and superiority (Kim 2000). However, the concurrent influx of migrant populations impoverished by the effects of the global political economy did not square with Korea's globalization plans. This discrepancy—between visions of globalization that privileged the cosmopolitanization of the citizenry and the reality of a multicultural Korea in which the majority of migrants were marriage and labor migrants from less developed countries—contributed to the emergence of ethnic and racial hierarchies in contemporary Korea.

Nonetheless, the Korean government could not afford to overtly discriminate against or ignore the welfare and educational rights of migrants and their children, as compliance with international human-rights standards was a nonnegotiable precondition for acquiring status as an advanced country. In this context, migrants are treated with generosity as seen in the increase of funding for Damunwha education, but they are socially positioned as inferior. As a result, the term “multi-culture” was popularized, Damunwha policies and programs emerged, and substantial fiscal resources were allocated to these programs. Yet multicultural initiatives have also been differentiated from elite-oriented globalization efforts; the latter are apparent, for example, in high-end international schools intended to attract affluent foreign migrants and foreign study-abroad students to Korea's elementary and secondary educational programs. With an increasing number of children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds entering the Korean education system, it is imperative to develop and implement equitable and effective educational programs so that migrant children of all backgrounds have the opportunity to develop into competent, contributing, and respected members of society.

13.6 Rethinking Diversity and Envisioning Transformative Multicultural Education

Debate and study of multiculturalism have been largely Western pursuits, and the majority of multicultural theories and approaches have developed in Western contexts, such as the United States, Canada, and England. The conditions, social dynamics, and history of multicultural education are different in Korea and in other

Asian countries. Thus, the task is to develop multicultural education that is suitable for the Korean context, the major challenge being how to create and implement programs that reflect an expanded notion of Korean peoplehood, one that is inclusive and equitably represents diverse foreign residents and naturalized citizens. As Lim (2009) suggests, “The most viable route toward a ‘multi-ethnic’ society in Korea should be based on developing a more inclusive definition of who belongs to Korean society.” He also argues that the issue of belongingness does not necessarily arise from the migrants’ failure or unwillingness to “assimilate.” Instead, Lim asserts, the fundamental issue is the “impenetrable barrier of a rigidly and narrowly defined conceptions of belongingness and identity” (Lim 2009). Such strict boundaries cannot be eased or dismantled overnight. Only sustained, intentional, and practical efforts will lead to an optimal educational environment and social atmosphere for both minorities and majorities.

Another major challenge will be to design and implement multicultural education programs that are versatile enough to encompass the diversity that is unique to Korean society. In Western societies, especially in the United States and United Kingdom, migrants generally do not share ethnic, religious, cultural, or linguistic characteristics with the mainstream population. Furthermore, in those countries, the overwhelming majority of foreign migrants arrive from the Global South; the economic and political power imbalances between their departure and destination countries are substantial. In Korea, however, while the migrant population does include labor and marriage migrants from less developed countries, it also includes white-collar workers from developed countries. Moreover, the immigrant population includes not only foreigners of different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds, but also an unusually high percentage of “U-turnees”—coethnic diasporans who have re-migrated from long-term, often multi-generational, residence in foreign countries—and North Korean border-crossers. Finally, there is Korea’s unique challenge around multicultural families, in that the majority of “migrant” families are in fact of mixed-heritage involving one Korean parent, one migrant parent, and Korea-born children. Thus, intrafamily diversity must be considered in the implementation of multicultural programs.

Given these circumstances, we offer a preliminary, four-part vision of what an inclusive and fair multicultural education might look like and what it might take to achieve.

1. Multicultural education should be for all students, not just for Damunwha students. In order for social discrimination and injustice to be eradicated, every student needs to develop multicultural understanding and to be respected as a full member of the society. Whereas current programs in multicultural education are generally offered as separate educational support or as additions to the regular curriculum, a multicultural approach would integrate such programs into everyday study and school life.
2. Multicultural education cannot be achieved in the context of assimilation-oriented agendas or by a one-sided emphasis on improving multicultural understanding among minority students—yet current programs privilege Korean

language, lifestyles, morals, and values, making social and cultural membership in Korean society unreachable for minority students. Multicultural education could be improved by conveying equal importance and value for both Korean and non-Korean cultures and languages to students. Furthermore, multicultural education needs to function as a bridge between minority students' non-Korean heritage and Korean heritage so that they can build their transcultural competency.

3. Students must be recognized not merely as passive recipients, but as agents of multicultural education. They can and should be empowered to construct their own learning experiences through constant interplay with teachers and the educational environment. Whereas the existing top-down model leaves little room for participatory learning, multicultural education should instead be regarded as a social responsibility, as a process that engages students both in personal reflection and in social reflection through dialogue. Multicultural education calls for transformation of wider society through critical examination of power relationships. Personal reflections are important but are not, by themselves, sufficient.
4. Investment in teacher education is essential. The role of educators in promoting multicultural understanding cannot be overemphasized. Existing teacher-education programs will require active reorganization to provide training that is appropriate for the current realities of multicultural Korea.

Considering the short period in which they have had to respond to the effects of globalization, Korea's government and education system have made impressive progress on multicultural initiatives. However, it is precisely this lack of time and experience that has led to inconsistent, inefficient implementation of multicultural education programs. Now is the time for critical reflection, wherein we have an opportunity to reexamine current educational models in order to create more inclusive, equitable, and efficient programs that serve not only Damunwha students, but also non-Damunwha students, helping both groups to understand, accept, and interact with each other.

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Chapter 14

Educating All Children in Multicultural, Multilingual Singapore: The Quest for Equity Amidst Diversity

A. Lin Goodwin and Ee Ling Low

In the span of a few short decades in its post-independent era, Singapore has moved from a relative unknown, a tiny country represented by a mere red dot on the world map because of its diminutive size, to being “one of Asia’s great success stories” (OECD 2010, p. 159). Some of this has been the result of internationally benchmarked assessments of student achievement which have focused everyone’s attention on high performing countries such as Singapore, while another factor has been Singapore’s economic and meteoric leap from a developing country to a twenty-first century, fully developed, financial front-runner. Unsurprisingly, everyone is curiously asking—what is Singapore’s “secret” and how can we learn to do what they do?

Singapore’s achievements seem remarkable given the absence of natural resources other than her people—who represent a diverse mix of racial groups, cultures, languages, and origins. As a city-state, Singapore constitutes an urban nation, or urban city-state—and an urban school system—that is employing educational policy and programs to successfully enhance social cohesion and advance social mobility among its multicultural citizenry. In this chapter, we look at the universal goal to “educate all children” or to “educate other people’s children.”

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using Singapore as an illustrative case. For most countries, this goal is lofty, often more rhetorical than actual, and perennially challenging, especially in diverse, heterogeneous contexts. Yet Singapore seems to have made noteworthy progress in addressing issues that plague many urban school environments, such as those related to curriculum, multilingualism and heritage languages, resource distribution including the distribution of quality teachers, collective versus individual identity, the role of the government in advocacy and affirmative actions, and the underpinning systemic coherence that binds the different pieces together.

We begin with a brief history of Singapore to establish a baseline, and then go on to outline the journey Singapore has taken to ensure quality education for all children, regardless of race, language, religion, culture or economic background. We offer two illustrations that allow us to ground our narrative in concrete contexts as we examine specific policies, practices, and research that have had an impact on Singapore's aim to achieve equity amidst diversity. We then move from the specific illustrations to a look across the two in order to surface possible lessons or principles that could be educative to other systems regardless of local particulars. We end with reflections about the priorities that should be focal in the continuing quest for educational equity and social justice—whether in Singapore or elsewhere in our world.

14.1 A Brief History of Singapore

In 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles “founded” Singapore and claimed it as a colony of the British Empire. Colonial rule lasted over a century until 1959 when the country became internally self-governing. Briefly, from 1963 to 1965, Singapore joined the Malaysian Federation, but became an independent sovereignty in August 1965. Descriptions of Singapore at the time indicated how much work was ahead of the new nation:

There was high unemployment and an acute shortage of public housing. Many squatter colonies sprouted out throughout the suburban and rural areas. In the 1950s, racial integration did not exist and within the plural society the main ethnic groups considered themselves as Chinese, Malays and Indians, rather than as Singaporeans. (Goh and Gopinathan 2006, p. 2)

...it was a poor, small (about 700 km²), tropical island with few natural resources, little fresh water, rapid population growth, substandard housing and recurring conflict among the ethnic and religious groups that made up its population. At that time there was no compulsory education and only a small number of high school and college graduates and skilled workers...There was no real economy, no defence¹, and simmering tensions with neighbouring countries. Moreover, it had to import most of its food, water and energy. The Republic of Singapore seemed an unlikely candidate to become a world-class economic and educational powerhouse. (OECD 2010, p. 160)

¹In this article, we quote many authors who are not based in the U.S., and who therefore use spelling based on British vs. American English.

When the PAP took over the self-governed city-state in 1959, Singapore was suffering from high unemployment problem with her unemployment rate recorded at more than 10 per cent. The PAP was also worried about the high population growth rate at 3.3 per cent. There was a serious shortage of housing facilities during that time. Coupled with low savings and limited natural resources, the foreign press was predicting a disaster for the new nation. (Sam 2003)

Thus, at the start of her history, Singapore manifested most of the characteristics typically associated with “urban,” a geographic location “inside a principal city with population of 250,000 or more” (NCESb n.d., para. 3)—densely populated, “within a relatively small spatial area...[and]...a multiplicity of...institutions packed closely together” (Dyson 2003, p. 1). According to demographic data, in 1957 Singapore’s population stood at close to 1.5 million of which 75.4% were Chinese, 13.6% were Malay, 9% were Indian and 2% were “Other” (Saw 2012). Beyond definitions of space and place,

Increasingly, the term urban is less likely to be employed as a geographic concept used to define and describe physical locations than as a social or cultural construct used to describe certain people and places... the term has attained specific socioeconomic and racial connotations. (Noguera 2003, p. 43)

In the U.S., “urban” has become code for people of color along with high levels of poverty, crime, overcrowding, housing shortages, and unemployment (Scherer 2005; Watson 2011). Urban schools are similarly defined in deficit terms: low achieving, often dangerous, with high numbers of dropouts, truants, and unqualified teachers (Ahram et al. n.d.). While these issues are not confined to urban schools, “urban school failure is pervasive. It is endemic in the nation’s largest cities” (Noguera 2003, p. 24). And as a large city-state, Singapore at the time of independence was experiencing all of these issues negatively associated with common conceptions of “urban.”

Fast forward to 2015, the year of her golden jubilee, Singapore is, by multiple measures, very successful. Between 1960 and the present, “Singapore’s real GDP per capita... skyrocketed from \$4,383 to \$55,862” (Welsh 2012, p. 114) and “For much of its history since independence, Singapore...[has]... enjoyed high economic growth rates accompanied by full employment” (Phang 2007, p. 16). The financial well-being of the nation has been strategically tied to education policy, so it is no accident that “primary and secondary school enrollment is near universal” (Welsh 2012, p. 118), literacy rates are 97% (World Bank 2015), and Singapore students have performed impressively on all the international assessments, i.e., TIMSS, PISA, PIRLS (OECD 2011). Moreover, “[a]bout 90% of Singapore’s students scored above the international median on the TIMSS tests” (Darling-Hammond and Wentworth 2010, p. 22).

Current population figures stand at 5.47 million, about 4 million of whom are citizens or permanent residents, with an ethnic breakdown of 74% Chinese, 13% Malay, 9% Indian and 3% other groups (Ministry of Social and Family Development 2015). Thus, “Singapore’s scores are based on high achievement by all of the country’s students, including the Malay and Tamil minorities, who have been rapidly closing what was once a yawning achievement gap” (Darling-Hammond and

Wentworth 2010, p. 22). For example, MOE data indicate that in 2011, 88 % of all pupils passed the GCE (General Certificate Examination) O Level (10th grade) exams, with a pass rate range of 83–91 % across the four main ethnic groups (Ministry of Education 2012). Statistics were similar for GCE A (12th grade) Level exams: 91 % of all students achieved at least 3 “A” passes with a pass in General Paper or Knowledge and Inquiry, and a pass rate range of 82–92 %; also 94 % of the primary 1 (first grade) cohort was admitted to post-secondary institutions (range 88–96 %). Thus, while an achievement gap does exist, it is fairly modest with the majority of all students achieving in the top ranges. This is in large part a function of equity-based policies and practices designed to “level up” all students and schools, some of which are described later. Another important factor to consider is GCE O Level pass rates in English—83–90 % across all ethnic groups (Ministry of Education 2012); the high percentage of pass rates in English is especially significant given the correlation of English proficiency to performance on international assessments (Low 2014).

Today’s average Singaporean is well educated, gainfully employed, healthy, and quite well traveled. The city-state is known the world over for being clean, safe, and green, with excellent infrastructure support—including IT—for commerce and tourism. There is no such thing as a “bad” neighborhood and the kinds of marginalized slum areas characterized by stark poverty, dilapidated housing, high crime, hunger and devastation, apparent in major cities around the world, are literally non-existent in Singapore. But what is taken for granted now, could hardly be imagined given the republic’s rocky beginning. While the republic’s “secret” of success was far from a single magic bullet, one important goal that underlay everything, was the understanding that “The wealth of a nation lies in its people—their commitment to country and community, their willingness to strive and persevere, their ability to think, achieve and excel” (MOE 2015a, para. 3). Thus, at independence, the newly formed Peoples Action Party government

publicly reiterated its ‘multiracialism’ creed, seeing such an ideology as the only way forward to build a new and united, plural Singapore. The principal ingredient of the ideological bent is the acceptance of the rights of different ethnic communities to practice their own ‘way of life’ within the multi-ethnic state, while expecting them to collaborate with their fellow citizens in nation-building agendas. Thus, all major government policies—from housing to education to defense and immigration—carry the imprint of this multiracial motif. (Mutalib 2012, p. 115)

Engendering commitment to country and community, as well as the ability to think and excel, require building allegiance to place through housing policies that nurture a sense of rootedness and home—and building an excellent education system to cultivate talents and minds, all guided by “the founding principles of multiracialism and meritocracy” (Tan 2014, p. 251). After independence, “schools for the different ethnic groups were brought together under a single education system where children learned English and their own language” (Mackenzie 2014, p. 39). While discussions about housing policies in Singapore are beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to consider how notions of place-based education, such as urban education, seem equally reliant on affordable and safe housing as they are on

quality schools and teachers. In Singapore, from the start, policies in relation to both issues worked in tandem and maintained a laser-like focus on nurturing “People... our most precious resource.” Thus, “The provision of housing welfare on a large scale” has meant “The homeownership rate for the resident population increased from 29 % in 1970 to 92 % by 2000” (Phang 2007, p. 16, 21), with the construction of homes (vs. housing) accompanied by the construction of schools. In addition, government housing is deliberately integrated, a policy that continues to be publicly debated, but has resulted in multicultural communities living together as normative. National service, which is “compulsory...for all male Singaporeans and second generation permanent residents gives young men of all backgrounds the opportunity to train and live together” (Gunaratna and Mohamed Hassan 2015, p. 60), and exempts none regardless of race, socio-economic status, or religion.

Public subsidies have been consistently available, introduced over time in concert with ongoing concerns about equity, as a way to “temper our meritocratic free market system with compassion and equal opportunities” such that “all children, rich or poor, are brought to the same starting line, properly equipped to run” (Goh 1990, p. 25, cited in Tan 2014). Examples of these described by Jason Tan (2014) include: “annual per capita grants” to non-independent schools for equipment, staff or funding of educational experiences not all families can afford, such as overseas trips. In their Edusave Endowment Fund, every 6–16 year old student receives annual deposits from the government to be used for educational purposes. There are a variety of government bursaries to support equity for lower income families and students with disabilities to own computers, gain internet access, and pay for “child-care, medical services, kindergarten fees, spectacles” (Tan 2014, p. 256). Seventy-five percent of university degree study is subsidized by the government, while the indigenous Malays receive free schooling up through university. Finally, in 1999, the Programme for Rebuilding and Improving Existing Schools (PRIME) was launched to upgrade schools “to the latest standards. New and upgraded facilities will include computer laboratories, media resource libraries, IT learning resource rooms, pastoral care rooms and health and fitness rooms” (MOE 2015c, para. 2–3).

14.2 Education Goals and Commitments

Every citizen is valuable and has a unique contribution to make. Through education every individual can realise his (sic) full potential, use his talents and abilities to benefit his community and nation. (MOE 2012, para. 9)

Living up to the lofty goals of every person realizing her or his full potential meant ensuring quality education for all children, regardless of race, language, gender, religion, culture or economic background. Throughout, Singapore “has skillfully used education policy to both transform society and in that process to make education a valued social institution” (Gopinathan 2007, p. 68). Post independence from the Malaysian Federation, the urgent goal was “universal primary education ...and mass recruitment of teachers...to staff the rising number of schools” (Goh

and Lee 2008, p. 97) or “survival-driven education” (Goh and Gopinathan 2008). This gave way to “an efficiency-driven education,” designed to “produce skilled workers for the economy in the most efficient way” (Tan 2005, p. 2), thus enabling Singapore to be competitive and successfully earn multinational dollars. “Teachers and children alike were mechanically fed by a bureaucratically designated and rigid curriculum” in an effort to “[reduce] educational wastage” (Goh and Lee 2008, p. 25).

Policies changed dramatically in 1997 when Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong announced a new national vision for developing “the creative thinking skills and learning skills required for the...intensely global future” and making “learning a national culture” (June 2, 1997). *Thinking Schools, Learning Nation* (TSLN), initiated a more individualized approach, “ability-driven education...to identify and develop the talents and abilities of every child to the maximum” (Tan 2005, p. 5). Currently, the aim is to “cater to the diverse needs of Singaporeans and allow all to progress in life—not by prescribing one path for all, but to have a diversity of pathways and opportunities, regardless of background (Heng 2011, para. 17). “Student-Centric, Values-Driven Education” is now the focus, “With values, social emotional competencies and character development at the centre” (Heng 2011, para. 47).

Undoubtedly, Singapore’s education system has gone through various cycles of change and refinement. Still, central to the many policy iterations has been consistent efforts “to safeguard a baseline quality of teaching and learning for all students” (MOE 2014, para. 1), as a way of protecting and nurturing her most precious resource. We now turn to two illustrations of the deliberate intersection of equity and education in Singapore such that positive outcomes are secured for all students. The first illustration looks at educational equity in terms of language policies and language instruction. The second looks at the preparation of a quality teaching force such that all students have access to quality instruction. In the case of either, it is important to keep the Singapore context as a city-state in mind, which means, ultimately, a blurring of the distinction between “urban” and education.

14.3 Equity and Language Policies

Many of the language policies that were initiated in the late 1970s arose out of the All-Party Committee report of 1956. The purpose of this committee was to examine the issue of linguistic diversity amongst the population of a newly independent Malaya (which included Singapore) and as a result, some important language policies were implemented (cf. Low and Brown 2005). In the case of Singapore, three primary ethnic groups—Malays, Chinese, and Indians—spoke different languages from each other, but also spoke multiple dialects and languages within their own ethnic group (Dixon 2005). The British had afforded few non-whites the opportunity to learn English and “had kept the three major ethnic groups geographically and ethnically divided” (Dixon 2005, p. 27). Consequently, in the midst of inter-ethnic tensions, no common language existed to bridge the various groups, nor connect

Singaporeans to international trade. Thus, language polices were designed to unite Singaporeans and promote access to the world economy, and to technological and scientific advances (Lee 2000).

A first key policy was the designation of English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil as the four co-official languages of Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng 1998). As Low asserts, “This policy therefore has the ingenuity of uniting us in a language that none of the racial groups can claim to be ethnically biased while allowing us to celebrate the diversity of the tongues that come along with our multi-ethnic, multi-cultural make-up” (2013), and broadcast the important message that no ethnic group took priority over another, while simultaneously underscoring the preservation of home languages. In the 1960s, learning a second language became compulsory at the primary level, sowing the seeds of Singapore’s bilingual education policy. In 1979, the *Speak Mandarin* campaign was initiated to establish some form of uniformity amongst the different dialects spoken by Chinese Singaporeans. The aim was to support them to become bilingual in English and Mandarin Chinese by providing a lingua franca—Mandarin, and therefore a largely Mandarin-speaking environment. The 1978 Goh report, chaired by then Defense Minister Goh Keng Swee, examined educational issues and recommended streaming whereby at Year 3, students would undergo a streaming examination to ascertain whether they would take English and a second language up to Year 6 (i.e., the normal or bilingual stream), or whether they would only read English as a first language in school (termed the monolingual stream). Entry to the local national university, beginning 1985, also required applicants to pass both English as a first language and their second language, a policy that gave the impetus for bilingual competence. In 1987, English became the medium of instruction, ensuring equal access to mastering English was given to all regardless of ethnic or socio-economic backgrounds. Pakir (1991, p. 167) coined the term ‘English-knowing bilingualism’ to refer to the situation with regard to bilingual education in Singapore where students have linguistic ability in the first language, English, and a second language defined as their ‘ethnically defined mother tongues’ i.e. Mandarin for the Chinese, Malay for the Malays, and Tamil for the Indians.

Overtime, bilingual education policy has changed the linguistic landscape of Singapore and the latest Population Census, released in 2010 showed that literacy in two or more languages also rose from 56 % in 2000 to 71 % in 2010 (Department of Statistics Singapore 2011). The 2010 Census also showed that 42.04 % of the population speak English and Mandarin Chinese, 12.56 % speak English and Malay and 3.3 % speak English and Tamil. While more Singaporeans are bilingual, the home language situation remains diverse across ethnic groups; 59 % of Singaporeans do not speak English at home. Yet, Singaporean students out-performed their international counterparts in PISA assessments taken in English. However, Low (2014) reports that Singaporeans who did not speak English at home did not perform as well in PISA as those who did, indicating that English language competency does impact academic achievement. The importance of competency in the English language is not just limited to the educational domain. Clearly, the ability to conduct international trade using English as an international language is crucial. However,

in the context of Asia with China and India as rising economic powers, English-knowing bilingualism serves as a critical geo-political instrument. Considering Singapore's geographical location with Malay, Chinese, and Indian speaking neighbors, English-knowing Malay/Chinese/Indian bilingualism is of essential importance in order to forge and maintain close diplomatic and cultural bonds. Indeed, in the case of Singapore, it is prudent language policy and planning that has helped to provide equitable levers for academic and economic success for Singaporeans.

14.4 Excellence and Equity?

The high performance of Singaporean students compared to their international peers has begged the question of whether excellence has been achieved at the expense of equity. However, scholars such as Robbins (2007) argue that the two concepts need not be viewed dichotomously and can indeed co-exist; the focus should be on how to achieve both. Additionally, the 2009 PISA report shows that high performing education systems (HPES) display “a below-average impact of economic, social and cultural status on student performance” (OECD 2010, p. 57).

Singapore presents an excellent exemplar of a HPES where heavy investment in education brings about educational excellence (high quality educational outcomes) and quality eventually serves as the key to achieving equity for all. In the case of Singapore, we would like to argue that educational excellence has been attained through high levels of competence in English. Studies have shown clear linkages between high levels of language competency and academic success (Butler and Castalion-Wellington 2000; Feast 2002).

Acknowledging the correlation between language competence and academic attainment, proficiency in the English language cannot be left to chance and policies to ensure stringent selection, recruitment, preparation and professional development of English language teachers are essential.

14.5 Quality English Language Teaching/Teachers

Proficiency in the English Language is a pre-requisite for any of the pre-service teacher education programmes offered at the nation's sole teacher preparation institute; candidates are required to minimally pass English Language at the General Certificate of Education Ordinary level, and/or pass in the General paper at the H1 (or A) level. Additionally, subject to the minimal grade of at least a B³, candidates are still required to pass the English language entrance proficiency test (ELEPT). Candidates can re-take the ELEPT multiple times until they pass it. The ELEPT is a locally designed test with an oral and a written component that mirrors other international English language tests of proficiency such as the IELTS.

Once selected into pre-service teacher education, student teachers who are going to teach English as a Curriculum or Teaching subject are prepared² in the following categories of content knowledge (Shulman 1986, 1987), i.e., subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and knowledge of context. Subject matter knowledge courses (categorized as Academic Subjects and Subject Knowledge courses in the programme) help student teachers to acquire content mastery and communicative competence (grammatical, sociolinguistic, discursal and strategic) in the English Language. The courses offered under this category help to provide students with a strong linguistics foundation, are school-relevant and help them in their future roles as English language teachers. Pedagogical knowledge courses (termed Curriculum Studies within the programme) help student teachers learn how to teach the English language as a subject by introducing up-to-date theories and research-informed practices in the discipline. Additionally, it is also important to help impart knowledge about the latest curriculum goals for the subject. Student teachers are introduced to the main strategies and approaches for teaching the main language skills, and instruction is differentiated according to whether the teacher is being prepared to teach at the primary or secondary levels. The intended curriculum goals of the syllabus for primary and secondary levels are also given special focus.

Finally, student teachers develop knowledge of the context or professional preparation. Courses that fall within this group of courses include Communication Skills for Teachers, which prepares student teachers with the oral and written communication skills necessary for their future roles as teachers, such as communicating with parents and other key stakeholders across the education system. Academic Discourse Skills ensures that student teachers are prepared for the conventions of academic discourse or writing required for their assignments, research reports, and later on for writing graduate theses or dissertations. Student teachers not specializing in the English language as an academic discipline but still required to teach English as a subject at the primary level, complete mandatory content and proficiency enhancement courses which will help them to achieve a Certificate in English Language Studies.

Professional development of English language teachers continues as they enter the profession; this is mainly conducted by the English Language Institute of Singapore, which is part of the Academy of Singapore Teachers (AST) and helps hone teachers further in their pedagogical skills or in curriculum development and implementation. In order to encourage a culture of excellence in English language teaching in Singapore, since 2010, the local newspaper and the Speak Good English Movement (n.d.) has offered an Inspiring Teacher of English Award. There are also scholarships tenable abroad, known as the MOE Overseas English Language Teachers Study Award, which allows outstanding English language teachers to conduct research, participate in university courses, teach and observe English language classes abroad and to hone their skills as international teachers of English.

²Please see Lee and Low (2014) for a more complete description of the ITP curriculum; the focus in this section is only on preparation relevant to the discussion regarding language development and policies.

14.6 Issues Ahead

While it is undeniable that Singapore's language planning and implementation policies, teacher recruitment, selection and professional development have enabled students to acquire a high level of proficiency in English, which has been shown to be linked to educational excellence, there are still challenges ahead (Low 2014).

The first concerns uneven levels of English proficiency related to differences in home language spoken. Obviously, those who speak English at home have an advantage over those who don't and there is a need to level this out when students come into formal education at the primary (elementary) school level. Current supports include the Learning Support Programme, which provides extra coaching for Year 1 pupils who do not score well in the School Readiness Tests for English Language and Mathematics.

Secondly, even though English has been a medium of instruction since 1987, there is still concern that the variety of English spoken leaves much to be desired and to address this, the *Speak Good English Movement* was launched in 2000. The aim of the movement was to encourage Singaporeans to speak grammatically correct English that allows them to be internationally understood. Linked to this concern over falling standards, there is also the worry that only perhaps the top performers of each cohort truly have the mastery of the English language akin to those of other native monolingual speakers of English. Given the close linkage between language competence and academic achievement, this must be addressed.

The final challenge has to do with the upholding of standards and norms—whose standards and whose norms? Alsagoff (2007) describes Singaporeans being torn between a globalist or a localist orientation, which is linked to what they associate the use of English helps them to achieve. A globalized norm helps one to attain economic and social advancement, while a localized norm helps Singaporeans to express their culture and identity. Pakir (2014) describes this dilemma poignantly where in special polities like Singapore, the local realities are such that the use of English as a working language and as a de facto official language in a multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural setting, has given rise to the term 'glocal' English. This forwards the notion of English usage that is globally appropriate but still culturally relevant, thus enabling its population to remain locally rooted by allowing them to preserve their national identity. Against this conundrum of whether to adopt global norms to demonstrate global competency or local norms for addressing local realities, empirical features-based research by Low (2010) shows that Singaporeans are showing evidence of adopting pronunciation features that are norm-developing i.e. different from those of native English-speaking countries. If local norms compromise international intelligibility and global competence, then this is a dilemma that cannot be ignored.

Undeniably, careful language planning and implementation has ensured that all Singaporeans have equitable access to an English medium education and maximal opportunities to achieve educational excellence. However, these challenges need to be addressed, otherwise, the quest for achieving equity and quality will be compromised.

14.7 Quality Teachers for (E)Quality in Schooling

PISA shows that the best-performing education systems provide most of their students with the kind and quality of education that average performers provide only for a small elite. That requires them to provide excellent teaching for all students. (OECD 2011, p. 8)

One concrete way of putting muscle behind the rhetoric of ‘people our most precious resource’ is ensuring that all children in Singapore have access to quality education, which in turn means access to quality teachers. As stated earlier, *Thinking Schools, Learning Nation*, initiated a period of education reform based on the principle that “A nation’s wealth in the 21st Century will depend on the capacity of its people to learn” (Goh 1997, para. 2). What follows here is the story of quality teacher preparation and development in Singapore, which ultimately is a story about better schools and wider access to quality schooling, in order to achieve the ultimate goal: quality education that is equally available for and nurturing of all children.

14.7.1 Recruiting and Selecting Strong Teacher Candidates

Immediately following PM Goh’s speech, the government set a new goal for education spending, raising it from 4% to 6% of the gross domestic product, spending levels equivalent to those of the U.S. and Japan. Producing high quality teachers became an explicit goal. A first move was an effort to change the perception of teaching and render it a more attractive profession: teacher salaries were increased significantly and pegged to the entry level salaries of other professions requiring a commensurate level of education, such as engineers and lawyers. However, increasing teacher salaries, while essential, are only a first step.

Policy responses are needed at two levels. The first seeks to improve teaching’s general status and competitive position in the job market, and broaden sources of teacher supply to include well-qualified people from other careers and former teachers. (OECD 2005, p. 39)

Thus, the approach in Singapore has been comprehensive, paying attention to the whole dinner, not simply individual ingredients. Higher teacher salaries were bolstered by policy measures that ensured not just capturing the best candidates, but continuing to support them through preparation and into their careers. These have included covering all preparation costs for selected candidates—tuition, books, medical co-pay insurance; paying them as MOE employees for up to 2 years, as well as bonuses tied to performance or other relevant work experiences.

Yet, financial incentives notwithstanding, there are many other powerful motivations to teach, such as meaningful work, or impacting the lives of young people. These motivations, termed “psychic rewards” by Dan Lortie (1975) ranked highly in a large-scale study of Singapore pre-service teachers’ reasons for choosing teaching (Low et al. 2011). In recruiting well-qualified young adults to teaching, the Ministry of Education employs numerous marketing strategies designed to capitalize on the many intangible reasons why teaching is a desirable choice and increase

its status as a profession. For example, the MOE Heritage Centre, opened symbolically on Teachers' Day in 2011, "showcases Singapore's Education Story from the early 19th century to the present" (MOE 2015b, "About," para. 1). Designed "to inspire those aspiring to be teachers, affirm the work of serving educators and commemorate the contributions of educators and communities that have shaped education since the founding of Singapore" (MOE 2015b, "About," para. 1), the Heritage Centre is part of every new teacher's induction experience:

During their visit, BTs...deepen their understanding and appreciation of the teacher's role in nurturing individuals and in nation-building. The visits also encourage BTs to feel a sense of pride and belonging to the teaching fraternity. (MOE 2015b, "Beginning Teacher Tours," para. 2)

This Centre is also open to the public so they too can develop awareness of the role teachers have played in Singapore's successful development. The valorizing of teachers in National Day speeches and other public addresses also drive home the message that teaching is a worthwhile career. Thus, the MOE approach towards recruitment pragmatically attends to economic realities so that prospective teachers do not turn to other professions—or leave prematurely—in search of higher remuneration, and highlights the psychic rewards associated with meaningful work, and making one's mark on society.

Because of the large number of candidates seeking admission, we regret that no telephone or personal enquiries will be entertained. (NIE 2015, para. 3)

A profession seen as desirable can be selective. MOE accepts application from the top 30% of each Primary 1 (i.e., First Grade) cohort, exemplifying Singapore's long-term view of teacher quality. From this top third of each graduating class, only one in three shortlisted applicants makes it through the selection interview. The selection process is a systemically grounded, singular, state-wide process. MOE and NIE jointly make decisions about admissions into teacher preparation in a selection process that emphasizes aptitude and motivation to teach as much as it weighs candidates' academic achievement and communications skills. Successful teacher candidates who make it through the selection interview are appointed as MOE General Education officers and are afforded all the financial supports described earlier. Similar to recruitment efforts, the teacher selection process is comprehensive, and has been recognized by McKinsey and Company (Mourshed et al. 2007), as one of the most effective among top performing systems.

14.7.2 Preparing and Sustaining Strong Teacher Candidates

The adoption of the university-based model demonstrates that teaching is a profession, where the development of teachers is underpinned by evidenced-based learning, and where teachers require the award of a degree as a pre-requisite for joining the profession. (National Institute of Education 2009, p. 22)

Unlike the U.S., there are no alternate pathways into teaching. Rather, all who aim to teach in government-supported schools (i.e., virtually all schools) must complete a university-based teacher preparation program. As the quote above states, professionals are not born but prepared, and if teachers are professionals, then they must be formally educated. Initial teacher preparation (ITP) programs are offered by a single institution, NIE, which sits within one of four top universities in Singapore. The curriculum NIE provides is (as described earlier) comprehensive, and is aligned with MOE goals and standards. At first glance, the courses and requirements do not appear too different from typical ITP in the U.S. However, there are significant differences. First, teacher preparation begins in the first year of university study; there is no general liberal arts exploration before one chooses a field. Second, from the start, students are engaged in content courses alongside content pedagogy courses. NIE offers both kinds of courses such that the traditional separation of Arts and Sciences from Education does not exist; content and teacher education faculty communicate and coordinate across subject and instructional methods. Third, students all specialize in various content areas, three on the Primary level, and two on the Secondary. Fourth, each year students are engaged in gradually increasing periods of immersion in schools. Fifth, the conceptual framework which guides all initial teacher preparation, also known as the V³SK model (NIE 2009), holds three sets of values at the core, around which knowledge and skills revolve. The first value focuses on the learner which emphasizes the “belief that all children can learn” and the “valuing of diversity” (NIE 2009, p. 45). The additional values focus on the teacher who is “passionate...ethical...professional,” and on the profession and community through “social responsibility and engagement” and “stewardship” (NIE 2009, p. 45). Once again, the messaging is clear—all children are precious, and teachers are responsible for caring for and nurturing them. Teacher candidates who successfully complete ITP begin their teaching career with an investiture ceremony, and recite the teachers’ pledge, voicing aloud their commitment to pupils, profession, country, and community.

It is common knowledge that the first years of teaching are the most challenging as novice educators gradually learn to contextualize and apply theoretical understandings in response to diverse students and classrooms. However, unlike the U.S. where brand new entrants to the profession are expected to carry the same teaching load and responsibilities as veteran teachers, the stance in Singapore is that “the teacher’s professional development journey must be seen as a continuum” because “no pre-service programme can fully prepare teachers with all the competencies of a professional teacher” (Lee and Low 2014, p. 56). Thus 100% of new teachers have access to formal induction and almost 100% participate in these programs (OECD 2014a). Data indicate that among the 34 countries participating in the OECD TALIS (Teaching and Learning International Survey) study, 39% of Singapore teachers serve as mentors, and 40% had an assigned mentor, in stark contrast to TALIS averages of 14% and 13% respectively (OECD 2014a). The same study also found that 85% of Singapore mentees work with mentors in the same subject area, compared to the TALIS average of 68%.

Key features of induction for new teachers include a reduced teaching load³, mentoring support, and the *Beginning Teachers Induction Programme* (AST 2012). This formal period of induction typically lasts two years and is planned and delivered by Senior Teachers in each school who are given release time, and targeted professional development, to support new teachers. The first year is considered the probationary year; new teachers who successfully complete the year are fully confirmed. The induction period is also a time when struggling teachers are given additional support in order to be successful, although past the second year, they may be counseled out of the profession.

14.7.3 Retaining Strong Teachers

Teachers in Singapore have access to a wide range of supports, professional development, learning opportunities, and leadership pathways (Goodwin et al. 2015). The teaching force is fairly young and so every effort is made to ensure teachers do not experience teaching as the proverbial “flat” career (Cochran-Smith 2004), but see teaching as a growth career. Thus, retaining quality teachers is an overt goal of MOE, and investment in teachers begins with recruitment and continues through retirement.

Professional Development All teachers are entitled to 100 h of PD each year, paid for by MOE. This time is considered “office time” and resources are available to hire relief teachers or substitutes so that teachers can participate in PD during school hours. *GROW* and *GROW 2.0* introduced by the government in 2007 and 2008, are professional and personal development packages designed to support life long learning. They provide opportunities for teachers to hone and strengthen content or core competencies and expose teachers to an array of career enhancements. For example, scholarships are available for post-graduate study, study abroad, study tours, and degree study at local universities. NIE, MOE and AST collaborate to offer a myriad of workshops, conferences, trainings, etc. according to teachers’ interests, school goals and national imperatives. As a result, teachers in Singapore have higher than average participation rates for several PD activities including courses and workshops (93%), education conferences (61%), in-service training (17%), teacher networks (53%) and individual and collaborative research (45%), as compared to many international counterparts (OECD 2014a).

However, PD is more than the upgrading of skills or knowledge; in Singapore, professional development is framed by changing conceptions of teachers’ work and teachers’ use of time. As indicated earlier, Singapore teachers do not spend all their

³It is important to note that instructional time for Singapore teachers is far less than instructional time required of U.S. teachers, even while the total number of hours worked per week is equivalent (OECD 2014a). Thus, a Singapore teacher’s full teaching load would already be perceived as a “reduced” teaching load for the typical U.S. teacher.

school time instructing classes. On average, 17 h are allocated for teaching; the balance of the week is devoted to professional development through classroom inter-visitations, professional discussions, collaborative curriculum development and planning on, or across, grade levels and subject areas. Teachers are also supported to conduct research as a way to learn more about and through their teaching for the purpose of continual renewal, revision, and improvement. Consequently, the majority of teachers are engaged in some kind of research endeavor whether through Lesson Study, Professional Learning Communities or Action Research projects. This PD time is built into the school day for teachers to confer and work together, dedicated time that is supported by school leaders.

Teaching, the Un-flat Career Research has shown that attrition among U.S. teachers is high (Ingersoll et al. 2014) for a variety of reasons including dissatisfaction with working conditions and professional opportunities. The profession has also been characterized as “flat,” such that advancement usually requires leaving the classroom. Although career ladders were a prominent feature of the work of the Holmes Group (1986), the past three decades since their groundbreaking report have not seen much concrete progress in trying to differentiate a teacher’s professional trajectory. Singapore addressed this problem by developing a clear career ladder that provides teachers with three leadership pathways: the teaching track, the leadership track and the specialist track. The teaching track is for those who dedicate themselves to teaching, schools, and working with teachers; the leadership track is for those interested in educational administration in schools or the Ministry; those focused on deep development in their subject area can choose the specialist track. Each track lays out a pathway to greater responsibility, authority, scope of work, decision-making, and remuneration. For instance, the first step on the teaching track is Senior Teacher, who earns the privilege of mentoring new teachers in the building, and leading the induction program. Lead Teachers work with new teachers in several schools, not just their own; Master Teachers become part of AST and collaborate with MOE to provide professional development to beginning and experienced teachers across the country. The career ladder ensures that professional advancement is clearly mapped out for teachers, but it is important to note that teachers are not required to participate. It is also important to say that teachers can, and do, switch tracks, if they decide that the track they have selected is not the one that fits them best.

Retention efforts in Singapore go far beyond what can be described here, but suffice it to say that they are holistic, comprehensive, numerous; they pay attention to every aspect of teachers’ well-being: professional, personal, financial, educational, and psychic. As a result, in comparison to international standards, the teacher attrition rate in Singapore is low at less than 3%, even taking into account the service commitment all new teachers must fulfill as a way of repaying the funding they received during preparation. According to a recent MOE climate survey, teachers’ top three reasons for remaining in the profession include a positive professional culture, good remuneration that is competitively benchmarked, and ample opportunities for professional development and career growth. Findings from TALIS

(OECD 2014b) further corroborate this evidence: 88 % of teachers in Singapore feel satisfied with their job; if they were to decide again, 82 % of them would still choose teaching (vs. the TALIS average of 78 %). In addition, the majority of Singapore teachers (70 %) perceive that the teaching profession is valued by society, a figure much higher than the 31 % TALIS average.

14.8 Issues Ahead

14.8.1 *New Roles for Teachers*

In 2012, the Ministry of Education in Singapore announced that the country had reached its target of 33,000 teachers. With the number of teachers having reached a steady state in relation to the country's needs, the purpose and definition of teacher education has also undergone rethinking, in order to support teachers to move beyond basic qualifications to the next level of professional development and growth. This re-conceptualizing of teachers' roles has focused on opportunities for teachers to assume leadership roles and grow in their careers, for the purpose of teacher retention and teacher renewal. One dilemma is to ensure that teachers who are identified and nurtured to play key managing roles in their schools can do so without leaving the classroom. Thus, MOE has been focused on defining multiple leadership pathways for teachers—beyond the career pathways described earlier—that do not simply put teachers on an administration track, but can ensure that good teachers remain connected to teaching, students, peer teachers, and curriculum (Goodwin et al. 2015).

A second aspect of “role” relates to instruction—both in terms of pedagogy and mindset. With the adoption of the *Framework for Twenty-First Century Competencies and Student Outcomes*, the emphasis shifted to “holistic education” that embraced (so-called) “soft skills” and values as the underpinnings for knowledge and skills (MOE 2015d). This shift requires a pedagogical stance and skills that Singapore teachers must develop, a shift that will take time, given current classroom practice that remains predominantly focused on subject knowledge and curriculum shaped by national examinations (Dimmock and Goh 2011). This issue will also have an impact on mentors and will naturally require them to revise what they do and know.

14.8.2 *Quality Teachers for All Students*

Singapore has recently implemented educational policy changes that will have a ripple effect on the teaching force. First, the goal to provide early childhood education for every child means that teacher preparation for this work will need to be expanded and upgraded, especially in terms of Mother Tongue teachers given the

goal to begin Mother Tongue instruction in pre-school. Second, while inclusive education is practiced in Singapore, it is a relatively new concept and much still needs to be done in terms of shaping teachers' attitudes towards inclusive education and students with disabilities, improving their skills levels, and modifying school structures and procedures such that children's needs are appropriately met (Yeo et al. n.d.).

The current emphasis in Singapore on "Student-Centric, Values-Driven" education has a particular focus on "Every School a Good School" with the intention of providing additional resources to schools that serve less advantaged students. This has been, in part, a response to the widening gap between the wealthy and the schools they send their children, and those who are working class or poor, and the schools their children attend (Davie 2014), a clear indication that all is not 100% rosy in Singapore. Ultimately, then, the key is in paying attention and working toward equity, because even in a country where academic achievement is high and achievement gaps are small, there is still a long tail of lower performers whose potential could be lost.

14.9 "Urban" Education in Singapore: Quality and Equality as a Continuous Cycle

As stated earlier, it is difficult to tease out the "urban" in urban education when it comes to Singapore, since there is no place in the country that is not urban. Yes, Singapore's history reveals that she faced many of the challenges often associated with the term "urban," or "urban education," challenges that are no longer as pervasive or pronounced. Thus, the emphasis in this chapter has been on educating diversity defined in multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religious, and multi-cultural terms, including socioeconomic differences. What does it mean to aim for educational excellence and equity given this context? Are there lessons that can be gleaned from across the two illustrative cases—and that might be portable?

There is no question that positive student outcomes depend on quality teachers. The most important lesson seems to be that in Singapore, the relationship between quality and equality in terms of education for all children is a continuous loop that begins and ends with quality teachers. Quality teachers means quality schooling, quality schooling means quality outcomes for pupils, well-educated pupils means a quality pool from which quality teacher candidates can be drawn, quality candidates means quality teachers and so on as the cycle continues. However, quality teachers/schooling alone does not result in equality unless policies are in place to safeguard the equal and necessary distribution of resources to ensure that all children have access to quality. In the U.S., research has shown that urban schools serving poor children of color are more likely to experience higher teacher turnover, lower retention (often due to poor compensation), greater difficulty hiring teachers, a larger proportion of teachers who are new, inexperienced, or unqualified, more teachers

teaching out of license (Alliance for Excellent Education (AEE) 2014; Hudley 2013; Lankford et al. 2002; NCEsa n.d.). This research illuminates the relationship between quality teachers and educational equity, and the devastating impact the uneven distribution of quality teacher shortages can have on the achievement of students of color.

In Singapore, policies are in place to ensure the equitable distribution of quality teachers across all schools. First, recruitment is organized according to need and shortages such that schools are assured of new teachers who are well prepared and have been specifically selected to meet their needs, while successful applicants to teacher preparation can count on employment upon program completion—a powerful recruitment incentive. Second, the same induction program is available to all teachers in all schools, resulting in 99% of Singapore novice teachers receiving mentoring and induction support, which builds teacher competence and quality, and aids in retention. A third policy is that new teachers must stay with their posting for at least 2 years, thus reducing the annual disruptive churn of new hires, a frequent phenomenon in many U.S. urban schools. Fourth, salary scales are consistent across the system, so regardless of the neighborhood or the purported reputation of any school, teachers can expect equitable compensation, induction support, and advancement opportunities regardless of the school in which they teach.

As critical as filling shortages and ensuring employment are, the climate and environment in which teachers work has been shown to influence whether they stay or leave. According to U.S. research, teachers in urban schools work with fewer or poorer resources, and have less decision-making power, support or opportunities to collaborate with other educators (Allensworth et al. 2009; AEE 2014; Hudley 2013; NCEsa n.d.). In contrast, TALIS (OECD 2013) found a positive correlation between job satisfaction and opportunities to participate in school decisions. In Singapore, 81% of teachers feel that their schools have a collaborative professional learning culture that is respectful and mutually supportive. The study also revealed that almost all Singapore teachers have the opportunity to actively engage in decision-making in their school. This brings us back to the notion of taking care of needs along a holistic continuum that attends to primary or basic needs such as how to afford higher education, as well as secondary needs connected to professional aspirations, meaningful activity, and self-fulfillment. This is exemplified by the following MOE commitment: “We will provide teachers with the resources and the environment to do their job well. We will look after their development and well-being so that they can concentrate on giving their best to their pupils” (MOE 2015a, “Teachers in Society,” para 1).

Besides ensuring the preparation and distribution of quality teachers, in terms of language policies per se, a focus on bilingualism has been integrated into the very foundation of the country and is part of the national ethos. As a densely populated urban nation that was built by immigrants who brought with them a wide variety of languages, customs, religions, and beliefs, creating a shared national identity required a both/and strategy of maintaining language diversity alongside cultivating a common “‘neutral’ language for interethnic communication” (Dixon 2005, p. 27). While an examination of language policy in Singapore would naturally raise ques-

tions about which policies achieved intended outcomes, throughout there has been an insistence on and valuing of bilingualism. This is quite opposite to language policy in the U.S. where there is ambivalence all the way to hostility towards languages other than English. This ambivalence/hostility has translated into inconsistent supports for, and even the dismantling of bilingual education. What we see is the opposite in Singapore where dual language learning supports are resulting in growing proportions of Singaporeans attaining fluency in two or more languages.

While this discussion points to things that can be done—strategies to employ, policies to enact, etc., underlying what happens in Singapore to ensure education for all within a decidedly urban setting is a national commitment to uplift across all facets of society, and to “level up” (Lee et al. 2014) in response to identified gaps and shortfalls. A closer look at high performing systems reveals that efforts are made to disburse resources according to need, such that those who need additional assistance receive it (Lee et al. 2014). Finland offers one example of such practices, Singapore another. Funding for schools or for education in Singapore does not depend on local taxes resulting in wealthier neighborhoods receiving more funding whether or not they need it. If the goal is developing all of “our most precious resource” then zip code cannot be the deciding factor when ensuring students have access to the support they need.

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Part III
Eastern Europe

Chapter 15

Urban Education in Eastern Europe: Section Editors' Introduction

Victoria Showunmi

15.1 What Is Urban Education?

When I was asked about a year ago if I would consider participating as a Section Editor for William and George's *Second International Handbook of Urban Education* I agreed, in fact I felt honoured. However, as soon as I said "yes" I was filled with fear as I really was not sure what was meant by their use of the term 'urban education'. Initially, and as a person growing up in a rural area in South West England I thought perhaps it is something that I ought to know. I grappled with whether urban education was a term which was replacing disadvantage communities, and if so why make up yet another term to describe a disadvantaged community: realizing, of course, that the term disadvantaged community was itself a contested construct and based on the negative perceptions of the power elites in the society. As I was preparing the call for papers for the section on Eastern Europe I realised that there was so much to know and understand about the meaning for urban education. Alan Dyson (2003 p. 1) explanation does facilitate in understanding that 'although 'urban' and 'disadvantaged' overlap in very important ways, he does not regard them as entirely synonymous'. He does, however, agree with Balfanz (2000) that even if our focus is on educational disadvantage, we can only understand that phenomenon fully if we pay due attention to the fact that education happens in a particular 'place' – schools and families nested within communities and areas – and at a particular 'time' – constituted by the distinctive histories of those places. When one does search for a clear definition for the term 'urban education' there are reoccurring words or themes such as community, disadvantage groups, concentration of learners and geographical space. As I explore many of the words and terms used to describe urban it is clear that all of the words and terms

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connect and project very powerful meanings on the lives of learners that attend schools in urban areas. Communities, which are considered to be urban, consist of a concentration of people with similar characteristics and/or living in similar circumstances. Such concentrations may share ethnicity or faith or more-or-less clearly defined culture, or may display similar patterns of advantage and disadvantage. As I continue to contemplate the meaning of urban education from a purely English perspective I realise that globally it is a term which is contested by many. The three chapters that have are included in this section are based on research that has been conducted in Croatia. Reading through the chapters it become clear that the conversation and challenges are similar, the main critical difference being context and location.

15.2 Challenges for Eastern European Communities

The patterns of immigration have been changing rapidly throughout European countries. Although big cities such as London, Hamburg, Paris, and Rome remain the main sites of mass and multiple immigrations, other European urban and increasingly rural areas are now also receiving new arrivals from European and non-European countries. The urgency to equip layers of the EU school workforce for working effectively with children who are new to the language used in education in their host countries has been apparent for some time. The importance of engaging with cultural diversity as part of good practice in education has been largely accepted, but the recognition of the importance to engage with linguistic diversity seems to be clouded partly by misconceptions that the use of other languages will slow down the process of acquiring the host language, and partly by a lack of awareness that first language skills are the most important tools and prior experiences when learning a new language.

Every child exposed to another language in their families and communities is considered to be either bilingual or plurilingual. These learners vary greatly in terms of their linguistic competencies in their home language, and the language used in education. Some of them are fluent in their home language but not literate, some have mastered literacy too: some are new to the language used in education and others might be competent in terms of everyday conversational language but need support with academic language. The relevance of language and the young person's identity is crucial to their development in knowing who they are and how they belong in the society in which they currently reside.

Croatia is a country of duality when it comes to its inhabitants. Much of the population lives in urban areas, although it is concentrated in a few urban centres. There are 120 towns with the population of 3,016,137 (out of 4,284,889), but only the capital has the population of over 790,000 according to the last census (Popis stanovništva 2011). Around 40% of the population are located in the four largest cities: Zagreb, Split, Rijeka and Osijek. Many of the surrounding towns have around 10–15 thousand inhabitants. There are some towns that have a smaller number of

the population living there. These numbers point towards a high level of urbanisation, yet the size of the urban area highlights that there are few areas that would have social and cultural characteristics of densely populated areas. In addition, an important characteristic of Croatian society is the constant changeability, especially evident in educational policies.

For nearly two decades Croatia has been going through a process of post-socialist transition. It has been a very complex process, full of uncertainty and many difficult social changes which were made by the post war situation.

The Croatian government has recently transformed both the primary and secondary education curriculum in order to create a common learning basis for all students. Much of the change has been influenced by its commitment to European co-existence: Croatia has based its educational changes on recommendations from the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Accepting the recommendations from the European Commission and integrating them into the education system has meant a vast amount of change designed to ensure that the education policy is in line with the overall European policy.

The present education system is both regulated and sponsored by the Ministry of Education. It is free, but also compulsory in Croatia from the age of 6 until 15. Higher education is normally not free, although some universities do offer a selection of free spaces. This is referred to as the Hrvatski nacionalni obrazovni standard (Croatian national educational standard). There are both public and private schools in Croatia, but there are very few private schools. Children are able to attend kindergartens starting at the age of 1, it is however not compulsory. Primary education in Croatia (Osnovna skola) last for 8 years, from the ages 6 – until 14. This is then followed by secondary for another 4 years. The schools in Croatia are divided into three different categories; – the international Baccalaureate (Diploma organizacije međunarodne mature), The Svjedodzba o završnom ispitu, which are awarded by art schools, and the Svjedodzba o završnom ispitu which are awarded by vocational schools.

Each paper that has been selected for the Eastern European section develops and builds on the continued urban education dialogue. The papers are individually different yet have connecting themes that enable the reader to appreciate the issues that Croatia is challenged with in education. The first paper in the section written by Dijana Vican, titled *Contemporary Educational Problems and Major Challenges as part of Curriculum Changes in Croatia: A Multiple Perspectives Insight*, provides an overview of the curriculum changes in Croatian pre-tertiary education, which was influenced by modern pedagogical and didactic paradigms and new socio-cultural values. Such changes have had an impact on all factors and stakeholders of education. The purpose of the paper was to consider the different problem perspectives of educational and curriculum changes at the pre-tertiary level including the voices of teachers, pupils, parents, professional associates, and school funders. It explains the problems and suggests solutions and steps for a more successful and higher quality implementation of education and curriculum changes. Through the use of a randomly selected research sample of over 1000 participants across different parts of Croatia the research focused on the discovery and explanation of the

problem of education considering these multiple perspectives. A key theme that emerged was the problem of pupil's motivation to learn, which was of concern for teachers, parents and some pupils. In contrast to this thinking, some teachers blamed this low level of motivation on parents not giving the right support at home, while others saw the educational policy as the biggest problem for pupil motivation. Another factor which emerged from the study is the potential negative impact of shift work in schools.

The second paper, written by Andeika Peko and Rachela Varga, titled *Urban School Culture in Croatia: Student empowerment or spirit improvishment?* begins with a lengthy discussion on the way Croatia has developed over the last 20 years. The paper provides a detailed account of educational policy development, and the various reforms which have been implemented to ensure that Croatia is able to compete in the global world. What is perhaps most interesting about this paper is the focus on student perceptions both before and after the education reforms. Pedagogical style and pupil motivation was something that frequently surfaced. They report that there appears to be a much improved understanding from the Ministry of Education that a crucial purpose of the classroom teacher is to engage all pupils with learning so that they are able to think critically and develop a sense for personal responsibility and achievement. The key question is "Will the new national curriculum be able to improve student learning and teacher approaches to learning?".

The third and final paper in the section, written by Klara Bilic Mestric and titled *Habitus of Multilingual Children and Youths in Urban Areas in Eastern Croatia*, has a focus on language. The paper presents the entangled relations of language and identity in the multicultural urban areas of Eastern Croatia. The author used a 'bottom up approach' to conduct the research which included the voices of multilingual children and youth from urban areas in Eastern Slavonia regarding their linguistic habitus with the aim of studying their linguistic identity and their way of being in the world. The research considered a range of their linguistic identities: this approach explored their lived experience as a starting point, which was based on similar earlier studies (Mehmedbegovic 2011; Le Nevez 2006). The findings from the study are very interesting as they provide a voice to the meaning of urban education, and what the children think is most important. Holding onto their original language and accepting their new language whilst creating new identities, for example, was something that many of the children in the study discussed. Mestric argues that what happens with language relates directly to their habitus, their attitude, identity and relationships with the society at all levels.

The biggest challenge for countries facing population change is the integration of bilingual/plurilingual children into the mainstream schools, whose practices result in placing these children far too often in low ability sets. It is becoming all too evident that these children are not given the opportunities to demonstrate and express what they are good at and can do, which negatively impacts their self-esteem, and may lead to disengagement and truanting. These chapter show very clearly that we still have much to do to realize equity within the field of urban education.

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Chapter 16

Contemporary Educational Problems and Major Challenges as a Part of Curriculum Changes in Croatia: A Multiple Perspectives Insight

Dijana Vican

16.1 Introduction

Educational reforms are areas of social, economic, cultural, political and other interests of developed countries and developing countries. The education faces twofold expectations under the influence of socio-political changes, new scientific knowledge and discoveries, development and impact of information and communication technologies, global and migration changes, economic relations, international declarations and conventions. On one hand, socio-cultural and economic development and progress depend on education; on the other hand, its effectiveness depends on constant change of the system of education and all segments within it. The effectiveness of education depends, accordingly, on simultaneous changes within and outside the education system, which provides space for criticism of education by the widest social structures. It is no wonder that education faces constant, and often noisy media criticism of different dioptries since the social structures extend from the political and economic, as well as all other relevant sectors and areas of activity, a wide range of professional and civic associations, and circumstantial factors of education – the founders of educational institutions, parents and caregivers, as well as direct factors – teachers, professional associates, principals and pupils.

Democratic principle presupposes implementation of educational changes by applying political consensus or a consensus of all participants in the education system. In developing countries, these changes are often dependent on political will, or on decision of the governing structure on what they assess to be priority and possible. Attempts of the governments to implement structural reforms in Croatian education system took place immediately after establishment of national independence and the political changes in 1990. The Study of basic education systematic reform

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(The Project on Croatian Education System for the 21st Century 2002) was not accomplished due to lack of political consensus.

The period of real reform changes in the education system of the Republic of Croatia intensified in 2000. By its commitment to European co-existence, the Republic of Croatia based its educational changes on recommendations of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, as well as in finding a role model for partial change in the European Union countries. Accepting the European Commission recommendations by the governments and the competent ministry meant accepting integration of the Republic of Croatia in the European coexistence and better preparedness for joining the European Union, as well as profiling the educational policy in line with European policy (Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2013; Education Sector Development Plan 2005–2010; Strategy for the Development of the National Curriculum Framework for Preschool Education, General Compulsory and Secondary Education 2007; Nacionalni okvirni kurikulum za predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje, opće obvezno i srednjoskolsko obrazovanje 2011; Nove boje znanja, Strategija obrazovanja, znanosti i tehnologije 2014).

16.1.1 The Objectives of Changes in Croatian Education System Since 2000 Until Present

The realization of educational reforms can be found in curricular changes, initiated by the educational practice, and accepted by educational policy. It was a reform initiative of primary school teachers, known as the Croatian National Educational Standard (Vodič kroz hrvatski nacionalni obrazovni standard za osnovnu školu 2005). The teachers' project was based on alleviation of out-dated, overcrowded and redundant educational content in primary and secondary school curricula. The changes have resulted in in-depth analysis of educational content and innovation of the syllabus and teaching plan and programme for primary education (Teaching plan and programme for primary education 2006). As a consequence of the new curriculum adoption, new textbooks and extra educational and teaching resources for primary school were published and printed. Croatian National Educational Standard has also resulted in intensive training of teachers and educators at local, regional and national level. However, this project did not have a significant impact on the improvement of secondary education.

In parallel with internal education system changes at the level of compulsory education,¹ the educational policy adopted pedagogical standards for pre-school, primary and secondary education; for the first time in decades the pedagogical standards were adopted with thought and defined development activities and feasibility coefficients (The National Pedagogical Standards 2008).

¹According to the *Constitution of the Republic of Croatia [Ustav Republike Hrvatske]*, 1990, the 8-year primary school education is obligatory.

The period between 2005 and 2010 is more relevant for the level of tertiary education due to introduction of the Bologna process, and with it, the application of modern educational and curricular paradigm based on learning outcomes and competencies. The new educational paradigm at pre-tertiary level was introduced in 2010, with the adoption and publication of the National Curriculum for Preschool Education, General Compulsory and Secondary School Education (Ministry of Science, Education and Sports 2011). The process of intensive changes consisted of legislation change, professional development of educational staff, renovation of schools, equipping educational institutions with modern IT technologies, removal of architectural barriers for children and pupils with disabilities, an extension of the higher education study program for teachers and educators to 5 years (MA level), and others. Due to time range of past 15 years for profound changes in Croatian education system at pre-tertiary level, it is realistic to expect improvement in the education system, and improvements reflecting on direct and indirect education stakeholders. Measuring the quality of education and work in schools is one-sided if viewed only through statistical indicators at national level; the other side of the education quality and work of schools should be considered inductively to identify problems faced by all stakeholders in the education system.

16.2 Research Methodology

16.2.1 The Research Problem

The aim of the research is to determine measures of the implemented reform through multiple perspectives or views and opinions of direct and indirect education participants. The implementation of further changes in education system, external or internal, assumes testing of the reform goals' achievement by direct and indirect education participants. A number of questions arise, such as, has there been improvement and enhancement of education after 10 years of reforming the pre-tertiary education? Does the efficacy of the system require more of external, structural or internal reforms? Which direction should take further improvement and upgrading of education system in the Republic of Croatia? Which segments of the upbringing-educational activities (teaching) and the upbringing-educational process (learning) require deeper and more intense access? Whom and what should changes concern most?

16.2.2 The Aim and Objectives of the Research

The research is aimed at testing the problem of education from five perspectives – teachers, pupils and parents, professional school associates, and educational institutions founders' representatives. We assumed that determining and analysing a wide

range of insights into the issues by direct participants (teachers, pupils and associates) and indirect participants (parents and educational institutions founders) and their responses at a single question, shall provide sufficient dispersion of opinions and attitudes that will provide clearer insight into effectiveness of change in the last 10 years and clearer guidelines for the efficient work of educational institutions. The identification of the problem is also the basis for directing further reform guidelines at level of educational policy and practice.

The research was based on the assumption that the biggest problem teachers face is inclusive education implementation and integration of children with special needs in the regular education system (UNESCO 2005) as well as frequent and rapid changes in laws and regulations, regardless the curriculum changes in primary schools, modernized textbooks and other teaching and educational resources, and modernization of The National Pedagogical Standards. Namely, the Government of the Republic of Croatia has signed the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2007), and its application assumes a thorough preparation for high-quality application of inclusive education concept. The workload of teachers is related with this assumption because the centralized curriculum for primary and secondary school is provided by the competent ministry. The obvious assumption is that teachers cannot simultaneously meet the demands of educational policy and the requirements of heterogeneous groups of pupils to achieve the prescribed curriculum without changing it.

Due to intensive access to external evaluation, and implementation of various tests in elementary and secondary schools (national exams, preparing for the state graduation exam, the state graduation exams, PISA research, Progress in International Reading Literacy Study – PIRLS, Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study – TIMSS), it was presumed that pupils and their parents see the external evaluation of education and frequent testing as biggest problems.

Croatian education system is characterized by realization of teaching process in two, even three shifts, and it was assumed that some stakeholders see the shift work as the biggest problem; attending school in shifts is not only a problem for the founder, but is aggravating for busy parents and children.

Founders' activity is limited to establishment of schools and provision of educational standards. Due to recession Croatia faces in the past decade, we have assumed that the provision of high quality educational standards represents most common and almost the only problem for the school founders.

Other hypotheses have been set up ad hoc.

The objectives of the research were:

- to identify problems in education system after a series of reforms at primary and secondary education level in the Republic of Croatia, based on multiple perspectives of the tested sample – teachers, pupils, professional associates, parents and educational institutions' founders
- to consider and explain classification problems, with special emphasis on problems of teachers in primary and secondary schools by using cause-effect approach and comparison method
- to recommend further reforms for education policy and educational practice.

Table 16.1 The sample of research participants by county

Respondents	Zagreb County N (%)	Zadar County N (%)	Total N (%)
Teachers and educators	260 (30.30)	150 (34.89)	410 (31.83)
Pupils	300 (34.97)	150 (34.89)	450 (34.94)
Parents	280 (32.63)	120 (27.91)	400 (31.06)
Professional associates	15 (1.75)	7 (1.63)	22 (1.71)
Founders of educational institutions	3 (0.35)	3 (0.77)	6 (0.47)
Total	858 (66.61)	430 (33.39)	1288 (100%)

16.2.3 Research Method, Instrument and Sample

The methodological approach used in this research is based on grounded theory principles. The narrative approach to research focuses on persons with individual experiences and collection of narrative statements providing detailed and in-depth understanding (Charmaz 2006). The research approach was to set a single question – *Which, in your opinion, is today's biggest problem in education?* The interview was conducted by trained graduate students of Department of Pedagogy at the University of Zadar and adult learners enrolled to Program for acquisition of teaching competences at the University of Zadar and the Croatian Catholic University during 2013 and 2014. Interviewing was conducted through field work, by recording and transcribing interviews or by direct recording of answers.

In this research, we have decided to apply interview method on a randomly selected research sample of 1288 respondents, out of which 410 classroom and subject teachers,² and teachers of general and vocational subjects in secondary schools, 400 parents and 450 primary and secondary school pupils, 22 professional associates and 6 representatives of educational institutions founders in Zadar and Zagreb County (Table 16.1).

A sample of 1288 respondents was not foreseen at the beginning of the research, because the purpose of the study was to get results through qualitative research method which does not assume a large number of respondents (Flick 2009; Milas 2009). However, respondents' answers lead to increasing the number of categories upon completion of the first problem classification (initial categorization), and it was decided during the research to increase the number of respondents to identify as many problem categories as possible and a sufficient number of narrative testimonies to provide deeper explanation from all perspectives investigated. Common themes were obtained by using the source triangulation process (to understand the problem from many angles).

²The Croatian educational system differs teachers who educate pupils from I. to IV. grade and teachers of certain subjects, which educate pupils from V. to VIII. grade and high school pupils.

16.3 Data Processing Method: Qualitative Analysis

The data obtained in transcribed and recorded interviews were first processed in open coding procedure, which is the method of respondents' narrative statements analysis, as part of the screening process, and it focuses on categorization of the research phenomenon (identifying problems in education and school). Data obtained in interviews were classified into smaller units during the initial coding; individual sentences were analysed in order to detect the main message and the context of the narrative statement. The procedure of axial and selective coding was applied after initial and open coding (Cohen et al. 2007) (Table 16.2).

Respondents' answers were structured by coding method in a broader range of classification areas and terms than the one foreseen at the beginning of the research. The second level of the analysis applies linking of related terms, to crystallize at that level of analysis the problem categories that became clearer and have more specific meaning (Table 16.3).

16.4 Research Results, Interpretation and Discussion

After initial and open coding, or the first level of narrative testimonies qualitative analysis obtained through interviews with respondents, and the application of axial coding, which refers to the connection of respondents main messages and narrative statements context (selective coding), we got a total of 21 categories of problems, and those are: inclusive education, school culture, curriculum, professional staff support, external evaluation, support and responsibility of parents/caregivers, teacher and educator competences, pedagogical standards, policy and legislative framework, school management, educational content, teaching and learning methods, financial problems, information and communication technology, textbooks, children's rights and pupils' rights, pupils motivation to learn, discipline, teacher authority, assessment and school autonomy, and the meanings of categories (Table 16.4).

The frequency of categories was calculated for each group of samples, and comparisons were made between the most frequent categories among all test groups in the sample after analysing the narrative statements and coding, as well as classifying categories of particular problems in each research sample group – teachers, pupils, parents, professional associates and founders of educational institutions.

The results of the research show the groups of respondents in the sample and display the most frequent categories for each researched group of respondents. We used qualitative methods in interpreting the results in terms of corroboration of the respondents' attitude frequency results with attitudes and opinions supporting the considered problem.

Table 16.2 Example of open coding in the initial procedure of qualitative analysis

	Narrative statements of respondents	Notions
1.	Lack of interest of pupils, learning by heart without understanding, copying in exams, learning just for grades ... um ... I could enumerate a lot. Lack of relation between theory and practice, where, for example, practitioners represent only burden to the companies, do you think that they welcome our pupils; and the schedule, imagine physical education as first class, and mathematics as the last ... practical training and internships often have nothing to do with the rest of the program; Pupils undergo practice well, and then fail the theory... We all know that the point is not in the amount of content, and then again it comes down to the fact that pupils get too much information about everything ... it happens that because of the abundance of information they forget what is most important	Pupils' disinterest; Learning for grades; Unrelated theory and practice in vocational education; Professional practice; Curriculum; Educational facilities
2.	Individual professors lack the explanatory skills in their teaching. I don't feel like learning ... you cannot ask questions while teacher holds lecture, no one asks us whether we understand... actually we are expected to understand... They forget that they too were pupils once; they apply strictness, and think that makes them better teachers	Teaching competences; Pupils' disinterest; Prohibition of asking questions; Teacher strictness;
3.	We must adapt to the program for all, although not all pupils are equally interested in natural subjects and foreign languages. Some subjects I cram, and some I learn ... It bothers me that pupils are seldom encouraged to talk, to express their opinions ... to take part in some debates ... I know that some schools are doing that	Unified program; Pupils interest; Learning strategies; Disabling conversation; Teaching methods; Relationships at school;
4.	Some parents are burdened by their child's success at examination, so they suggest them learning via Internet; they find pages used by teachers where they find questions teachers often ask ... they induce their children to learn by heart ... and when set a clear and specific question, for example, who is the main character in the book, the child talks about the action in the book ... they do not answer to asked questions, but what they learned by heart. If warned that they learn in a wrong way, they learn even less; they lose their will and my job is at the beginning of beginnings ...	Parental pressure; Learning via the Internet; Learning by heart; Wrong approach to learning; Losing will;
5.	Anyways, pupils are insufficiently serious about teamwork and they think it's for fun ...	Teamwork;
6.	We do not have enough elective subjects, and those we have are related to courses we already have... Maybe it is useful but I don't feel like learning the same contents... it is again something obligatory, we cannot enrol what we want ...	Elective courses; Do not care about learning the Same contents;
7.	Well, currently the problem is puberty... he/she behaves frivolous... does not think about obligations at school. I noticed that she is quite indifferent, and interested in other things; sometimes forgets homework... even tries to fool me. She is interested in video games, Facebook, hides while text messaging, hides messages... avoids learning... sometimes forgetful	Schooling obligations; Lack of interest; Homework; Video games; Facebook; Avoids learning;

Table 16.3 Open coding example at II. and III. level of qualitative analysis

Narrative discourses of respondents	Terms
Pupils' disinterest;	Pupils' motivation to learn
Learning by heart without understanding, copying in exams, learning just for grades ...;	
Practical training and internships often have nothing to do with the rest of the program; Pupils undergo practice well and then fail in theory;	
It happens that because of the abundance of information they forget what is most important;	
I do not feel like learning... you cannot ask questions while teacher holds lecture, no one asks us whether we understand...	Pupils' motivation to learn
... they apply strictness, and think that makes them better teachers...	Pupils' motivation to learn
... not all pupils are equally interested in natural subjects and foreign languages. Some subjects I cram, and some I learn ...	
/pupils/... lose their will and my job is at the beginning of beginnings	Pupils' motivation to learn
Maybe it is useful but I don't feel like learning the same contents...	Pupils' motivation to learn
I noticed that she is quite indifferent... She is interested in video games, Facebook, hides while text messaging, hides messages... avoids learning...	Pupils' motivation to learn

Table 16.4 Identified concepts and categories in the process axial and selective coding

	Related concepts and themes	Basic categories
	<i>Axial coding</i>	<i>Selective coding</i>
1.	Integration of pupils with disabilities, gifted and talented pupils, pupils belonging to national minorities, especially Roma children who are Croatian citizens, and they do not know the Croatian language; then, pupils repeating the grade and poor pupils;	<i>Inclusive education</i>
2.	Relations at school, school climate;	<i>School culture</i>
3.	The burden on pupils with educational content; load of default and the prescribed number of instruction hours	<i>Curriculum</i>
4.	Support of pedagogues, psychologists, special education teachers and librarians or their absence at school	<i>Professional staff support</i>
5.	Frequent external evaluation and testing of pupils	<i>External evaluation</i>
6.	Provided help at home learning, the home assignments and preparing for school requirements	<i>Support and responsibility of parents/caregivers</i>
7.	Teacher and educator competences for knowledge transfer and development of core pupils' competencies	<i>Teacher and educator competences</i>
8.	Organizational, information and communication, technical, sanitary and other conditions at school	<i>Pedagogical standards</i>
9.	Clarity and transparency of strategies, laws, regulations; their connection and clarity regarding the responsibilities	<i>Educational policy</i>
10.	Skills and responsibility of principals	<i>School management</i>
11.	Accessibility and clarity of regulations and other legal acts, and their applicability in practice	<i>Legal framework</i>

(continued)

Table 16.4 (continued)

	Related concepts and themes	Basic categories
	<i>Axial coding</i>	<i>Selective coding</i>
12.	Overcrowding, harmonious connection with previous knowledge	<i>Educational contents</i>
13.	Traditional or contemporary	<i>Teaching and learning methods</i>
14.	Material and financial problems	<i>Financial problems</i>
15.	Purposeful and practical application of computers, software and the Internet in teaching and educational activities and processes or lack of their application;	<i>Information-communication technologies</i>
16.	Easily applicable means for pupils; contains additional means – meaningfully related workbook and exercise book; helps pupils in the independent work;	<i>Textbooks</i>
17.	Meaningfully related to pupils' obligations	<i>Children's and pupils' rights</i>
18.	Development of intellectual capacities in pupils, the development of interest in learning and self-study	<i>Pupils' motivation to learn</i>
19.	The ability to maintain a positive classroom atmosphere despite the heterogeneous group of pupils, as one of the basic prerequisites for efficient work in the classroom;	<i>Discipline</i>
20.	Professional quality of teachers personality that manifests by showing respect for the pupil, while requesting consistency and patience to achieve the pupil's success in learning	<i>Teacher authority</i>
21.	Numerical approach; unclear content of grade ratings	<i>Assessment</i>
22.	Problem solving is in freedom of management of educational activities at school level more frequently than in the strict regulation of educational policy	<i>School autonomy</i>

16.4.1 Problems in Education and School According to Teachers and Educators

The results obtained by analysing responses of primary and secondary school teachers to the question *Which, in your opinion, is today's biggest problem in education?* do not confirm the assumption that the most frequent attitudes of teachers would be the inclusive education and prescribed program syllabus at national level. Namely, the largest number of teachers in primary and secondary schools consider motivation of pupils to be the biggest problem in school. The analysis of narrative testimonies shows several different viewpoints of teachers and educators. This problem category was identified through different opinions of teachers. Their opinions are divided into four groups.

One group of teachers indicates the problem of pupils' motivation by recognizing personal problems faced by the respondent – the teacher during teaching pupils:

Teacher 1: *I find it sometimes difficult to keep pupils attention for five minute. I need an enormous amount of energy to make pupils interested in the subject; it takes a lot of patience.*

Teacher 2: *Pupils and their parents care more about grades than the knowledge. I am more burdened by assessment, than by teaching. Parents do not accept their children's failure and have unrealistic expectations from children and from us teachers.*

Teacher 3: *The grades are motivating, and not the content; there are more and more pupils who find the learning contents boring and stupid and they see no purpose in learning it.*

Teacher 4: *I studied a lot at my faculty, but I was never taught what to do when a pupil starts to cry or becomes aggressive for getting bad grades, or when he fails to be responsible towards school work regardless all my efforts, doesn't write homework, does not learn ...*

Teacher 5: *I often struggle with learning outcomes that are expected to be defined by us teachers and predict them in the preparations. I see no point in putting something on the paper that will actually look different in reality. I make the best preparation and yet the pupils' motivation is still missing.*

Teacher 6: *I see more and more indifference in pupils and lack of execution of the tasks I give them. I'm struggling to achieve developing work habits in pupils.*

Teacher 7: *Pupils are in their own world, and we in ours. We must not use the methods and means of compulsion, and backing down hasn't led us to knowledge inflation either. Someone should put an end to it. I do not know what I personally need to do from my part to make pupils accept learning as their only obligation.*

Teacher 8: *Lack of pupils' motivation is encouraged by teachers in those subjects that bring most negative and bad grades. The differences in the importance of subjects are large. Check for which subjects pupils take instructions more regularly, as opposed to school...mathematics and chemistry... they hate school and learning because of these subjects...*

Part of the selected statements show emotional involvement of teachers and the investment of their effort and energy. This result is on the trace of the conclusions of research on emotional experiences of teachers in the classroom by Hagenauer et al. (2015). Namely, the interpersonal relationship teacher-pupil plays a particularly important role in teachers' emotional experiences in the classroom. The interrelation developed between pupils and teacher is the strongest positive predictor of teacher's joy and a negative predictor of their anxiety, while the teacher's anger is best explained by the lack of discipline in the classroom. In general, the engagement of pupils is the best predictor of teachers' emotional states in general (Hagenauer et al. 2015).

There are also those among the teachers who blame pupils for the low level of motivation, which is evident in the following statements:

Teacher 1: *Pupils have no ambitions, they live with distorted values.*

Teacher 2: *... pupils have no work habits, they practice binge learning...*

Teacher 3: *I have a feeling that more and more children have doubts in the purpose of school. They see parents who lose their jobs around them, they see that educated people have no place in society and have no jobs; they simply do not see*

the difference between good and bad pupils in the future ... if you try to point out that those who have better education succeed more in life and that learning is important they keep on having their counterarguments...

Teacher 4: *If you provide students good tutorials, they will resent it by saying the textbooks are boring. If you get them workbooks, they will say that they are burdened with homework. If you introduce the power point presentation in the class, they won't take your teaching seriously, they will say that the presentment contents are not in the textbook. If you use computers, they expect to do what they want, and not what we want.*

Teacher 5: *Teachers are not special rolemodels to pupils as they used to be; pupils easily manipulate parents; parents are superficial, they do not follow consistently work and learning of their children. They will easily justify child's absence from school, or lack of learning and non-diligence. They will not wonder whether their child learns and how much should it learn.*

The motivation of pupils can also be viewed through the degree of their commitment. The commitment is shown in endurance and quality of the pupils' involvement in the learning and execution of their activities. It is observable part of the pupils' motivation and it can be viewed empirically as behaviour and/or emotion and attitude (Hudley and Daoud 2008). Studies have shown that a greater degree of pupil's commitment resulted in a decrease in discipline problems and greater efficiency in execution of school tasks (Davis et al. 2012). On the other hand, the emotional engagement of pupils around the school, reflecting one aspect of the effort, results in more positive attitudes toward school and stronger motivation of pupils for learning and fulfilling the school obligations (Skinner and Belmont 1993).

The research also identifies a group of teachers that blame parents (caregivers) for low level of pupils' motivation to learn, which is evident in the following statements:

Teacher 1: *Parents do not encourage children to work at home. When I call parents to a meeting to explain learning problems, they often tend to be arrogant and unpleasant. They feel that I should know how to encourage their child for learning.*

Teacher 2: *Parents give too many rights to their children, even when they know that they have not learned what they should have.*

Teacher 3: *First, teachers struggle with teaching and evaluation, and now they make up extra points to pupils achievement at school. So now pupils do not learn, because they look for shortcuts to get handy points for secondary school enrolment. Even parents rather run to collect points for their child ... Both teachers and pupils are lost, it seems that neither understands what pupils really need to know and what should they get grades for...*

Teacher 4: *Well I believe that parents represent the problem today ... They give in to children everything nowadays, and they act at school as if it was their own property, and not the state institution. So, they come to school without any suspension and keep pressure on teachers when it comes reasoning grades. They think we do*

not mean well to their children ... But these are, apparently, their rights ... We are deprived of the right to the truth...

Teacher 5: *Parents should be permanent link in the educational chain, but they are not at their place as parents, beside their children. They are there only when they have to justify their child for what they should not justify ... the absence, not learning, ignorance...*

Overprotective role of parents is more and more evident in the school system. Parents do not pay deeper attention to problems, they are not insisting in conversation with the child and the discovery of problems in learning. Conversation between child and parents is made up of several stereotyped words, resulting in incomplete information for parents (Juul 2013). Juul (2013) particularly emphasizes the loss of teacher authority that was stemming from more authority to exercise discipline over the pupils, when the awe caused obedience.

The Croatian educational system became used to parents seeking paid instruction outside the school system for pupils to overcome educational learning problems (Jokic and Ristic Dedic 2007). On one hand, this feature can be interpreted positively as a family investment in the education of their children; on the other hand, poor families who have the same desire for their children cannot provide individual paid instruction to children outside the school to be successful at school. The question is how this form of family investments in children's education encourages children to the true motivation and purposeful learning or just getting grades and ensuring pupils' progress to acquire a sufficient number of points required for entry into the higher education.

Some teachers associate lack of pupils' motivation to learn with the education system as demonstrated in the following testimonies of the respondents:

Teacher 1: *The entire school system is sterile.*

Teacher 2: *If we could spend less time on interpretation of unclear regulations, we would have time to devote to pupils and encourage them to learn.*

Teacher 3: *If the educational policy saves on equipment, textbooks, and educational tools and is not interested in the quality of schools, then the pupils are not interested in our demands for learning.*

Teacher 4: *Educational policy has introduced graduation that reversed the high school system ... graduation affects educational process in high school too much, and the pupils are focused solely on preparing for the state graduation and collecting points; due to the policy, school has become battlefield of success without learning...*

Teacher 5: *Uh ... just when I see who runs the education ... even if parents and pupils realize that, I doubt their interest in learning at all... . And that is a problem of us, teachers.*

It is indisputable is that the teacher plays a key role in motivating pupils to learn and develop work habits and culture of intellectual work, especially in achieving the fundamental objectives of primary and secondary education – training pupils for lifelong learning. The problem of pupil's motivation, as we have assumed, finds its

sources in the default and the prescribed educational content that makes an objective burden to teacher along with irrational schedule defined in the teaching plan. The load is correlated with motivation if it is “*healthy*” overload (Jurcic 2006). In addition to teaching competencies, personal characteristics and behaviour of teachers are relevant for the pupil’s school success, such as the authoritarian attitude of teachers and negative emotions in teaching, as well as too high expectations and demands from teachers. They result in low learning support for pupils (Simic Sasic and Soric 2010).

Teachers, however, do not consider problems of lack of pupils learning motivation through self-assessment of their work. Instead, they see aggravating factors in parents, pupils and even the education policy.

The association of pupils’ motivation for learning is seen in another result obtained by the frequency of the attitudes expressed by teachers and educators, and it refers to maintenance of classroom discipline. This category of problems is associated with the category of the rights of children and pupils, which is emphasized by teachers as third problem in schools and education. Narrative statements of teachers supporting this result are as follows:

Teacher 1: *... it bothers me as a teacher that my hands are often tied and I cannot do anything in disciplining pupils with bad behaviour ... I cannot send them away from class, I cannot scold them, and bad grades do not worry them anyway...*

Teacher 2: *Everyone thinks that we have a lot of holidays and days off, and no one sees how we deal with naughty children and harassment of their parents throughout ten and a half months.*

Teacher 3: *Withdrawing all discipline tools from teachers; that is why educational problems in the classroom and school escalate. The teacher is powerless!*

Teacher 4: *... today’s pupils are overprotected, and have many rights. The teacher does not have the respect he had in the past.*

Teacher 5: *The public, supported by the media, usually has a picture of a teacher as a mediocrity that works a little, five full hours a day, and has three famous holiday months. Even when I best prepare for classes, I get gripped by a fear and I’m getting some kind of cramp that I don’t work well because the pupil who does not learn will have greater rights than I do.*

Teacher 6: *Children have their rights. And we? Who asks us for our rights?! We are totally unprotected!*

Teacher 7: *The leaders of disorder are always protected.*

The presumption of successful teaching and quality in teaching is to maintain order and discipline in the classroom. The recent sources in the area of classroom management and climate in the classroom lead to the conclusion about the link between motivation and classroom management (Wiseman and Hunt 2013). Conclusions based on extensive empirical insights to which one can expect fewer problems with discipline if pupils are motivated for education and learning. Further on, motivation of pupils depends on the motivation of teachers to work which ultimately suggests that the quality of the pupil-teacher relation is fundamental for all

other aspects of classroom management (Marzano and Marzano 2003). A higher degree of involvement of pupils in the work, learning that is connected and meaningful results in higher motivation and lack of time, space and the need to create indiscipline at the same time. Results of our study indicate reciprocity of pupil-teacher relation. In other words, decrease in teachers work motivation is in a way a reflection of falling motivation of pupils and of weakness in an attempt to change the situation for the better. Wiseman and Hunt (2013) estimate that the teacher can expect discipline problems in the classroom or school, to be prepared to address those using developed strategies for coping with the need to discipline pupils. From the replies and arguments teachers made, we can conclude that they are deprived of the right tools, procedures and measures, and of those strategies that have their own formal footing. The argument about the seizure of tools suggests the conclusion of the need for reviewing the system of educational and pedagogical measures.

On the other hand, the results point to a problem of the rights of stakeholders in the educational process. The rights of participants, according to the teachers, are observed in their reciprocity suggesting that increasing rights of one stakeholder leads to a reduction in the rights of another. The modern view of the issues reflecting discipline, dealing with mischievous and disobedient pupils, the question of the appropriateness of choice of punishment as an educational measure that will result in good order and discipline are going in the direction of recognition of the rights of the child, the importance of their voice in the development of policies to manage order and discipline in the school. Children's rights as one of the greatest civilization legacies are not called into question in the responses of teachers, but their responses indicate a problem of responsibility of pupils in situations when there is a disturbance of order, disrupting classes and the like. Furthermore, the relationship between the rights of teachers and pupils, or who has more and who less rights from the perspective of teachers may be linked to the question of the teacher authority.

16.4.2 Problems in Education and School According to Pupils

The results obtained by analysing the response of primary and secondary school pupils, to the question is *Which, in your opinion, is today's biggest problem in education?* do not confirm the research assumption that pupils see the biggest problem in the external evaluation of education and in frequent testing of pupils. The most frequent category brought by pupils is equal to the category of problems expressed by teachers – the pupils' motivation to learn. According to the results of this study, the largest number of pupils criticizes school, teachers and educators. Pupils perceive school as boring, teachers as self-oriented rather than oriented to pupils, contents are uninteresting and inappropriate for encouraging pupils to learn. Narrative statements of primary and secondary school pupils to support this result are as follows:

Pupil 1: *I do not know what I need to know to get two, and what to get five. The teacher examines the material from all over the semester, even he does not know what is important and what is not...*

Pupil 2: *Everything is only a theory, it has nothing to do with the practice and life, we are dying of boredom ...; every teacher thinks he and his subject are most important in school.*

Pupil 3: *Teachers hold classes just to get rid of their obligations in the diary. Yes, they know the material, but they do not know how to transfer it to the pupils.*

Pupil 4: *Teachers teach something that has nothing to do with profession for which I enrolled. The gymnasium pupils patronize us, and consider us stupid butchers...*

Pupil 5: *I had the will to learn, but my "male" class considered learning unpopular. Believe it or not, it was even accepted by teachers. At the end of the school year there were ways to pass all pupils. Teachers satisfied, and so are we.*

Pupil 6: *Teachers are not trying around us. Mathematics is too much, but nobody cares. You manage anyway you can...*

Pupil 7: *The main issue is not if I really know, but how much in percentage have I scored.*

Pupil 8: *Pupils do not learn in order to prepare for their jobs when they leave school, but for evaluation grades.*

Pupil 9: *... half the class has failed in some subjects, like in physics. Is this normal? You are the expert, you tell me....*

Pupil 10: *I hate the most when the teacher writes on the board, and then calls the pupil to wipe the board after him.*

Pupil 11: *I've been learning to play guitar for 6 years and I won't get extra points for entry into secondary school, while the one who has allergies will.*

Pupil 12: *I'm being punished by threat that I would not be able to enter high school, and they do not punish teachers who do not know how to explain the bloodstream or alkalis, and who examine four pupils at the same time.*

Pupil 13: *We do not have a microscope; it is at repair for 3 years.*

Pupil 14: *Even the teacher was surprised to hear for how many years we've been learning English, and know so little; and we entered into the European Union.*

The research was approached with the assumption that frequent testing of pupils, that was unknown to Croatian education system until 10 years ago, would be the biggest problem of education and school according to opinions of pupils. Initial data processing has led to the fact that testing and evaluation represent problem for pupils. However, further data processing and analysis of interviews conducted with pupils made it clear that pupils of different ages recognize the importance, value and usefulness of knowledge and learning, but they still estimate it less important than getting enough grades to assure their advancement. On another level of pupils' narrative testimony analysis and the application of axial coding and selective coding, the frequency of student attitudes implies more lack of motivation to learn, lack of interest for the content, overturning the attitude that knowledge is value into the view that progress in education is what will meet their needs and needs of their parents. Particularly indicative result is the pupils attitude that "school teaches only theory, lacks knowledge relevant to life and that every teacher thinks that their subject is most important", which indicates the need to encourage the development of

entrepreneurial competencies of pupils and application of entrepreneurial learning model and education for entrepreneurship (Luketic 2013). Pupils face the fact that no one recognizes their extracurricular activities as educational value. The teachers' attitude in the classroom also contributes to de-motivation to learn. Pupils will rather use all available strategies to obtain ratings and points that assure their advancement, than direct motives for learning and the acquisition of true knowledge and competence development. The race for grades on each level of education has become "the hit" among pupils and young people, and pupils' attitudes towards learning and development of culture of intellectual work remains without deeper motives. By linking the testimony of pupils on problems they face with testimony of parents and teachers, motivation for learning reveals as the special problem of students, teachers and parents. From the pedagogical point of view it is relevant to note questionable achievement core competencies of learning to learn during primary and secondary education (Soric 2014), which can be a disturbing factor for the achievement of the basic objective of education in the Republic of Croatia – lifelong education.

16.5 Problems in Education and School According to of Parents

The results obtained by analysing responses of parents of primary and secondary school pupils, to the question *Which, in your opinion, is today's biggest problem in education?* mostly show that they consider motivation of children to learn their main problem. This result was confirmed by numerous testimonies of parents – respondents, among which we bring the following excerpts from interviews with them:

Parent 1: ... *how will my child learn; a child comes home and stares at the book...*

Parent 2: ... *teachers put little effort to become interested pupils...*

Parent 3: *Children are more outside school than at school...*

Parent 4: *Since teachers chose their profession, they should do it no matter how difficult...*

Parent 5: *The biggest problem is that no one knows anymore who the student is, and who is a teacher.*

Parent 6: *Why are we, parents, expected to solve problems of the school?! We are invited to school only if it has a problem. And who can help us parents when a child does not learn, when we do not know how to show them their homework?*

Parent 7: *My husband and I cannot help our children, even though we are educated people. Our children find salvation from bad grades by copying from another pupil. They copy from the Internet ... it is well known that obligatory reading is being copied from the Internet...*

Parent 8: *I feel that teachers have difficulty in dealing with discipline in the classroom. One student disrupts the whole class throughout the whole year and all the*

schooling passes without consequences. He disrupts other pupils and there's nothing to be done. When we get to the parent meeting, we listen about a nameless problem-pupil, and no one asks why our children do not learn ...

The most frequent category of respondents – parents is the motivation of children to learn. Parents point to problems that indicate impossibility of providing support at home due to lack of knowledge of the educational content, particularly if their child is in middle school or secondary school level. The views of parents are articulated particularly around technical issues related to teaching process, mastering courses and demands towards school, as well as inability to help their children sufficiently. This result can be compared with similar findings of authors Maricic et al. (2009) according to which the parents who regularly attend school reported greater satisfaction with school and are more conducive to the child's education by helping in learning.

16.5.1 Problems in Education and School According to School Professional Associates

Croatian education system has a characteristic that professional teams operate in educational institutions along with the principals. They are permanent employees of primary schools. Namely, each school must have teachers, depending on the size of the school or the specifics of the problem of school, professional staff employed in schools are pedagogues, psychologists, therapists, educational rehabilitators and librarians (The National Pedagogical Standards 2008). We assumed that professional staff sees problems with insufficient number of employed professional associates, given the intense changes in the system, and implementers of change are teachers and professional associates; then, with regard to educational problems and the application of inclusive education which requires special organization and special educational requirements.

By analysing the narrative testimony of 22 professional associates, as it seemed the sample in this research, the most frequent statements refer to the problems associated with administrative burden which brought reform of the education system. Their statements in favour of this outcome are as follows:

Professional Associate 1 (pedagogue): *There's a constant debate about pupils' overload, comprehensive syllabus and curriculum. No one sees us ... it all turned into paperwork... a meaningless paperwork... ... constant filling out forms... Pointless ... constant filling out the same patterns... does anyone read what we send...*

Professional Associate 2 (pedagogue): *I am employed as pedagogue, but I do nothing of what I learned during my study. The principal overloads me with new paperwork from ministry on daily basis...*

Professional Associate 3 (psychologist): *I do not get to deal with pupils and problems they bring to me; actually, the one who was sent to me by the class teacher*

and principal. The pupil has been harassing other pupils and teachers for 3 years, being aggressive ... neglected child in the family ... I failed because I did not repeat my letter to the social services.

Professional Associate 4 (special education teacher): *There is a lack of understanding for therapist in school and out of it. My schedule is prescribed, but no one measures my long-term work with a growing number of pupils with dyslexia.*

Professional Associate 5 (librarian): *When I made the school curriculum, there were just a few interested in it. And when I was late with a report, which, among other things, is not related to the librarians work, they watched me as, uh ... I cannot tell you how ...*

16.5.2 Problems in Education and School According to the Founders of Primary and Secondary Schools

The assumption concerning school founders in this research – that their problems are related to financing of educational institutions, has proven to be quite accurate. The founders of primary schools in the Republic of Croatia are local governments, and cities, whilst the founders of secondary schools and dormitories are regional self-government bodies, i.e. the counties (Law on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools 2008).

From six respondents – representatives of the educational institutions founders involved in the research, we have identified the problem of financing as the most frequent problem. The problem of financing is composed of a number of specific problems that we received during the interview, and they are as follows:

Founder 1: *The poor cities and poor counties were not able to bear the financial requirements to achieve the educational standards even before the recession, not to mention now in the recession times. We bear the burden of construction works and maintenance of schools, material costs, decorating of courtyards and playgrounds and so on...*

Founder 2: *Funding varies from one government to another. Our county has no income due to bad local economy. Method of assigning the decentralized funds from the competent ministry is not righteous.*

Founder 3: *The problem is cost of transport for pupils and teaching assistants. If we shut down small schools,³ we need to provide transport for pupils ... How and with what means?*

Founder 4: *We have solved all the architectural barriers for pupils with disabilities in our school. Now we are faced with different diagnosis of pupils, special programs and requirements for teaching assistants. We lack financial resources for all that.*

³Small school or district school is the name for the dislocated school premises that are located in smaller towns, municipalities, villages or islands, and fall under the management of the main school in the city.

The modernization of the education system includes continued provision of basic pedagogical conditions. Maintenance of existing school buildings assumes a constant funding, which the founders cannot provide due to economic problems of the region and across the country. Although the adoption of the National Pedagogical Standard (2008) for all levels of pre-tertiary education predicted coefficients of feasibility in order to create equal conditions of upbringing and education for all pupils through a specific planning period, the realization of educational standards is questionable. The education system still struggles with solving double and triple shift work in schools.

16.6 Conclusion

We evaluated different perspectives on the problem of education and curriculum changes in pre-tertiary level – teachers, pupils, parents, professional associates and school founders as relevant to scientific research in terms of contribution to the intense changes in Croatian education system, which began 15 years ago, especially before Croatia joined the European Union. We assumed that problem identification from different perspectives gives more specific guidelines for the effective implementation of internal or external changes in the education system, and provides results to propose specific solutions to the problems of educational policy and educational practice, and more successful and better implementation of education and curriculum changes at all levels and with all stakeholders in upbringing and education.

Based on the multiple perspectives of the research sample – teachers, pupils, professional associates, parents and educational institutions founders, we got results that do not confirm all assumptions with which we approached this research. According to the frequency of answers analysed using the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the narrative statements of respondents obtained during the interview, and the method of comparison, the research results show that pupils' motivation to learn represents the most frequent problem category.

The problem of pupils' motivation to learn appears to be most common not only among teachers, but also among parents and pupils, often due to cultural discontinuity (Bogner & Ginsburg-Block 2008). The research crystallized different views of teachers regarding this problem. One group of teachers – respondents see the problem of pupils' motivation to learn as their own problem as they do not know how to solve it and cannot find the way out of that situation. Another group of teachers – respondents blame pupils themselves for the low level of motivation to learn. Some teachers – respondents see this problem in passive parents and parents who do not give pupils the right support at home. Some teachers – respondents ascribe the problem of pupils' motivation to learn to education policy and the others see it in education policy.

The research results do not confirm the hypothesis that inclusive education represents the biggest problem to professional associates'; the most frequent statements of professional associates – pedagogues, psychologists, therapists, educators

and librarians, are related to the administrative workload. The only confirmed hypothesis is that the school founders are most often faced with financial problems.

The problem of pupils' motivation to learn is a complex problem that can and should be considered multilaterally. The program mitigation as a strategic objective of educational policy is likely to be confirmed as justified, because teachers are overloaded with prescribed educational contents, being in a trap of "uniformity of" educational activities and control of the educational work efficiency through the content implementation, and not the realization of pupils' knowledge and competence development. The result of this research can be viewed as extremely useful for policy makers in terms of quality of qualifications of the teaching profession during the initial and in-service teacher education. It is probably significant to stakeholders engaged in systematic professional training for professional development planning at local, regional and national levels. The result is particularly relevant for institutions with higher education curricula to acquire teaching qualifications.

Assumptions that the founders and parents shall be predominantly concerned about the double and triple shift work in schools did not come to the fore in this research. It seems that this problem remains "invisible" due to decades of shift work in the Croatian education system. Likewise, almost no examined stakeholder saw the shift work problem as discriminatory for pupils or family.

The research has also opened other important issues related to internal changes in upbringing and education, and these are problems of discipline in schools, the rights of children and pupils, inclusive education and the authority of teachers.

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Chapter 17

Urban School Culture in Croatia: Student Empowerment or Spirit Impoverishment?

Andelka Peko and Rahaela Varga

17.1 Introduction

Croatia is a country of duality when it comes to its inhabitants. Approximately 70 % of population live in urban area, but that number is concentrated in a few urban centres. There are 127 towns with the population of 3,016,137 (out of 4,284,889), but only the capital has the population of over 790,000, according to the last census (2011). 39, 94 % of population is found in the four largest cities: Zagreb, Split, Rijeka and Osijek. 12, 35 % lives in areas of 10–15,000 inhabitants. Other towns have smaller percentage of population living there. In other words, numbers indicate high level of urbanisation, but the size of the urban areas points to the fact that there are not many places that would have social and cultural characteristics of densely populated areas or conglomerates. Such situation inspired us to inspect closely what goes on in urban schools.

Another characteristic of Croatian society is constant changeability, especially evident in educational policies. Since, there is a correlation between education and economic growth (Hanushek and Kimko 2000), there have been constant attempts to reform education system and increase the quality of education in order to create a solid platform for social and economic progress in the future. Such attempts are clearly visible in the chronology of documents issued by educational authorities on the national level. Those demands put a heavy burden on education and Levin and Kelley (2007) warn us against (too) great expectations, claiming that we need to be realistic about what education can do and what other changes are necessary to maximize the effects of education and to realize our aspirations for economic and social betterment.

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For more than two decades Croatia has been going through a process of post socialist transition. It is a very complex process, full of uncertainty and many difficult social changes were made even more challenging by the post war situation. Namely, the Croatian War of Independence from Yugoslavia, often referred to as the Homeland War, started in 1991. Since then pedagogical theory and educational practice have been looking for appropriate responses to the ongoing social and economic changes. Competitive markets have forced economic organisations in Croatia to be more efficient and improve the quality of their products, which had its manifestation in the demand for a reformed educational system. In 2013 the Republic of Croatia became a member state of European Union, and changes that are going on in the education system now are aiming to synchronise the Croatian educational system with those of other European countries and decentralise it by increasing the level of school autonomy.

Since the Croatian society experienced a switch from a totalitarian system to a democratic one in 1991, there have been attempts to modernise and improve the education system. The latest reform refers to a curricular reform grounded in the Strategy of Education, Science and Technology (2014), in which it is stated by the government that the Republic of Croatia recognises education and science as priorities in national development. Those are seen as the greatest contributors to social stability, economic growth and cultural identity. The nation is seen as facing dynamic transformations in social, economic and cultural areas in a globalised world where no country stands alone as an isolated community. The logic is that all this movement calls for modifications and innovations in the education system.

The required changes involve innovations that would lead to quality improvement while considering needs, complexity, feasibility, more engaged staff and increased resources, as well as continuous governmental support: all seen as required in order to create an education system that would satisfy the needs of students and change their position in the culture of education. Currently, their position is mostly determined by the school culture, and the culture of teaching that they are immersed in. The quality of contemporary education focuses on student achievement in the cognitive and affective spheres, i.e. learning outcomes, whereas input, educational resources and transformation processes are no longer emphasised (Bezinović 2010; Pastuović 2012). When placing the emphasis on output, it is also expected to promote a child-oriented teaching approach, as opposed to the subject-oriented one.

There have been numerous changes directed at stimulating teacher behaviour that would integrate all students (regardless of their dispositions and aptitude) in the teaching process, and simultaneously make the student position less receptive, but more active. The road to results expected from those modifications is very complex and time-consuming but the reward, it is argued, should be an open concept of education. The intention is to create a flexible system adaptable to the needs of every individual so that competences of all students could be developed, thus enabling them to continue their education and/or enter the labour market.

17.2 Road to Changes

Introducing change in education is a continuous and dynamic process. That process took place intensively over the last two decades and its direction was mainly top-down. There have been several concepts of necessary transformations that were planned on a large scale in order to reconstruct the entire education system. In 2002 the government issued a document called the Concept of Changes in the Education System of the Republic of Croatia (Concept 2002). In the document it is stated that education system contributes to the personal development of every individual, prepares them for a good-quality life, active and responsible sharing of common values such as humanity and creativity, but it also contributes to the development of the whole country in the scientific, social, economic and cultural arenas.

In the programme of education development the proclaimed aims in the period from 2000 to 2004 concentrated on the implementation of modern principles focusing mainly on freedom, democracy, human rights, openness, innovation, tolerance and diversity. In accordance, education based on pure memorisation of facts was no longer suitable and should be replaced with the kind of education that promotes creativity, problem-solving ability, knowledge application, and self-education (Concept 2002). It is evident that by introducing all those changes the students' position would also change and that they would play a more active role in their education.

Since those attempts have not contributed to significant changes, an even more comprehensive approach was applied. This new concept would focus on curricular reform, introducing educational standards to the Croatian system. Croatian National Educational standard (2006) is a document that does not only focus on educational outcomes but deals with other aspects of curriculum as well. It was used as a foundation for designing a new curriculum called Teaching Plan and Programme for Primary School (2006): in this document there are listed goals of education, content that needs to be taught, and expected outcomes. The main goal was to steadily and flexibly improve the quality of teaching and knowledge, as well as the students' ability to learn.

Following that the creation of the Croatian National Curriculum Framework began. Strategy for Construction and Development of the National Curriculum for Preschool Education, General Compulsory and Secondary School Education (2007) postulates the improvement of quality of teaching and learning as a goal of the new curriculum. Also, the development of the society and the individual's need to live and work in changed circumstances have yielded the call for new competences (innovation, creativity, computer literacy, team work, constant acquisition of knowledge, ability to adjust). It was noted that these competences are not sufficiently stimulated in the existing system, which focuses on the transmission of knowledge, and more precisely, on factual knowledge (*know of*). The suggested changes are meant to be implemented so that the following goals can be reached: reduced student overload due to reduction of encyclopedic knowledge that need to be remembered and repeated; lessons enable learning; teaching is student-directed and takes

into account their abilities and interests; students are introduced to exploration in the classroom; they gain permanent and applicable knowledge and abilities; problem-solving and decision-making abilities as well as a sense for entrepreneurship are being developed; students are prepared for lifelong learning; cooperation between school and local community; in school social and moral behaviour is encouraged.

In 2011 the final version of National Curriculum Framework for Pre-school Education, General Compulsory and Secondary Education (2011) was published with the intent to adapt teaching to the interests and needs of every individual student. The teacher is seen as playing a significant role in this process: it was recognized that it is important for teacher to be open-minded, and to embrace the proposed changes. They should modify all aspects of teaching (including lesson planning, organisation of activities, and assessment methods, etc.). Significantly, by giving a more responsible role to teachers, decentralisation of schooling is intended to be achieved.

Putting good intentions aside, it needs to be empirically demonstrated whether the goals proclaimed by the government have the desired effect, and to what extent. The intention stated in all the documents is to make the Croatian education system more flexible, which cannot be done without the support of teachers who are meant to implement the proposed changes. Among teachers at the time was created a saying: "Praise the new, practice the old", which illustrates teachers' resistance to change their set ways. In that sense, the whole process of reforming education reminds Sahlberg (2011) to Einstein's definition of insanity ("doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results").

The chronology of Croatian reform documents shows that we travel down the road to change very slowly, since the same demands are constantly repeated over decades without producing significant changes. The same is confirmed by empirical studies on teachers' approach to teaching, parental expectations from school, and distributive leadership at school. For instance, a research study by Baranović (2006), which was a part of the project Evaluation of Syllabi and Development of Curriculum Model for Compulsory Education, conducted with 1,134 primary school teachers, detected the same traditional approach to teaching. Namely, teaching is highly linked to textbooks, and the teachers' preparation is based only on handbooks assigned by the Ministry of education. They rarely consult curricula from other countries and the Internet. When planning classroom activities they still follow the Teaching Plan and Programme (2006), discarding the opportunity to choose autonomously. In this way the system remains centralised, and teaching outcomes neglected (Thematic review of national policies for education: Croatia 2001; Berryman and Drabek 2002). In other words, teaching is still directed at some imaginary student with average ability without the individual approach to each and every student.

Another example is found in the study by Miljević-Riđički et al. (2011), which illustrates the fact that the expectations that parents have from schools, and vice versa, have not changed significantly over time. The study was conducted with 1,052 parents of primary school students and their results confirm that parents still mostly object to the low levels of their own involvement in school life, especially

when it comes to decision making. Parents in general also believe that schools primarily have to focus on educating and upbringing, but parents from urban areas tend to put emphasis on education, and not so much on upbringing. Urban parents have lower expectations for the school to instil in students certain values, norms of behaviour, attitudes and beliefs when compared to rural parents. The authors of the study explain this discrepancy with different school expectations from parents: they argue that urban schools are more prone to seek parental cooperation in case of discipline and misconduct and they more often stress the importance of upbringing methods that take place within the family circle. Consequently, those parents are more willing to take over the upbringing segment at home, and to be more involved in the organisation of after school activities for their children.

In the monitoring process of changes in education, however, student involvement is still insufficiently explored. Low levels of student involvement is confirmed in the study about distributive leadership in schools by Kovač et al. (2014). According to the study, the changes proposed in the political documents have not had a significant impact on the distribution of power in schools. The authors focus their analysis on the strict hierarchy and distinction of roles assumed by head-teachers, teachers, and other employees. Student involvement in decision making is proclaimed to be a significant feature of a desirable school culture, but it is still rather rarely present in urban schools.

These and other studies suggest that democracy has been entering Croatian schools much more slowly than it entered the political system in 1991. Students have their place in the school structure but their influence on educational practice and contribution to the quality of education remains insufficiently explored by scientists. That is the main reason why we approached the evaluation of the introduced segments of educational reform from the student point of view. The aim was to establish whether the roles that Croatian students play at school are still rather passive or have they become more active as a consequence of reform efforts that seek to give students a chance to influence their education as a very important aspect of their lives, which would be in accordance with democratic principles. Several questions arise in the analysis of those reform efforts. First, have the proposed changes been implemented in schools and to what extent? Second, how have those changes affected student position in school culture? In other words, are students being encouraged to take an active part in their own education and be active citizens in an urban environment or does the system still primarily seek obedience from students so that the status quo can be preserved?

17.3 Student Perception of Education Before the Curricular Reform: Research Results

The discrepancy between the proclaimed efforts to adjust the school system to the needs of students, and the neglected student voice in the empirical research on the quality of education, emphasised the necessity to conduct the extensive poll on student opinion.

In the study conducted by Marušić a decade ago, the student viewpoint on their education was explored. More precisely, it was the time of the beginning of curricular reform in Croatia and the research was directed at examining the curriculum from the students' perspective. The intention was to investigate key elements of the implementation of the elementary school curricula as seen through children's eyes (Marušić 2006). Without their opinion, we argue, it is impossible to get a clear picture of the school curricula and their implementation.

The study was conducted in elementary schools in all regions of Croatia and 2,674 students of the final year (in Croatian educational system it is the eighth grade), with the average age of 14, took part in it. Approximately the same number of male and female students were involved in it. The students from urban areas dominated the study with 78 %, made up of 11 % of students from the capital.

Student perception of a certain school subject, being rather subjective or not, is important for understanding student overall experience of education. When asked to rate their subjects, Croatian students find Maths, Croatian language and Science to be the most difficult ones. More precisely, those subjects are rather unpopular because they require the most effort on students' part, especially Maths, Chemistry and Physics. Among subjects that are hard to learn is also Croatian language.

Students were also asked to assess some features of school subjects, such as difficulty to learn, motivational effect, the amount of facts learned, correlation between subjects, student choice of topics and student influence on classroom activities.

The motivational effect of teaching is perceived as one of the major pedagogical challenges that schools are facing today. Exposing students to new information at school is far less required than equipping students with tools for autonomous search for pieces of information provided by various sources and media. It has been argued that the information acquiring and processing skills are important because the ability to become informed mirrors the level of democracy in a society (Schulz von Thun 2004).

When it comes to the motivation-raising features of a subject, only a small percent of students (26 % or less) think that school classes make them more curious about any subject. Those students who feel inspired to learn more in their spare time, channel their interest to Biology (26 %), History (26 %) and Geography (23 %) as the top three classes. The students feel most intrigued by those lessons to look up the issues that were raised in the classroom and expand their knowledge on the topic. In the case of the mother tongue, Croatian language raises motivation to learn more only for 8 % of the students.

Perhaps such findings can be partially explained by the fact that the largest number of Croatian students (51 %) find the Croatian language to be the subject that exposes them to too much factual knowledge. More than one third of students claim that the same is the case with Maths (37 %) and Chemistry (36 %). It is rather discouraging for teachers to have students who feel that they are burdened by things they are expected to learn. The reason for such student attitude might lie in their lack of ability to find a way to implement new knowledge into their everyday lives. If their perception of those subjects is assumed to be valid and that indeed school time is used to learn pure facts (and each curriculum reform in Croatia has used that notion

as a starting point), this situation can be considered alarming. Insisting on learning the facts *per se*, without the follow-up that would develop critical thinking in students, can be seen as falling short of the goal of education in its full sense.

Even the fact that subjects are seen as intertwined does not help the students to make more sense out of the facts they are learning. The most overwhelming subjects are perceived to be mutually correlated, especially Physics (51%), Chemistry (49%), Biology (40%) and Maths (37%). That means that students can see the horizontal link between different subjects, which implies that links between different parts of the curriculum make it more coherent.

When it comes to the most direct form of student power, i. e. their possibility to choose what they want to learn about at school and to determine the methods which would suit them best, the level of flexibility found in curriculum cannot be considered satisfactory. Generally, a very small number of students think they can influence the choice of topics and methods. In the case of the Croatian language, only 11% of students believe they influence the choice of topics and methods (18%). The most flexible subject in that respect seems to be Physical Education (27%), but even here almost three quarters of the students feel they have no choices.

A section of the study deals with the teaching methods. Students were asked to assess how frequently certain teaching methods are used in the classroom. Frequently used are “cooperating with other students to complete the task”, “discussions with other students” and “listening to what the teacher is saying and making notes”. Rare classroom situations refer to individual self-regulated activities, such as giving presentations; asking questions; making some objects, paintings, models etc.; doing problem-solving tasks; silent reading; sharing ones ideas and thoughts and discussing them with others; having group discussions with the teacher. Students also report that they never write their comments, reports, observations etc. and they never go on field trips.

It can be concluded that a vast number of students (40%) play a rather passive role in the classroom during lessons (Marušić 2006). Such findings suggest a negative phenomenon in school from the pedagogical point of view. What is evident is that there is a clear discrepancy between what students experience in the classroom and the experience they are expected to have according to the documents issued by the government. It might be reasonable to claim that their right to a high quality education (Convention 1989) is not being fully respected.

Apart from experiencing a rather passive involvement in the school life, students also feel a constant overload: this despite the fact that all the recent curricular reforms were intended to improve the student situation, and minimize student overload. The results of a recent study by Munjiza et al. (2016) suggest that student overload has been a constant and continuous problem of compulsory schooling in Croatia. The phenomenon can be tracked back to 1874 when schooling was made compulsory. When students’ obligations exceed their psychological and physical abilities, i. e. when the tasks cause too much exhaustion and are very time-consuming we speak of student overload. For decades the school infrastructure has been developed in a way that was supposed to make requirements optimal to students, but the curriculum still remains the main source of student overload.

Student engagement in school obligations can be easily monitored if weekly timetables and teaching plans are analysed. In order to examine the trends of student overload at school, the study analyses the teaching plans dating from 1871 to 1946 and from 1958 to 2006 (used in 2016), together with the timetables of average students. At the end of elementary schooling students spend on average 35 h per week at school. Obligatory subjects make up 27 h in all teaching plans examined, whereas hours of elective subjects show the tendency to increase over time. In the timetables it can be observed that an average student spends slightly over 7 h per day at school in his or her last year of elementary school. On the other hand, teachers who work with them are expected to spend 25 h per week in classroom. Compared to their teachers, older students spend 1.5 times longer in class, while younger students spend as much time as their teachers.

The way in which students work individually during elementary schooling is also explored in the study. It is detected that individual work at school and at home contributes to overall student overload as they find it time-consuming. Namely, 20% of the students report that they cannot fulfil their obligation because to do so they would have to study 3–4 or more hours every day.

While there is a legally regulated work overload for adult citizens this is not the case with students. Children aged 12–15 are expected to study for more hours than their teachers are expected to teach. While there have been constant attempts to decrease student overload the opposite has taken place. It must be pointed out that the research does not include extra-curricular activities or after school activities. Given that in towns those activities are more accessible and urban students are given more choice, if those variables had been taken into account it can be expected that students from urban areas would report spending even more time doing school related tasks.

17.4 Student Perception of Education After the Curricular Reform: Research Results

As far as student overload goes, a decade later the situation has not improved. The curriculum from 2006 is still used in 2016 and therefore the potential changes in the student position cannot be attributed to the various school subjects and their popularity among students.

Overall, the Croatian language was placed quite low on the popularity scale in the previous research. Students found it to be the least interesting school subject. It was perceived as rather hard to comprehend and difficult to learn. Also, students believed that they are supposed to learn too many facts during Croatian classes, and they cannot influence the choice of topics and teaching methods. All that is supported by the fact that there was a very small number of students whose interest in Croatian language has been raised due to lessons of Croatian language.

Due to this low status of the Croatian language we decided to check if student perception has changed over time, and thus determine if the reforms have yielded a positive result. The potential positive result of the reform could have been observed in the scope of active learning (Peko and Varga 2014), student initiative in classroom and everyday classroom activities (Peko et al. 2014).

Active learning is such learning that enables a high level of autonomy and self-monitoring, applies various mental strategies and specific cognitive skills to differentiate between important and unimportant pieces of information, analyse and compare, construct new knowledge on the previous experiences, and think critically. Due to all these processes, it enables long term retention of information. A study with 306 participants (students in the 4th and 8th grade of primary school) was conducted with the aim of finding out whether the contemporary classrooms serve as a context for active learning intended to develop student competences. The intention was to explore the presence of certain active learning strategies and their frequency. Peko and Varga (2014) report that most features of active learning students perceive to be taking place often in the classroom. Despite that, it is evident that the transition to learning as a construction has not been yet fully achieved. What is dominant is the transmission of the lowest level of knowledge (information) whereas functional knowledge is neglected (Peko et al. 2014).

The National Curriculum Framework (2011) has been promoting students entrepreneurial competence in education for years, and the authors were intrigued to find out whether the contemporary teaching supports its development. More precisely, the focus was on what aspects of student initiative they themselves perceive to be most frequently stimulated through the learning activities that take place in the classroom. The participants were primary school pupils in the fourth and eighth grade from urban areas. The results suggest that students perceive mutual assistance as the most frequent activity that enables them to express their initiative during regular classroom activities.

Student initiative is a segment of entrepreneurship that needs to be enhanced through classroom activities. Therefore, a study in two bigger cities (Zagreb and Osijek) and two smaller cities (Slavonski Brod and Pula) was conducted with 966 students (4th and 8th grade of elementary school). The results can be directly linked to the results obtained by Marušić (2006). Peko et al. (2014) found, for example, that 46% of students believe that they are expected to learn abstract facts during the lessons of the Croatian language, which is rather similar to students estimates before the reform (51%). Also, a majority of the students now perceive that they can influence the choice of topics and methods (74% claims it happens rarely or never, and 26% claims it happens often and very frequently). The most frequently used teaching methods are “listening to what the teacher is saying and asking questions”, “reading from textbooks”, “cooperating with other students to complete the task”, and “learning facts by heart”. What often takes place in the classroom is “individual task-solving” and “discussions with other students and with the teacher”, which is a certain improvement compared to the time before the reform. On the other hand, the majority of students still report that classes never take place outside the classroom, and that teacher is supposed to have all the answers as the ultimate source of infor-

mation. They also rarely use the Internet or go to libraries to explore topics covered at school. In addition, they very rarely look up the answers to the teacher's questions they did not know, but expect him to provide it. They are also rather passive when it comes to assuming the role of teacher in order to explain something to their classmates, for they report it happens rarely. Rare are student projects in which they would have taken control over their learning, and which would enable them to make some objects, posters, paintings, models etc.

These listed results suggest that over time student position has slightly improved making them more active in the processes of learning and contributing to classroom activities. The studies presented focused solely on student perception while putting aside the teacher's point of view and that is why the results should not be understood as the whole truth. Nevertheless, they bring to light the mostly marginalised perspective of those for whose benefit all curricular changes have been made. If students do not perceive that education makes them braver to face their future, then we cannot speak of high-quality education, regardless of the changes intended. All indications suggest that there is a lot of space for more effective encouragement of student activity and initiative: as Darling-Hammond (2007) emphasises, schools must be re-constructed from within in order to make changes sustainable, keeping in mind that grassroots are not only teachers but students as well.

17.5 Conclusion: Is New the Same as Old?

After the critical analysis of educational policies it can be concluded that all documents issued by the Ministry of education, science and sports of the Republic of Croatia demand active involvement of each and every student in the process of their education. Their position could be changed if the culture of teaching is altered in a systematic manner. The educational policies call for such a culture of teaching that would promote the active position of students. Accordingly, different teacher competences are required so that they would be able to achieve what is proposed by the government. Teachers should be able to assume the role of a mediator between students and the segments of culture that need to be learned. The teachers' task is to enable students to gain knowledge, develop their skills and abilities and shape their beliefs and attitudes by securing all available sources of information. Modern educational theories are strongly opposed to encyclopaedic approaches, formalism in the classroom, and student passivity because those hinder student learning outcomes. Contrary to that, a wholesome approach to the development of student personality must be evident in contemporary classrooms. Only such teaching that helps students to experience personal success and improve themselves in every aspect can be labelled as effective.

Nowadays, it is of vital importance that everyone receives assistance in the process of learning how to learn, as well as how to process and apply what has been learned. Every individual should be able to think critically and develop a sense for personal responsibility and achievements. Teaching aims at developing student

competences, at preparing them to assume the role of active citizens, and at stimulating positive self-awareness. Teachers are facing decisions about teaching methodology which should enable progress of every student. Apart from conventional basic knowledge, abilities and skills, it is advisable to develop their critical thinking, problem-solving abilities and digital literacy as well as help them embrace life-long learning, adaptability and accountability. That calls for goal-oriented planning that is directed toward achieving prescribed educational standards that students are familiar with. The teacher has to make decisions about teaching methods that should lead to expected results materialised in increased level of abilities. In other words, teachers help students to look for, organise and manage their knowledge by structuring lessons in a way that is adequate for students' aptitude.

In that sense, teachers represent the carriers of changes in the educational system. Therefore, they need to be given the opportunity for professional development and life-long learning in order to become competent, and professionally developed persons who contribute to the constitution of school culture. It is important that teachers on all levels of the education system take this path and consciously put effort into making changes in the existing system so that each student would become a more empowered individual. The analysed documents are intended to give impulse to initial changes when it comes to student position, but they seem to have failed to enter the everyday classroom practices in all levels of schooling.

Further attempts remain to be isolated on the political level. In 2013 the debate was initiated about the Strategy of Education, Science and Technology, which was supposed to be the first such strategy in the history of the independent Republic of Croatia. It was approved by the Parliament in 2014, with the intention to contribute to the creation of the innovative society and economy that would be able to respond to future challenges. According to the Strategy (2014), the mission of the education system is to ensure quality education available to all, regardless of their gender, origin, social circumstances, religious beliefs, sexual orientation or learning abilities. This is in line with the educational policies of the EU, as well as are the following keywords of the Strategy (2014): creativity and innovation, original problem-solving, autonomy and accountability. An individual teaching approach is emphasized on all levels of education, and it should further improve the student position.

There is the ongoing debate about how those goals should be transferred into the national curriculum, which is expected to provide all students with the opportunity to learn and to achieve success. This national curriculum is undergoing a new reform, which should be implemented in the following years. It can be argued that this new attempt will not reach its full potential, unless there is a more systematic support from the state. It is not enough to support changes in a declarative manner, but the Ministry of science, education and sports should take a more active part in it. It should not only issue the directive, but should also provide a continuous support to practitioners, and evaluate the changes in quality of education. It remains to be seen what kind of effect the current reform will have on student position. The answer to the question: "Is the new national curriculum going to improve the stu-

dent situation regarding more appropriate teaching approaches, reduced student overload, and more active student position?", will soon become evident.

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Chapter 18

Habitus of Multilingual Children and Youths in Urban Areas in Eastern Croatia

Klara Bilić Meštrić

18.1 Introduction

Eastern Croatia, bordering Serbia to the east, Bosnia to the south and Hungary to the north, has witnessed numerous changes in governments and languages, either official or unofficial, and is known for the devastating consequences of the war that took place in the 1990s in this part of Croatia. However, in spite of the resulting depopulation processes,¹ in terms of demographic data, there are according to the last Census (2012) still 20 official minority languages spoken in the region. Many of these languages are nurtured either at home, in minority education models in many schools² or in numerous ethnic associations in the region.

Complex socio-historical processes have also shaped the entangled relations of language and identity in the multicultural urban areas of Eastern Croatia, and it is the aim of this chapter to present linguistic habitus of the multilingual children and youths that belong to these multilingual communities. Though this research was conducted in spring 2012 in Eastern Slavonia the consequences of the Croatian War for Independence from the 1990s are still palpable. Most of the places mentioned further in the texts were in the Croatian territory occupied by the Serbian paramilitary forces (Beli Manastir, Tenja and Vukovar) until the peaceful reintegration that

¹Osijek, the administrative and university centre of Slavonia and Baranja, has witnessed the decrease of 8 % in population between the last two censuses (Census of 2001 and 2011).

²In Croatia members of national minorities can effectuate their constitutional right via three basic models – A, B and C. The A model refers to classes in the language and script of the national minority, B refers to bilingual classes where natural sciences subjects are taught in Croatian, and humanities and social sciences subjects are taught in the minority language. The model C refers to nurturing of language and culture in up to 6 lessons a week (MZOS 2015).

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took place in 1998 when Croatia regained its territory, while Osijek is the only place in this chapter that was not occupied. However, it was a city under the siege for a year with only one route out of it. It is also the city which is a regional and university centre, and most of the children and youth involved in this study are in some way connected to it.

In spite of the time lapse, as pointed out by Šundalić (2006: 13), after the peaceful reintegration neither economic nor the demographic renewal in Eastern Slavonia took place. In addition to the war, Šundalić (ibid.) makes a strong point that globalization has been one of the most important factors in this process. In a globalised world, languages are perceived as commodities with certain value and consequently will behave differently on language market (Tan and Rubdy 2008). The markets, or fields, operate in orders of indexicality. The languages that are perceived of higher value will be those at the top of these orders, while those with low status will stand at the bottom of the order and these hierarchizing processes, as this paper aims to show, are often internalised by children and youths themselves. This sort of influence of globalisation on minority identities has been described by Blommaert (2012: 154) as follows: “(...) forms of ‘hard’ socio-economic marginalization are often accompanied by forms of ‘soft’ marginalization: the marginalization of particular cultural features, identities, practices and resources such as language.” The purpose of this chapter is to describe the ways how these processes are reflected in linguistic habitus of the children and youths coming from urban centres in Eastern Croatia.

18.2 Methodology

18.2.1 *Bottom-Up Approach*

In 2012 I conducted a series of interviews with multilingual children and youth from urban areas in Eastern Slavonia regarding their *linguistic habitus*³ with the aim of studying their linguistic identity and the way of being in the world. This line of research of linguistic identities, taking the actual, lived experience as their starting point, is based on similar, earlier studies. Dina Mehmedbegović used a similar approach in her study on multilingualism in England and Wales (2011), as did Adam Le Nevez (2006) in his study of the Breton language and its status in France. Therefore, this research started from ‘below’. Pennycook (2006: 62) argues the legitimacy of such approach by insisting that “we need to look not so much at laws, regulations, policing, or dominant ideologies as at the operation of discourses, educational practices, and language use.” i.e. as Tollefson explains it (2006: 47) those processes that take part in the formation of culture and knowledge. As I have

³Bourdieu defines habitus as a durably installed set of dispositions which tend to “generate practices and perceptions, works and appreciations, which concur with the conditions of existence of which the habitus itself is the product (Bourdieu 2005: 13)”.

noted earlier (Bilić Meštrić 2015) this approach can be seen in the light of the idea that “there is a considerable policy formulation and institutionalisation of linguistic practices at the other end of the policy spectrum – that is local communities and contexts.” (Canagarajah 2006: 154). Furthermore, by having children and youth as interviewees, my hope was to gain spontaneous, politically incorrect answers the elders would avoid.

18.2.2 *The Participants*

In addition to the generation criterion, the basic criterion for the selection of the participants was the precondition that the children and youths participating in the research were growing up using a language other than Croatian in their immediate environment, i.e. a language different from the Croatian idiom typically spoken in the urban centres of the region. I was able to get in contact with the participants for the most part thanks to my colleagues and friends working in education, who introduced me to the students in their schools who speak another language apart from Croatian or another foreign language which is normally included in the syllabus.

As the notion of language in this chapter does not primarily refer to a system of signs, but rather to a form of local practice, where languages are perceived as products, as well as generators of “deeply social and cultural activities in which people engage” (Pennycook 2010: 117–118), language is primarily observed here as a social activity. This justifies the selection of pupils at Vladimir Nazor Elementary School in Čepin, a suburb of Osijek, who speak the Croatian language with a strong Bosnian element. Thanks to Lidija Šaravanja, a teacher of English and German and my colleague at the PhD study programme in linguistics at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek, I discovered that a great portion of students and teaching staff at this school belong to this particular speech community. Even though official statistical data are not available, I found out in the course of my cooperation with Lidija and her students that almost half of the pupils belong to this community.

Another interviewee, whose linguistic habitus defies the definition of language in traditional linguistics, primarily due to the fact that his mother tongue has no official status⁴ at the time of the interview, was a Roma-Bayashi student from Beli Manastir at the Faculty of Teacher Education Osijek. His native language, Roma-Bayashi, is not documented in the records in the Republic of Croatia as 1 of 20 officially

⁴The teaching of the Romani language organised at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb is fiercely criticized by the Bayashi community, considering that Roma-Bayashi is the language spoken by the majority of the Roma community in Croatia: “The fact is that 90 % of the entire Roma community in the Republic of Croatia are Roma-Bayashi, to whom the Romani language is completely foreign, and they do not want to accept Romani-Chip as their mother tongue since the Bayashi language, which they have been passing on by oral tradition for centuries, is actually the OLD ROMANIAN LANGUAGE ...” (Balog 2015). This information confirms that the discourses of the elites generate knowledge without taking actual practices into consideration.

recognized minority languages. This is partly due to a greater issue; in reception of a non-Romani population, the Roma as a community are perceived as homogenous, whereas the reality in Croatia is that there are two major groups – Romano-Chip and Roma-Bayashi. The Romano-Chip language belongs to the Indo-Iranian language family and its speakers are believed to have migrated from the northwest of the Indian subcontinent. The Roma-Bayashi, however, do not belong to this same group, which is evident from the fact that their language is considered a sub-dialect of the Romanian language; they have traditionally populated Croatian territory along the Drava River and are either Catholic or Christian-Orthodox by denomination.

Although recognized in international and Croatian academic discourse (Jelaska and Cvikić conducted linguistic studies on children in the Bayashi community in 2009), this group officially defies traditional categorisation, which is further complicated by the fact that this language is neither standardized nor recorded.

Other participants were easier to identify and select merely due to legal status of their language and the fact that all these languages are taught in Croatian schools through some of the minority education models. All of them attended some minority education model for Albanian, Hungarian, Slovak and Serbian languages respectively, while the two girls who grew up in Germany had German as a foreign language.

The participants were the following:

One child and two adolescents growing up speaking Hungarian and Croatian.

The interview was conducted with one elementary school student and two secondary school students. All girls have Hungarian as their mother tongue, although they frequently use Croatian. The oldest girl attended the A model for the Hungarian language and culture in Osijek, while the two younger girls attended the C model for nurturing of the language and culture in up to 5 lessons a week.

Three children growing up speaking a Bosnian dialect of the Croatian language.

The interviewed children are from Čepin, a suburb of Osijek, where their parents moved during the war in Bosnia. The children speak a Bosnian dialect of the Croatian language, mostly that spoken in Croatian parts of Bosanska Posavina.

Two children growing up speaking German and Croatian.

These were two grammar school students born in Germany as refugees. Their parents insisted on speaking German at home in Germany. The girls moved to Osijek in higher grades of elementary school. They learn German as a foreign language now.

Two children growing up speaking Slovak and Croatian.

These interviews were conducted with a girl and a boy from Osijek. They both attend the C model aimed at nurturing Slovak language and culture. This is the language of their grandparents and it is not frequently used at home.

One Roma student growing up speaking the Roma-Bayashi and Croatian languages.

This was the oldest interviewee. He was still a student at the time of the interview and now he holds an MA degree in primary education. At home, his family

speaks exclusively Bayashi, which, as mentioned, is not officially recognized as a minority language in Croatia. He studied in Osijek, but he originally comes from Beli Manastir, the centre of the Baranja region.

One student growing up speaking Albanian and Croatian.

This interview was conducted with a pupil who attends the C model in Osijek. This pupil is also of Albanian descent, he speaks Albanian at home and he spends his summers with his grandparents who speak Albanian exclusively.

Six students growing up speaking Serbian and Croatian.

These interviews were conducted in Tenja Elementary School with pupils in 7th and 8th grade, and with one Osijek grammar school student from Vukovar. All children attended the A model in elementary school for Serbian language and culture.

18.2.3 Interview Questions

The research was conducted via the semi-structured interviews. Main questions were defined at the beginning (they are listed and explained below), but some questions also emerged to be of importance (as the official status of the Bayashi language, for example).

One of the primary topics I discussed with my interviewees was the question of their own language practice. This particularly referred to the question of the extent to which they use their mother tongue (if it is not Croatian) or the other language (in cases of interviewees whose native language was Croatian, but who attended the model C educational programme for Slovak or in cases where it was difficult to determine the mother tongue, as with the two girls born in Germany, whose parents insisted on the use of German at home with the purpose of better assimilation). The frequency of particular language use indicates the significance attached to this language. Mehmedbegović (2011: 34) claims that, since the parents are the primary policy makers, their decision on which language they speak at home will have a crucial impact on the linguistic choice of their children. Meanwhile, the issue of language practices bears vital importance for the research of language policies with regard to language ideologies, agencies and language ecologies (Ricento 2006: 17–19), i.e. as Ricento asserts: “Language policies are made, or are implicitly acknowledged or practiced, in all societal domains (Ricento 2006: 19).”

Since language is not here perceived as an integrated, fixed system, but rather as a form of local practice which is a product of deeply set social and cultural activities in which people actively participate (Pennycook 2010: 117), another issue I wanted to address is the matter of cultural heritage. Therefore, we discussed the cultural heritage, i.e. songs and stories from the region where their parents came from/or where they originally came from. I wanted to see if and how much they were acquainted with his cultural heritage and if they knew any songs or children stories typical of their mother tongue.

Another point of interest in my research was to establish how often my interviewees discussed their mother tongue or language spoken at home (other than Croatian) with their schoolmates and teachers at school. This question led to a significant insight into how much attention is given in schools to other languages apart from Croatian and e.g. English or German as parts of the regular syllabus during the course of education. Aside from this, it has also indicated the level of awareness of the existence of other languages in Osijek schools and the agency of teachers.

We also discussed language as a potential or real problem. This question was aimed at establishing whether these children ever experienced any problems or discomfort for using their mother tongue or due to insufficient knowledge of Croatian. This question turned out to be a burning issue for some children, since some of them perceive their mother tongue as a powerful (negative) symbolic tool in the context of recent history and the Croatian War of Independence, which has had a severe impact on this region.

All these questions were connected to the issue of language use in the future, i.e. the future of these languages themselves. I was very interested in these students' vision of the future regarding the use of their mother tongue or second language. In this respect, their answers ranged from a very assertive *yes, of course* to a complete lack of interest in the subject matter. This question, along with all previous ones, was covered with the fundamental one: do they perceive this language as an asset, i.e. a recognized value in society? This question was also a particular counterbalance to the question of language as a problem. I wanted to see whether these children and youths perceive their language as something worth nurturing and whether they viewed it as socially valuable.

18.3 Data Analysis

The interviews with children and youths have indicated that their attitude towards language and their linguistic practices are not monolithically set in the belief that language is either an asset or a problem. As these interviews have shown, language can be perceived as both; it can be a source of pride or a source of shame. Language is a site for the balance of power, most often unstable and shifting, related to dominant ideologies that play an important role in the building of the linguistic habitus, since identities do not emerge in isolation, but in specific forms of social agency described by Bourdieu (2005: 13) as a durably installed set of dispositions which tend to “generate practices and perceptions, works and appreciations, which concur with the conditions of existence of which the habitus itself is the product.”

Blommaert (2006: 238) emphasises a strong connection between language policies and identities. Ideological attitudes are reflected in the qualitative judgments these pupils and students have expressed about their native and other languages. These judgments are best confirmed in their system of beliefs about languages, i.e. about “socially and culturally embedded metalinguistic conceptualisations of language and its forms of usage” (Blommaert 2006: 241). What is at work here is the

previously described habitus which generates specific linguistic behaviours. These ideologically constructed attitudes manifest themselves as a conceptual apparatus where languages have certain statuses, values, functions etc. In children and youths, these attitudes devise their multilingual identity through a wide range of conceptual images which illustrate language as an asset, as something that belongs to a (closed) community as a form of hidden practice, but also as a part of identity whose value comes to display in another physical space, and finally as a form of resistance.

In addition to political reading, the input from linguistic anthropology and the notions of marked and unmarked identities (Bucholtz and Hall 2004) have also contributed in the data analysis as unmarked identities can be seen as those of the elite and the powerful, which in the Croatian context, as the data show, are the Croatian and English language. On the other hand, the use of other languages represents manifold and layered marked categories of linguistic identity that will be analysed in the following subchapters.

18.4 Interpretation

18.4.1 Linguistic Identity as an Asset

Most children and youths I have spoken to perceive their own multilingual identity as a personal asset, although their answers indicate that the underlying reasons can be entirely different – affective, cognitive, pragmatic or self-evident.

The children from the elementary school in Čepin, who nurture the Bosnian dialect, display a strong affective dimension through statements like the following from Marko: *“I’m happy to speak this sort of mixture of dialect, I’m really glad”*. The same can be observed in Marko’s and Ana’s wish to hold onto this *“kind of”* tradition. In this case, the asset is perceived as a form of common, albeit unspecified heritage⁵ worth nurturing. Anto, however, takes a somewhat different attitude. His conceptualisation of language is based on “monoglot” ideology (Silverstein 1996: 284), where there are “better” and “worse” versions of language (Bourdieu 1992: 26–27; Gal and Woolard 2001: 1). As opposed to Marko and Ana, who would like to maintain their language, Anto takes a different stand towards the future of their language by expressing his hopes that his children might someday *“...speak better, more grammatically, more Croatian...”* However, since identities exist as dynamic constructs, in contrast to his previous statement, he too would like for *“this dialect to persevere.”*

⁵One of the issues certainly worth investigating in further research would be to try and define this “kind of tradition”. According to statements from the interviewees, it is closely connected to the common experience of migration, exile and maintenance of common speech, yet it does not involve other cultural artefacts such as books, stories and songs. The existence of such a community brought together by common experience in Osijek can be perceived as a valuable source of ethnographic and ethno-linguistic data.

Francesca and Viktorija perceive their knowledge of German as a cognitive, but also pragmatic potential. They both offer help to their German teachers and they both occasionally conducted German classes in elementary school. Francesca considers herself to be a “*dictionary*”. Thanks to her knowledge of German, she often participates on projects and has better overall success at school. The affective dimension here is not as visible as in the statements of the children from Čepin, but these students would also like to maintain their knowledge of the language like the children from Čepin. Viktorija’s worries that she might forget it speak in favour of this. The pervasive ideology of these attitudes stems from the perception of German as a practical skill which can be helpful in factual situations – education, work and the like.

Knowledge of Roma-Bayashi also turns out to be a cognitive asset⁶; however, this will not manifest sooner than at university. Thanks to this potential, Duško participates in projects, gives lectures and is cooperating with his professor in publishing a picture book. The background ideology is the idea that most Roma do not attend university (as Duško himself pointed out, most Roma drop out of education programmes as early as elementary school).⁷ Duško’s example challenges common ideological patterns, as well as actual practices and, therefore, it represents a potential codified into a form of intellectual capital by the academic community.

The generally accepted idea that knowing a language is a self-evident asset is recognized in the fact that Duško, Melanija, Matija and even Tihana quoted a well-known Latin proverb *Quot linguas calles, tot homines vales* – you are worth as many people as the languages that you speak. The origin of the proverb, dating from as early as the Holy Roman Empire,⁸ indicates the multilingual reality of that period, whereas different variations of this proverb in multiple languages give evidence to the importance of Latin in Europe throughout the centuries. Moreover, its subsistence indicates a centuries-long multilingual reality suppressed by authoritative discourses based on Herderian idea of one land, one nation and one language (Bourdieu 1992: 27; Toulmin 2012: 521; Braunmüller and Ferraresi 2003: 1–3).

Apart from the abstract conceptualisation of language as an asset per se, the students have also pointed out several pragmatic advantages – these are situations where their language knowledge can help border police officers in conversations with illegal immigrants (Duško), the aforementioned participation in school projects (Franceska), a better overall GPA (Ivana) or employment advantages (Melanija).

The only two interviewees who did not perceive language as an asset are one of the siblings who speak Hungarian, Laura, and grammar school student, Vanja. To my question of whether speaking Hungarian is an asset, Laura provides the following

⁶Mehmedbegović (2011: 19) wrote about language as an individual cognitive asset. She points to the researches which have shown a positive correlation between bilingualism and mathematical skills in children (Cummins 1991: 84 as cited in Mehmedbegović 2011: 20), and general cognitive advantages arising from meta-reflections on language (Vygotsky in Mehmedbegović 2011: 20).

⁷The 2008 statistical data indicated 11 members of the Roma minority in tertiary education institutions (Novak 2008: 1).

⁸For more on the origin of the proverb see Braunmüller and Ferraresi 2003: 2.

answer: “*Hungarian? I don’t know if it is an advantage. Some say it is. I have never been in such a situation.*” This attitude mainly indicates a lack of metalinguistic reflections, rather than an actual attitude that language is not an asset. This is hardly surprising, considering her age. Vanja’s attitude of indifference towards the language she will speak in the future is analysed below.

The perception of language as an asset pervades all other ideas, however with certain shifts. The following subchapters will outline the ideological patterns reflected in the attitudes of children and youths with a still dominant idea of language as an asset, as well as certain shifts from this ideological matrix with reference to local context.

18.4.2 Linguistic Identity as Part of a (Closed) Community: Language as Hidden Practice

The idea of language as a community value resides in the foundations of the aforementioned ethno-cultural approach. Language is here perceived as closely related to specific, often ethnic communities and it represents a central element of ethno-cultural identity (Le Nevez 2006: 6, 24; Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson 2008: 3–14; Lo Bianco 1987: 1; Ricento 2005: 357). The basic idea is the apprehension that the extinction of a language leads to the extinction of an entire culture and the heritage of a particular community (Fishman 1991: 116; Lo Bianco 1987: 1). Sources of law in the Republic of Croatia which regulate the use of minority languages and scripts, as well as education models are based on this ideology; the perception of language and the behaviour of children and youths often substantiate the internalisation of such ideas. However, the idea of ecological approach that perceives linguistic diversity as a community value that runs through the entire complex system, through a systematic dialogue with other communities, is evidently absent in the answers of these children and youths. Language belongs to the private sphere; it is a part of closed community and often functions as a form of hidden practice. This idea, however, completely pervades Amar’s, Ivana’s, Duško’s, Ljuban’s and Nikola’s answers. This hidden dimension was absent in Melanija’s, Marko’s, Ana’s and Anto’s answers which will thus be analysed first.

Melanija’s testimonies about Hungarian speech communities around Osijek are an interesting example of the close connection between language identity and a particular community. Her statements confirm the idea of language as a local practice (Pennycook 2010), but also reveal her language identity which differs from the “archaic” Hungarian spoken in her village and, as such, represents an entirely individual practice in that community.⁹ The ideological background of this individual practice can also be analysed in light of the belief in the existence of better, standard

⁹Later on in our conversation, Melanija, Laura and Žaklina’s father, who is the founder of a cultural arts society in Hrastin, was proud to emphasise that the Hungarian spoken in Hrastin is one of the purest and most correct forms of the Hungarian language. It might be interesting to compare

idioms on one hand, and jargons, dialects etc. as less valuable varieties on the other. Melanija was educated in the Hungarian Cultural Centre in Osijek in the standard Hungarian language through most of her elementary school and her entire high school education; the reasons for the internalisation of such practice might hence lie in the significance of standard in the education system as one of the fundamental ideological state apparatuses (Althusser 1986), but also in the effects of globalisation that enables Melanija to connect with other speakers of Hungarian through a common language and modern technologies.

Marko, Anto and Ana's statements give evidence to their language identity as a part of the community. However, as opposed to children whose language is shaped by discourse, Marko, Anto and Ana are not familiar with a single narrative, song or rhyme common to their particular language. Therefore, apart from speech, there are no other cultural elements embedded in their identity practices. The question is what will happen to their linguistic practices once they are no longer a part of the community where both teachers and the majority of pupils talk in this way.

Other interviewees also mainly perceive their language as a community value which is often connected with wider range of practices. However, as opposed to Melanija, Marko, Anto and Ana, there is a dimension of seclusion. Language is an asset, but only within given frameworks, most often those established by the community.

This background ideology suggests that Amar's attitudes about the Albanian language are also worth analysing; he considers it an asset yet uses this language "*only at home*", over the summer, which he spends with his grandparents in Macedonia and at school where he attends the model C education programme for nurturing the Albanian language and culture. Ivana and Matija, who also attend the model C programme for Slovak, gave answers which also suggest a strong connection between language and a (closed) ethnic community. Matija expresses the following idea several times in different ways: "*Slovak is not as important as English or German. That language only makes sense within the community...*" or "*Why would this matter to anyone? It's the same if I spoke, say, Hungarian.*" He further states: "*The community works for itself, and if someone joins it, it will only be because they are Slovak and not because they are interested in this.*" This reflexion on language is not general and some other languages would not have such an exclusive value. To my question if it would make a difference if an English boy was sitting in their class, Matija answers: "*Well, that would matter; after all, English and German are the main languages*".

Duško expresses the gist of the ethno-cultural approach by connecting the Roma-Bayashi language and ethnic identity; to my question on whether he plans to use his language in the future, he answers: "*Yes, of course, I'm not Roma if I don't speak Bayashi, it's a constituent part of my identity.*" However, his experience so far confirms that it is a hidden linguistic identity, i.e. a form of practice within a closed

the attitudes of Melanija's father to her decision to speak Budapest Hungarian in some future research on language diversity in Osijek and the nearby area.

community: *“I haven’t had any problems because I haven’t used it. My parents taught me not to speak it in public so that people can understand me.”*

Even though the attitude that Croatian and Serbian are the same language dominates among pupils from Tenja and the grammar school student Vanja, we also witness the practice of localizing one dimension of their speech, and this localisation of their linguistic identity is emphasised in their statements. They describe their speech in different ways. To my question on whether she speaks Serbian at home, she says they all speak in the Ijekavian dialect; when asked to define and name her language, she says the following: *“I don’t know. I went to a bilingual school; I have a svjedodžba and svedodžba (school report card in ijekavica and ekavica, respectively). You might say I speak Serbian, but it is not the same as the Serbian spoken in Serbia”*. As we have already seen, Ljuban defines his speech as follows: *“We speak the Serbian language, so there isn’t much of a difference, but let’s say it’s Serbian. We are talking about some greetings here like čao, zdravo, and some words like kruv, leb (bread); there are some differences, but all minor”*. Nikola defines the language he uses as Croatian, unless *“...relatives from Serbia come to visit – then it is lepo belo mleko”* (nice white milk in ekavian). However, he still comes to the following conclusion: *“I think it’s the same language, Croatians are just making a fuss about it”*. About the differences, Miloš adds: *“only some differences in grammatical cases, but that’s all”*. Tihana, who emphasises that knowing a language is an asset, still does not see *“much of a difference”*.

The ideological patterns behind such a perception of language are extremely complex. Here they also refer to general reflections about ontological determinations of language statuses, but also to individual decisions on appropriate language (Bourdieu 1992: 21–49) which contradict ontological definitions of what language is. In the first case, on the level of ontological perception of Croatian and Serbian as one language, the ideological patterns are deeply set into the scientific and historical discourse. They can also be analysed through Herderian ideas of one nation, one land and one language; in this region, these ideological patterns can be traced back and observed through the development of the Illyrian through the Illyrian-Slavic, the Pan-Slavic and the Yugoslavian idea (Marijanović 1984: 426) coinciding with the existence of a common South Slavic elite, which has remained only in the form of ideological beliefs after its collapse brought on by hegemonic tensions.

Yet a different ideological matrix, the one about the existence of a legitimate language, is evident through hidden forms of practice since a large number of children and youths stress that they pay attention to better adjustment, depending on the community they are in at a given time. Vanja mentions the following form of adjustment several times: *“I have to be careful when I speak, simply to fit in better, so it doesn’t turn out that everyone speaks ijekavian, and I speak ekavian. But so far, I haven’t had any problems when I let something slip”*. Ljuban, Nikola and Miloš also pay attention to adjustment. Ljuban’s statement about how *“People lost their loved ones here; I know that my language might hurt somebody: I have to be careful all the time... at the bus stop, in the shop...”* resembles Nikola’s description of his behaviour in front of people who lost their loved ones: *“... I am careful not to offend them, otherwise I normally say hiljadu, zdravo (thousand and hi in Serbian,*

respectively)”. Language is here a form of local practice, but the question raised does not concern its grammaticality but its legitimacy.

The ideological background of these attitudes and their subsequent local practice lie in more recent historical events; the Croatian War of Independence has created a symbolic field for the Serbian language which is still perceived negatively in reality, whereas the linguistic behaviour of children and youths indicates the wide acceptance of these ideological matrices and feelings of guilt connected to practices of Serbian ethnos, whereby the distinction of acceptable/inacceptable language plays a crucial role.¹⁰ Statements like: “...if I let something slip...”, “I have to be careful all the time...”, “I am careful not to offend them...” are an indicator of the fact that this is not simply a pragmatic or instrumental code switch but an affective activity; what is at work here is a kind of “local metalinguistic and language ideologies that are embedded in complex cultural and historical moments...” (Schieffelin 2000: 296).

Even though pupils from Tenja do not perceive the difference between the two languages on the conceptual level, most of them are aware of the advantage they gain from education model A, which enables them to have separate classes aimed at nurturing their language and culture. Nikola’s statement about how he feels sorry for Serbs “*who attend Croatian classes because they are missing out on so much: Serbian script, history, religion, poems, literature...*” conveys the gist of the advantage they see in this education model. Vanja’s answers, however, offer a different angle on this issue.

18.4.3 Linguistic Identity as a Form of Resistance

When asked about her opinion on education model A for Serbian language she attended and the advantages of a bilingual education, Vanja states the following: “*It would be better if Serbian was an optional subject – so that we could still learn Cyrillic script. Otherwise, why do we have to be segregated?*” As mentioned in the subchapter about language identity as an asset, none of my interviewees expressed an opinion that they did not regard language as an asset, except Laura and Vanja. Likewise, the opportunity to nurture language and script was recognized as valuable by all other interviewees.

While Laura’s reflections on language are more a manifestation of a still under-developed consciousness, i.e. a lack of metalinguistic reflections, Vanja’s situation is much more complex. Vanja comes from Vukovar, a city characterized by a deep-seated ethnic division,¹¹ where insisting on bilingualism can only be perceived as further insisting on this division. Therefore, Vanja’s statement about the future of

¹⁰For more on the importance of language in determining identity see Bucholtz and Hall (2004).

¹¹For more on ethnic division in Vukovar see Čorkalo Biriški and Ajduković (2003, 2007). For a recent short analysis of the city’s ethnic and linguistic division see DW’s <http://goo.gl/1eTmEf>.

language: *“Honestly, I don’t care. It’s of no importance to me...”* should be observed in light of background ideologies whereby the existence of one or two languages is placed on the ideological continuum with a complex history, a continuum that represents a site for growing tensions in contemporary linguistic and social analyses. Vanja’s attitude reflects the belief that the distinction between the Croatian and Serbian language is a social construct and a source of ideological division of the community, as well as actual practices where this division strongly affects life in a city such as Vukovar. Vanja’s indifference can be interpreted as her refusal to participate in the division of the community rather than her willing intention to renounce her idiom. In this case, language identity operates as “a form of resistance to imposed or assumed identities” (Vaughan 2013: 1).

18.4.4 Linguistic Identity as Somewhere Else

This conceptualisation of linguistic identity, which is somewhere else and not in the common, public area of the city, can be observed through the analysis of places where other languages are perceived as a value of a closed community and are often used as a part of hidden practices. However, besides the fact that children and youths perceive their identity in this manner, they often literary visualise their linguistic identity spatially in another place. To the question whether speaking Albanian is a personal asset, Amar says: *“Yes, in Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo, but not here...”* Miloš gives the following opinion about education in the Serbian language and script: *“We can use two scripts, if we go somewhere else, it becomes an asset.”* All the interviewed children from Tenja wish to continue their education after high school in Serbia, or in Nikola’s case, in England. Matija, who attends the model C education programme aimed at nurturing the Slovak language and culture, also wishes to study at a university in Slovakia; however, he perceives the current interest in Slovak in the city as follows: *“The community works for itself, and if someone joins it, it will only be because they are Slovak and not because they are interested in this.”*

These attitudes prove a lack of sensitivity and recognition of minority identity practices as important for the entire local community – the city itself, but also indicate the dominance of an essentialist approach where the connection between one language and one nation is the central point in ideological reflections on language. Furthermore, ideological matrices where certain languages are considered more important than others are evident in Matija’s answer to the question of whether his classmates would show more interest in a pupil’s mother tongue if they had a boy from England in class: *“Of course, that would make a difference. After all, English and German are the main languages.”* Accepting these beliefs where an important part of one’s identity bears no significance for the entire community will naturally lead people to open up opportunities and spaces where these aspects of identity will gain prominence and present a certain personal capital.

18.4.5 *Linguistic Identity as Field of Negotiation and Change*

The abovementioned linguistic identities can be universally observed through “identity orientation” as endorsed by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 116). The focal point here is the conceptualisation of language as a repertoire of socially marked systems inseparable from actual practices, where fixed categories of ethnicities, languages, dialects and different languages are critically analysed (Lo Bianco 2004: 753). The emphasis lies on individual creative and complex variations which in fact reflect the actual perpetual negotiations of personal linguistic identities. As Grin (2003: 1) asserts, the analysis of (linguistic) policies deals with choices. Every speech act is hence observed as an attempt to project one’s “inner universe”, which is as such characterized by adjustments speakers make based on feedback from their interlocutors towards language in use. The processes of projection and adjustment (or focus) are the foundation on which linguistic identities are built (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181). Precisely these processes can be observed in the linguistic behaviour of the interviewees. This theory is related to Coulmas’ attitude that speakers adjust their speech depending on how they are approached and the claim that speech is a matter of choice (Coulmas 2013: 20). In other words, individuals inhabit and create a “multidimensional symbolic universe” with plentiful options of linguistic choices based on processes of projection and adjustment (Le Page 1988: 32 as cited in Lo Bianco 2004: 754).

It is interesting to observe how these processes start taking place at the earliest age. As we have seen earlier, the boy Amar completely separates his linguistic repertoire, and his choice of the language he uses is also physically completely simplified (Albanian at home, at nurturing classes, with his grandparents in Macedonia, and Croatian in public areas of the city), similar to Duško, but also to Ivana and Matija with Slovak. The only difference with the last two is that they do not use the second language with their parents, but grandparents. Besides at school, German is the language of choice for Franceska and Viktorija in conversation with their sisters and the language of contemporary technologies. The choices of other interviewees are somewhat more complex. Melanija adapts her linguistic choice to her habitus. Even though she grew up using an older variety of Hungarian spoken in her home, her choice is now something different: “... *I already speak the Hungarian spoken in Budapest and the surrounding area.*” Through the prism of their linguistic adaptations, the pupils from Tenja and the grammar school student Vanja, imply the complex consciousness of the region they live in, which is then inherently reflected in language. Linguistic choice, in this case, is a complex issue, which implies (supposed or real) phenomena of ethnicity, nation, segregation, judgment/stigma or acceptance. Linguistic choices may appear surprising on the one hand, or completely natural on the other in projections of the future; this is particularly the case with Vanja and Viktorija, who claim that their linguistic choice will depend on their future husbands, or Franceska who associates Croatian identity with turbo-folk music, as opposed to German.

It is evident that “identity orientations” are processes, as described by Lo Bianco (2004: 754), which do not take place in isolation; adaptation occurs at the subconscious level for the most part, while these very processes indicate consciousness of stereotypes and desirable norms in particular situations.

18.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

The research with multilingual youth has shown that what happens with languages is inextricably related to their habitus, that is, their attitudes, identity and relationships with the society at all levels. As we have seen through their responses, the war, the impact of globalization and the role of the English language can be found in the background of these relations rendering the issues present in the children’s and youth’s answers not primarily (or at all) linguistic, but emotional, political and global.

Emotional aspects of these interviews primarily refer to the sensitive status of the Serbian language and the vivid consequences of the war. Answers of the children who attend the A model for the Serbian minority indicate the need for additional action at a social reconstruction of the community especially in the field of education. Obviously, an educational policy aiming at the social reconciliation that will help the communities bridge the gap, both in working with children and young people, but also with teachers and parents, needs to be developed and given a thorough consideration by the relevant stakeholders – agencies, ministries and the city and the county governing bodies.

Political issues that have emerged in these answers to a large degree refer to minority education models. As the answers show, though children in general feel positive about them, one may wonder if the models based on ethnicity in the war-torn areas perpetuate divisions among the youth and teach them of the model of living where no true dialogue seems to exist. The challenge is to transform these models in a way that will respond more actively to the needs of the society.

A further challenge is intensified by global trends and the role of English visible in the answers where children and youth perceive their linguistic identity as inferior. These beliefs can also be tackled through a careful implementation of the European language policy recommendations of multilingualism that would actively support the use of other languages used in immediate surroundings. By promoting these languages actively in schools (on various occasions – European language day, International mother tongue day, etc.), the children and youths would have a chance to see legitimisation of their private practices and thus gradually change the marginalising attitudes they have internalised. By doing so, Eastern Slavonia’s burning issues of ethnic division, depopulation and identity marginalisation might stand a chance to be reversed.

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Part IV
India

Chapter 19

The 'Urban' and Education in India: Section Editor's Introduction

Geetha B. Nambissan

Urban spaces in India present a mosaic of diverse histories, cultures and social institutions, including education. From a predominantly rural society at the time of her independence in 1947, India has witnessed rapid urbanisation in the last six decades. Urbanisation in India has been a complex process, mediated by social structure, economic and social policies, civil society engagements and the aspirations of different social classes. Hence the cities that have emerged across the country present a fascinating picture of a landscape which gives many meanings to the idea of the 'urban'. Since the colonial period in India, the urban has been viewed as the site for economic betterment and social mobility through expanding occupational opportunities and social status. It was also seen as a space away from the traditional village where the link between caste and hereditary occupation could be broken, leading to possibilities of a more dignified life for the most marginalised and socially discriminated castes.

As the key pathway to economic and social mobility, schools and colleges have increasingly become the main sites of competition for mobility and positional advantage. However, educational institutions in urban India have their own histories given the multicultural nature of Indian society where language is a key dimension of identity, the politics around education and nation building, changing educational policy (keeping in mind the federal polity), and the diverse players

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(state and non-state) that participate in the funding and provision of education. More recently in the post 1990s, education (at different levels) has been buffeted by globalisation, privatisation and neoliberal ideology. These processes have played out in different ways given the diversity of urban contexts and the fact that cities are increasingly becoming aspirational spaces for much of rural India. Thus metropolitan cities, state capitals, middle and small towns, planned and unplanned townships and so on, present a diverse range of urban contexts and changing educational landscapes.

This section brings together original contributions of six authors on different contexts of the urban and education in India. Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), the capital of the state of West Bengal, is officially known as a 'mega city' located towards the far eastern part of India, near the border of Bangladesh. It has had a relatively unique socio-historical and political trajectory which has shaped the urban that marks the city today. It is within this context that Manabi Majumdar seeks to study the deeply stratified system of urban schooling and children's right to education. Metropolitan Delhi, also a 'mega city' is India's capital and is largely viewed as the political and administrative hub of the country. The city is seen to have the most sought after, exclusive educational institutions and occupations that lead to social mobility. Divya Vaid's chapter focuses on gender as a key identity mediating the urban. She looks at the mobility opportunities and experiences of young working women in Delhi from different educational and social locations as they traverse and negotiate the city. Baroda brings in a glimpse of another facet of urban India – an early city in a former 'princely state', in present day Gujarat in western India. The city of Baroda was the capital of Baroda state. Nandini Manjrekar focuses on the reforms carried out by the enlightened Maharajah of the state that led to the emergence of Baroda as a cosmopolitan city, and the centre of a unique experiment in education.

Vijaywada, the new capital of the southern state of Andhra Pradesh, is the focus of Purendra Prasad's chapter. The rapid growth of Vijaywada, especially since the 1980s, has been largely due to investments in the education economy in the city by the rich farmers of the coastal region in which it is located. The chapter offers a glimpse of the complex dynamics of transformation of a middle town. Kota was also a princely kingdom prior to 1948. The study of Kota city by Srinivasa Rao brings into sharp focus the rapid changes that a small city in the western state of Rajasthan has undergone after de-industrialisation in the 1980s to re-emerge as an 'educational city' in the first decade of this century. The last chapter in the section is about the urban fringe, characteristic of many cities in India that are pushing their frontiers to incorporate the villages in their periphery. Radhika Menon's focus is on Morpur, an urban village/emerging 'census town' on the fringe of Delhi. She explores the aspirations around education as well as the experiences of students living on the periphery of a mega city. While mapping the changing urban-education landscape and its interface, this introductory chapter draws upon the essays of the contributing authors as well as on research that provides a glimpse of the complex process of urbanisation in India.

19.1 Understanding the 'Urban' and Education in India

Scholars studying urbanisation point to the phenomenon of neoliberal globalisation that is today shaping and transforming the city into a space that is defined by the needs of global capital. For Harvey (2008), it is capitalism that propels the growth of the city and leads to the restructuring of urban spaces and the subsequent transformation of life styles within them. The business district, gated communities, shopping malls and exclusive spots for consumption and leisure mark urban spaces, which are today being produced to attract global capital and transnational professional elites. Harvey (*ibid*) emphasises the importance of power and politics in understanding the changing city. The spatial divisions that are visible in the cities – high poverty areas, the elite suburbs and exclusive enclaves as well as programmes of 'gentrification' and 'regeneration' – are shaped by the political economy of the urban. With the spread of neoliberal urbanisation, cities are characterised by '...greater social polarisation and inequality and new urban geographies of exclusion and marginalisation' (Lipman 2010:249).

Scholarly research on 'urban' education has largely been framed by the meaning of the 'urban' in Anglophone societies i.e. the 'inner city' as synonymous with schools in 'high poverty areas' catering to the poor, mainly African-American and other students of colour. However, the meanings around urban education may vary. In India for instance, urban education brings to mind provision and quality of schooling that is perceived to be far better than what is offered in rural areas. More recently there has been growing concern over the role of education in neoliberal urbanisation. Scholars have highlighted that education is integral to the neoliberal agenda and reforms in schooling are complicit in the transformation of the cities. Lipman (2010) observes 'Education is also implicated in solidifying the neoliberal urban agenda, materially and discursively, through policies that support displacement and gentrification, privatisation, democratic deficits, and the pathologising and policing of economically and racially marginalized inhabitants' (Lipman 2010: 249). However education is also a site of aspirations, contestation and resistance (Arronowitz and Giroux 1986). It is today seen as a key space in the larger struggle of inhabitants for the right to the city and its resources (Lipman 2011).

This introductory chapter attempts to present a broad overview of both the urban and education in India. The perspective that informs the discussion is that of the city as a socially structured fluid space in the making, that is produced not merely by global capital but equally by the socio-historical context in which it has emerged (See also Lipman (2010), Harvey (2008), and (Kamat 2011). Social structure, institutional arrangements including the nature of the state and policy interventions, as well as the lived experience of the residents of the city, shape the politics of space, privilege and exclusion that define the urban in diverse ways. The web of social relations that constitutes the urban is viewed as mediated by class as well as factors such as caste/ethnicity and gender. A relational framework must hence necessarily inform the analysis of the changing urban in order to explore processes of privilege and disadvantage as diverse social groups access opportunities and life styles in the city.

Coelho et al. (2013) remind us that there are also dominant narratives that ‘construct and legitimise urban imaginaries’ and normalise practices of exclusion and inclusion in relation to the right to the resources and opportunities that the city can offer. In this context, the role of the upper/middle classes in constructing hegemonic and ‘normalizing’ discourses has been highlighted (ibid:22).

Lefebvre’s (2003) distinction between the ‘city’ and the ‘Urban’ is equally important as he suggests that there can be alternative imaginaries around the *Urban* (emphasis in italics) still in the making i.e. the imaginary of the web of relations that is collective and inclusive as inhabitants envision the city to be. To build such an imaginary, the idea of ‘spatial justice’ becomes pertinent (Soja 2009). Soja calls for a ‘critical spatial perspective’ and observes that ‘in the broadest sense, spatial (in) justice refers to an intentional and focused emphasis on the spatial or geographical aspects of justice and injustice: as a starting point, this involves the fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them’ (2009:2). The imaginary of education then would also be linked to the *Urban* envisioned collectively within the frame of social justice, where all inhabitants have a right to the resources of the city, including education.

19.2 The ‘Urban’ and the City in India: A Brief Overview

Urban India¹ today officially comprises a range of spaces that have been named in a variety of ways in relation to their population, and the proportion of labour force engaged in non-agricultural activity. The broad division of statutory and census towns includes diverse urban spaces. There are the metropolitan mega cities (with over a million people), the smaller cities, small and medium towns, the census towns, and urban villages. Urban agglomerations are larger areas that include towns in the vicinity of the city, and also demark areas for urban expansion and development. There are also rapidly expanding smaller cities, small and middle towns, townships and satellite towns around the mega cities some of which are planned to reduce congestion in the latter. The cities in this section as mentioned represent some of these urban spaces: Delhi and Kolkata are mega cities with expanding urban agglomerations. Baroda was an urban centre that developed into a modern city by the late nineteenth century, and Vijaywada and Kota are former towns now rapidly expanding cities. Morpur is on the fringe of Delhi and could be called an urban village/developing census town. All the authors have highlighted that neoliberal

¹According to the Census of India 2011, an urban area includes (a) statutory towns (all places with a municipality/corporation) (b) Census towns include ‘all other places with a minimum population of 5,000 persons with at least 75% of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and a density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. Km’. (http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/India2/1.%20Data%20Highlight.pdf. accessed, January 2015).

forces are deeply impacting the cities they have studied as well as education within these spaces. Further, that education also shapes in diverse ways the production of specific urban spaces, and that the state is complicit in these processes. However, the specific economic and social trajectory of each city in this section and its interface with education points to the complexity of the urban and education in India. The subsequent discussion explores these issues by first elaborating on the urban, and then on the urban-education interface.

19.2.1 The Colonial Urban

There were cities and towns in medieval India that served as political, and trading/commercial centres. Delhi for instance was the imperial capital of Mughal India, and Baroda was an early trading centre. However, it was during British rule in India (post 1850) that the city emerged as a distinct urban space structured by the economic, administrative, and military needs of colonial rule. Scrase observes that the '... British strategy of retaining the colonies as extractive economies by suppressing the growth of industry inhibited the development of large metropolitan areas with the exception of the imperial capitals' (Scrase et al. 2015:10). The Presidency capitals of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras emerged as the main cities from where the colony was administered. Calcutta was also the early capital of British India, which later shifted to Delhi. Small and medium towns developed around agricultural, artisanal and other economic activities and became trading and commercial centres (ibid). Calcutta and Bombay were among the few urban centres with an industrial base: the jute and cotton mills respectively occupied a prominent space in these cities.

What was distinct about the colonial city was that it produced the spatially segregated urban – that between the colonial rulers (and their families), and the 'natives'/indigenous people. This segregation was also maintained to ensure that the rulers and their families lived in well-maintained, sanitised and safe spaces. Thus, there was the cantonment and civil lines (the new city) as against the 'old city' or the spaces where the locals lived (Jeffrey and Harriss 2014). The civil lines, cantonment/fort and the 'old city' can be seen in many cities today (Delhi, Kolkata, Bangalore and so on) that trace their early development to that period (Scrase et al. 2015).

Colonial rule in India brought with it lower-level administrative and professional occupations that offered secular employment opportunities largely in the cities and towns. These were distinct from the hereditary occupational structure that characterised the traditional caste-based system of stratification in India. Modern (English) education introduced during the colonial period provided, on a limited scale, a pathway to these occupations. Scholars (Kamat 1985; Seal 1968) have pointed to the emergence of a small section of Indian middle classes largely from the upper caste Hindu families who accessed formal schools and entered these occupations. The development of the administration and infrastructure (including the railways) as well as the need for basic

facilities and services created a demand for workers, which in turn encouraged migration from the villages to the city. Majumdar (this section) points out that Calcutta attracted such migration, making it a city with a heterogeneous population.

For Scheduled Caste communities (SC), who were at the lowest rung of the caste system and engaged in hereditary ‘polluting’ occupations, the city offered for the first time occupations that were delinked from caste identity. Ambedkar (the acknowledged leader of the SC) viewed the city as a modern, ‘open space’ that did not allow for practices of untouchability as was prevalent in the socially segregated villages (Chairez-Garza 2014). He exhorted these communities to move to the cities where they would have opportunities to better their life chances as compared to the villages where the SC were denied a life of dignity because of their identities as ‘untouchable’² castes. However, while economic opportunities were in theory ‘open’ in to all, SC workers tended to be largely concentrated in certain kinds of occupations. Municipal sanitation workers in the city for instance came mainly from ‘untouchable’ castes while in the cotton textile mills, SC were confined only to weaving and not permitted in spinning sections (cited in Ciotti 2010: 86–87). The segregation of Scheduled Castes in specific occupations was not merely because of lack of literacy and education but due to caste-based practices that confined them to what was seen as ‘unclean’ occupations (related to cleaning and sanitation). They were kept out of spinning in the mills for fear that they would pollute the yarn, as it had to be wetted with spit (ibid). Both the official spatial segregation as well as the compartmentalisation of communities into specific occupations raises complex questions about the ‘modern’ colonial city.

The city of Baroda was unusual for its time, and this is drawn attention to in Manjrekar’s chapter. Baroda was envisioned as a cosmopolitan city with an ‘engaged citizenry’ by the Maharajah as early as the 1870s. Manjrekar (this section) presents the efforts of the princely state of Baroda, led by its enlightened ruler and his efficient administration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, to produce such a city space – a city of culture (‘sanskar nagari’) with significant achievements in education, and a wider development of the region. This was in sharp contrast to the colonial state and its policies at that time.

19.2.2 *Urbanisation in Independent India*

The independent Indian state had before it the challenging agenda of economic development (after the ravages of colonial rule), national integration, and ensuring social justice to historically disadvantaged groups and regions along socialist lines. The state has been characterised as a welfare developmentalist state with socialist leanings (ideologically referred to as Nehruvian Socialism). At least until the 1970s, the state was concerned with planned economic development, the building of a strong public sector (administration and bureaucracy), heavy and small industry, as

² Under Article 17 of the Constitution of Independent India adopted in 1948, untouchability in any form has been abolished.

well as facilitating agricultural growth. The thrust of state policy saw the rapid growth of urban centres – cities, small and middle towns and townships around large heavy industry projects. This led, for instance, to Kota's development from a 'provincial small town' to an industrial and commercial city by the 1980s (Rao, this section). Majumdar (this section) also speaks about the growth of 'vibrant economic and industrial activities' in Calcutta. The early growth of Vijaywada into a major commercial centre is linked to state policy aimed at increasing agricultural productivity through investments in infrastructure and technology in the coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh. Prasad in his contribution (this section) maps how rich peasant farmers who benefited from these policies invested their surplus from cultivation into non-agricultural enterprises in Vijaywada and other towns in the region.

India was at the time of her independence a society where only a tiny fraction of the population was literate, and health indicators were also poor. Hence, building an education and health system for the entire country was a major task including in urban areas, the focus of this discussion. Urban municipal bodies with elected representatives were given the task of providing schooling, health, sanitation, and other facilities. In addition, there were the challenges that specific cities faced. For instance, both Delhi and Calcutta had to cope with the influx of a large refugee population from the partition of India on the western and eastern side in 1947. For Calcutta, the subsequent Bangladesh war in 1971 meant a continuous stream of refugees for many decades, which impinged on the development of its infrastructure and facilities. Majumdar (this section) highlights that 'The city (of Calcutta) has continued to experience the predicament of the so-called 'refugees' and the challenges of their resettlement within its confines'.

The rapid spread of urbanisation which included considerable migration from rural India, shaped the cities in the decades following the 1950s. The metropolitan cities such as Bombay, Calcutta and especially Delhi, were the destination for educated and skilled professionals. There was demand for unskilled labour as well and given widespread poverty in the villages, rural migrants comprised a growing proportion of the city population. The 1960s saw the evolution of urban planning models, and the development of city master plans. Early urban planning appeared to be informed by a larger vision of building an 'egalitarian and integrated' society (Juneja 2015:7). It is important that schools were envisioned as spatially central to local 'housing clusters' i.e. the neighbourhood community. The Master Plan of Delhi (1961–1981) notes that: 'The housing cluster' is built around the nursery school...The primary school, the high school, the community centre, and the district centre, are the order of the functional tiers around which the community structure is built up' (cited in Juneja 2005:3687).

However, ground realities were starkly different as the planning of cities and towns did not keep pace with the rapid urbanisation that followed. Only those parts of the city that were brought under the planning process had access to housing, infrastructure and other facilities. Government and public sector employees were specially privileged in that they had access to officially provided housing and other facilities. The urban development authorities were given the task of implementing housing projects for the middle and lower income groups, the benefits of which were garnered largely by the former. Exclusive spaces were also carved out for the

elite. An increasing proportion of the urban poor were however forced to live in 'unauthorised' (illegal) unplanned settlements – 'slums' and shanties that lacked the most basic of amenities and conveniences. Urban development programmes gradually led to frequent displacement and eviction of slum dwellers who initially built their settlements where construction work and other kinds of labour were in demand. A few older slum settlements were 'regularised' i.e. dwellers were given legal status. However, majority of slum dwellers faced constant evictions and displacement and were pushed to the unplanned periphery of the city. Thus, while the cities became spaces of opportunity and aspirations for vast sections of the population, especially from rural India, they were increasingly characterised by sharp inequalities – economic, social, and increasingly spatial as well.

The post 1980s saw the beginning of de-industrialisation in some of the major cities in India, and the closing down of manufacturing enterprises and industries or their relocation to smaller cities and towns. This led to significant restructuring of urban spaces. In Mumbai for instance the cotton mills that were the heart of the city shut down in the late 1970s and 1980s. Large tracts of prime land became vacant and were taken over by real estate agents leading to the displacement and eviction of workers to the periphery of the city and away from it. The subsequent gentrification of the former mill lands resulted in the transformation of the urban landscape (See Chatterjee 2013; D'Monte 1998). In Kota, Rao (this section) points to the 'sickness' of industries established two decades earlier. Majumdar (this section) also draws attention to the deceleration of business and industry in Kolkata. The reasons for the decline of industry in the cities varied and will not be gone into here. However, what is important to recognize is that key economic enterprises around which many of the big cities were built were on the decline, with important implications for the reproduction of urban spaces. Re/location of industries away from the mega cities saw the rapid growth of middle and small towns (see Scrase et al. 2015; Gupta 2015).

The post 1990s saw a significant shift in the economic policies of the Indian state leading to the implementation of major economic reforms – structural adjustment programmes and liberalisation. Though some welfare measures continued from the earlier era, a neoliberal regime was put into place resulting in liberalisation, deregulation, and an increasing integration with the global economy. A new service economy is now becoming predominant with information technology, software and services including education, emerging as key areas for high economic growth opening up for foreign investment. Economic reforms have been accompanied by new forms of governance in urban areas that in turn are leading to privatisation of formerly state-provided services, public-private partnerships, and a restructuring of urban spaces. The state is playing a key role in opening up the economy, not merely in building 'world-class' infrastructure to attract global capital but also by establishing hi-tech city districts, and setting up special economic zones, 'corridors and triangles' where special incentives are given to encourage such investments. Kamat observes that 'In India, the definitive break from a welfare developmentalist regime to a neoliberal regime occurred in 1991 when the state undertook macro-economic reform that over a period of a decade would liberalize trade barriers, privatize pub-

lic industries and deregulate markets to promote foreign investment' (Kamat 2011: 90).

One of the key themes in the chapters in this section is the impact of market forces on the production and reproduction of urban spaces. The growth of the service economy in place of manufacturing and the resulting restructuring of urban spaces are striking in Rao's chapter on the city of Kota. Here, the post-industrial economy that is yielding high returns to capital is the shadow education economy. The rapidly expanding urban sprawl is shaped by the demand for and supply of what are called 'coaching education' institutions around which the city is being built in unique ways. Vijaywada is also increasingly becoming a city in which investments in private educational institutions drive the economy. In the last two decades, it is the 'coaching industry' that is becoming prominent in the city's economy and its landscape. Both Rao and Prasad's chapters point to the movement of this form of education capital to other cities and towns where new coaching hubs are likely to emerge leading to further transformation of urban spaces.

19.3 Privilege and Exclusion in the Urban

The distinct restructuring of urban spaces and increasing spatial segregation is visible in the cities post 1990, and especially since the turn of the century. De-industrialisation, relocation of manufacturing units and urban development programmes led to the growth of a large slum³ population in the cities. Post 1990, the new urban economy with the increasing casualisation and contractualisation⁴ of work at the lower end as well as gentrification and slum clearance drives have seen the growth of high poverty slums and shanties and large displaced populations ghettoised in congested spaces or on the periphery of cities. In Kolkata, around 32 % of the population are slum dwellers; in Vijaywada the figure is around 28 % (See Majumdar and Prasad, this section). At Delhi's fringe, Menon (this section) describes the flourishing informal economy amidst and around unplanned settlements of workers, settlers and migrants. Also mentioned is that the majority of dwellers in slums are not merely poor/low income families but they also belong to disadvantaged social groups – Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes⁵ and Muslims (Majumdar and Menon, this section).

³ 'Slum' is a term that is often has a derogatory connotation. I use it here as it is the official term for temporary shanties.

⁴ These include different forms of informal and temporary work contracts that are characteristic of the growing 'flexibilisation of labour' (See Srivastava 2012). Srivastava observes that '....casual/contract work does encompass the poorest conditions of work' (2012: 64).

⁵ Scheduled castes (SC) and Scheduled tribes (ST) are the official terms for groups that suffered historical injustices and continue to be disadvantaged in contemporary Indian society. They are entitled to special provisions for their protection and development as well as political representation by the Constitution of India. Scheduled Castes who prefer to name themselves 'Dalit', suffered from social discrimination because of their position as 'untouchables' in the caste system.

While spatially, there is a consolidation and marking out of settlements of the poor, there is also a growing colonisation and privatisation of new urban spaces for the elite/upper middle classes through processes of gentrification and urban 'renewal' programmes. What can also be seen especially in the last two decades as part of the spread of neoliberal urbanisation are increasingly bounded spaces for the middle classes and self-contained gated communities for the elite in the metropolis. To attract prospective buyers of property, gated communities are advertised as providing exclusive life styles as in the major cities of Europe and the USA (Paris/Rome/New York) without residents having to go to these places. The idea of a 'city' within a larger city is a new concept but one that is more recently being advertised by real estate developers. These are 'mini cities' that will allow 'privileged residents' to be a part of the metropolis and yet have an exclusive space within it for themselves. For instance, the Hiranandani Gardens in Mumbai, home to more than 4,000 families, is an entire complex with offices and residences, parks and shopping arcades and an elite private school. Built by the Hiranandani real estate company, the Gardens claims to be 'Mumbai's finest residential township that has redefined the standards of elegant living. Intelligently planned, crafted with precision and embellished with care, it fulfils the delicate dreams of many, giving rise to a new perception of life and life style.... It has ushered in an era marked by higher standards of living and global lifestyles'.⁶ The Jaypee Sports City is near Delhi and promises 'a highly secure gated community with lush, landscaped gardens, exclusive social clubs for residents,restaurants and retail spaces and an educational centre with some of the best schools and colleges' (for web link see fn. 6). Entire private cities are also being built at tremendous financial and ecological cost. Lavasa (at a three hour drive from Mumbai) is presented as 'India's first planned hill city. Integrated development at Lavasa will include five self-sustaining towns with a permanent population of three lakh (300,000) residents, who can live, work, learn and play in complete harmony with nature' (for web link see fn 6).

The planned urban development in the early post independence decades was led by the state. The post 1990s has also seen the key role that the state has played in processes of urban 'development', 'renewal' and 'gentrification' which have significantly transformed the metro cities with implications for the smaller cities and towns as well. Kamat (2011) sees the transformation of the developmental state into a 'competition' state which is proactively propelling these changes. Speaking of Hyderabad, which in a matter of two decades has been transformed into a 'hi-tech', 'cyber' city, Kamat points to the key role of the state in its transformation: "Hyderabad illustrates the socio-political and historical context that transitions the developmental state into a 'competition state' in which the state subordinates the welfare and developmental needs of its citizens in favor of the profitability of the

Scheduled Tribes or 'Adivasis' are disadvantaged because of their experience of relative isolation, neglect and cultural marginalisation. Vast sections of SC and ST are economically amongst the most vulnerable social groups in India.

⁶ http://hiranandani.com/Hiranandani_Gardens.aspx; <http://www.jaypeesports.com/jaypeesportscity.shtml>; <http://www.lavasa.com/live/the-lavasa-life.aspx> (Accessed, August 2015).

corporate sector and political elites” (2011:197). In Kota and Vijaywada, the state government changed its policy to facilitate the growth of the shadow economy as discussed by Rao and Prasad respectively (this section). As Kamat observes, ‘Ultimately, as the sovereign legal authority, the state is the most privileged institution to regulate, channel and coordinate capital and organize the economic geography of the region. Consequently, the neoliberal state becomes an agent for the commoditisation of social relations situated in a wider market-dominated field’ (Kamat 2011:197).

19.4 Urban Education in India

The neglect of education, even at the elementary stage, during colonial rule in India is well known (Kamat 1985; Chaudhury 2007). Municipalities and district boards were formed in the cities by the 1880s and were given the task of provision of primary schooling. However, the emphasis was more on secondary schooling through grants-in-aid than with state provision for elementary education. Chaudhary (2007) observes that primary schooling received barely a third of public expenditure on education while the rest went to secondary and higher education. She goes on to add that secondary education was in the interest of ‘traditional landed and educated elites’ and they ‘often lobbied the colonial government against higher spending on primary vernacular education...’ (2007: 8–9).

A striking contrast to what was happening to education under colonial rule was the achievement of Baroda state in this sphere. As Manjrekar (this section) shows, the Maharajah of Baroda saw education as critical to an engaged citizenry and integral to the development of the city and state of Baroda. Her chapter describes the efforts of the state toward compulsory elementary schooling and establishing institutions of higher and technical education. The active role of the state and the Maharajah himself was crucial for the spread of education among sections of the population that were denied it for generations because of caste and gender identity. However, Manjrekar also points to the limits that the deeply stratified social structure placed on the spread of education.

The Constitution of India directs the state to provide education to all children up to 14 years. Schools inherited from colonial rule were not only few in number but were a motley set of institutions in terms of structure and content. There was no system of schooling. The challenge was to visualise a national system of education and provide access to schooling to children in a vast and diverse country where at the time of independence in 1947 only a negligible proportion of the population was literate. The first Education Commission of India (1964–1966) emphasised the goal of universal elementary education and saw the common school system as crucial for national development and social integration (NCERT 1971). Norms were laid down, for instance that all children should have easy access to primary schools and the state, through its local bodies, was to make provision for this. The idea of neighbourhood schools/housing clusters built around primary schools was also envi-

sioned in urban planning documents, as mentioned earlier. In urban areas, local municipal bodies were set in place, and providing access to schooling was a major thrust of education policy.

Official educational statistics on school provision are available for urban areas at an all-India level and for individual states and districts. Information on specific cities is not available. Broad trends indicate that provision of schools, enrolments and educational attainment across social categories (by gender, caste, ethnicity) are far better in urban as compared to rural India. Even in 1978, the overwhelming majority of primary schools (90%) in urban India were government and state aided schools. Private unaided schools, which include the elite 'public' schools, comprised only about 10% of all urban schools (NCERT 1982). Provisioning of elementary education in terms of the proportionate number of schools and their quality, as well as the percentage of children enrolled was far better in urban as compared to rural India (Nambissan and Batra 1989). Municipal and aided schools provided free tuition and also incentives to encourage the education of the children of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. Education was imparted in the vernacular language and often in more than one language so that children could receive schooling in their mother tongue. In Mumbai for instance, keeping in mind the large migrant population in the city, education in municipal schools was imparted in as many as seven Indian languages (Juneja 2001).

Nevertheless, access to schools was inadequate in urban India. This was partly because of rapid urbanisation, and the failure of urban planning for schools to keep pace with it. Private schooling surged rapidly ahead compared to state-run or state-aided (privately managed) schools. In 2013, for example, private unaided schools comprised 60% of schools in urban India, and 69% of all enrolments. Enrolments in private schools are far higher at the secondary stage than at the elementary level (Juneja 2015). Though city specific data is not available, it is likely that there are wide variations in the proportion of private schools in different cities. In a study of ten cities carried out in 2001, it was found that the proportion of private primary schools varied from 38% in Coimbatore (Tamil Nadu state) to 76% in Jaunpur, in the state of Uttar Pradesh (Juneja 2015).

What implications do these urban transformations that I have discussed have for education? How is education implicated in such transformations? What do these processes mean for the right to a key resource that the city offers, which is education? I briefly look at the two faces of the city that are clearly visible today – the largely illegal slums and settlements of poor and disadvantaged families increasingly concentrated in unplanned areas of the city and on its fringe, and the exclusive, privileged 'privatised', yet planned, spaces of the urban elite and middle classes.

19.4.1 Privilege, Disadvantage and Education in the City

The upper/middle classes have long dominated the city from positions of economic and social power. Comprising the professional, administrative and subsequently managerial occupations, those who occupied these positions have dominated urban spaces and are likely to have also shaped the education system, aspirations and

discourses around it. In the late nineteenth century Baroda, the upper and middle castes dominated the administration and professions and comprised the powerful social elite of the time (Manjrekar this section). In post independent India, the state bureaucratic and professional middle classes were also dominated by socially dominant caste groups. Policies of affirmative action saw SC and ST communities enter these occupations, thus widening their social base. Elite and English medium 'public' (private) urban schools have been the key to occupations that yield privilege and economic and social status. The growing private sector in education has primarily been a result of the abandoning of the state-run schools by the urban middle classes in favour of English-medium private schools. As lower class fractions aspired to follow suit, the market expanded to offer differentiated private schools in terms of cost and quality (Nambissan 2010).

Urban land was provided by the state at negligible cost to establish private schools. In 1981, for example, the Delhi Development Rules (1981) provided for allotment of land to schools on the condition that 'a proportion of seats would be set aside for the poor through providing freeships to them' (cited in Juneja 2015). Juneja points out that the 'model central legislations and model Master Plan of Delhi were adopted by other states, and parallel provisions for grants of land to private schools and colleges existed all over the country' (ibid). She notes that in Delhi, as many as 1,200 schools were built on land given at concessional rates, and at least 361 were mandatorily expected to provide freeships to poor children. However, this provision was not honored. A public interest litigation was filed in court in 2000 against the flouting of these rules (See Juneja 2005). Thus, private schools remained exclusive institutions that failed to provide entry to the poor, even though they were mandated to do so by the rules under which they were given prime urban land in the city of Delhi and elsewhere.⁷

The city has also been the site for the rural middle classes/peasant castes to build economic, cultural, and social capital. Prasad (this section) has shown that for the rich farmers in the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh, providing higher education for their children and establishing private educational institutions, and especially professional colleges in the cities, were important strategies in their quest for such capital. The culture of 'coaching' (private tutorials), and increasingly the projecting of education that is integrated with coaching as desirable and essential for success, have constructed imaginaries that have permeated to lower social classes raising aspirations that these families struggle to meet. The rapid spread of private schooling and coaching institutions has resulted from the ability of dominant groups to define the 'good' in education. Majumdar (this section) observes that while aspira-

⁷ Under the Right to Education Act (2009), 25% of children who are admitted to class 1/entry level in private schools must belong to 'economically weaker sections' (EWS). The children thus admitted are to be given education free of cost (freeships) which will be reimbursed by the government (See RtE 2009). The 25% 'quota' in private schools has been controversial and subject to considerable debate and legal contestation by private schools. However, it has been reaffirmed by the Supreme Court of India. Efforts are on to ensure its implementation.

tions are increasingly becoming similar across social classes in favour of private and shadow education, opportunities for achieving them are structurally unequal.

As the upper and middle classes seek to mobilise social and cultural resources and networks to give their children a positional advantage in a globalising world, there is a growing demand for increasingly exclusive schools. In the late 1990s when Waldrop (2004) asked parents belonging to the professional and administrative elite of Delhi as to the schools they wanted to send their children to, five well-established city private ('public') schools appeared to be most sought after. In the last decade, Delhi has seen a growing number of 'International', 'Global' and 'World Class' schools that many among the elite are opting for their children. These typically offer twinning programmes with schools in Europe and the USA, and also enable students to take examinations that will facilitate their entry into the higher education market in these countries. To attract buyers to the enclosed and increasingly privatised spaces in the cities, exclusive 'International' schools with sprawling campuses are now presented as one of their attractions. The Hiranandani Gardens mini-city in Mumbai has the Hiranandani School within its premises. Lavasa in its promotional advertisements offers the Le Mont School to children within the city, and the promise that well-known institutions and universities (Oxford was earlier mentioned on the website) will establish their branches there (see web link in fn 6). Thus, for the privileged classes, education is also embedded in privatised and exclusive spaces that they lay a claim to given the economic and social resources at their command.

For the lower classes, the working and non-working poor, the city is an aspirational space. As previously discussed, this is reflected in the growing migration to urban areas, frequent displacements followed by efforts to relocate including on the margins of the city, and the extremely difficult circumstances under which the poor live and work in and around the city. The living conditions within the slums and temporary shanties are abysmal, and children have to study and play in unsafe and unsanitary urban spaces that lack even the most basic amenities. Children are at risk where their health and safety are concerned. Rapid urbanisation, and neglect by the state of the educational requirement of children of the poor, has led to overcrowding in the negligible number of schools that are available in the vicinity of slums and shanties, including on the periphery of the city (see Menon, this section).

On the other hand, the demolition of slums (that began from the 1970s in Delhi) and the systematic displacement of the poor from the central spaces of cities have led to falling enrolments in the municipal schools that were located in these areas. 'Rationalisation' of schooling by closing down schools where enrolments have fallen is now on the agenda of the state. This is reported in the chapters on Kolkata and Vijaywada. However, there are also reports that closure of government schools may also be driven by vested interests. Juneja (2015) points to the fact that many of the municipal and government schools are in the central areas of the city where land values have escalated. She observes that 'Many such schools now face threat and are vulnerable to closure in order that their lands may be diverted for other more profitable purposes' (ibid: 24). Verma (2004) reports on the protests of activists about the closure of schools in the city of Indore as well as the kind of schools that

were opened for the poor in the slums: “Well-attended and well-equipped schools have been closed down for merger in the name of ‘rationalization’ in areas where, incidentally massive commercial development is proposed..... the administration ... has ‘opened 103 new schools’ in the city’s slums by writing ‘school’ in chalk on the door of each of the existing community halls” (cited by Juneja 2015:24).

19.5 Markets for Schooling: Restructuring the Urban and Education

The expanding market for education is a striking feature of urban India today which, as many of the chapters show, is changing both the face of the city and how education is viewed. As mentioned earlier, urban India has seen the rapid growth of private schooling, especially unaided schools which include the elite private ‘public’ schools. High fee international and global schools that provide easy access to global markets for higher education are also increasingly visible in the metropolitan cities. The market for elite schools also provides a range of services at high cost not only for academic achievement but also to give each child ‘cultural distinction’ seen as essential for educational and positional advantage. Companies that organise music, art, sports and other activities, summer schools, and visits abroad are in a booming business today. The inroads made by the private sector may vary in different urban spaces as they are shaped by the social and economic history of the city, and the institutions of education as well as state policy. This section briefly highlights some of the key trends that have emerged from the foregoing discussion.

The demand for academic after-school support for success in school examinations has seen the growth of the shadow economy of private tutorials and coaching across the county. Mention has been made of private tutorials in Vijaywada in the early 1950s (Prasad, this section). However, the growth of tutoring into a business and a full-fledged coaching industry linked to success in high stakes examinations that lead to entry into prestigious institutions of technology is a post-1980s phenomenon. It began earlier in states such as Andhra Pradesh and later in cities such as Kota, and is yet to become big business in Kolkata. Both Prasad and Rao (this section) discuss at length the complex of factors that led to the ‘moment’ when the education economy became a key site of business. While both Kota and Vijaywada are famed for providing narrow examination taking skills that are increasingly in demand, they offer different models within the shadow education economy.

West Bengal as a state has the dubious distinction of having the highest percentage of students accessing private tutorials at all grades in school. In an earlier paper, Majumdar (2014) discusses private tutoring that has become a key service in demand by all social classes in the city. The aggressive marketing of private tutoring she refers to are reflected in the advertisements and bill-boards that dot the city and are becoming part of the skyline in some localities. The tutoring market in Kolkata presently appears largely unorganised and informal, but given the aspirations for

their children's education even by the poor, and the limited supply of what is viewed as good quality schooling, it is likely that it is only a matter of time before the coaching industry takes root in the city. There is also a growing market for pre-schools and nurseries in the cities. Driven by parental aspirations for access to what are seen as good quality private schools, there is also a scramble for pre-schools which are seen as providing a competitive advantage in entering prestigious schools (Majumdar, this section). Here, again, the market caters to different social classes.

Another segment of the education economy that is becoming visible in cities today is the market for private schools targeted at low-income families. These are 'low cost' schools that are 'unrecognised'/illegal as they fail to meet the norms laid down by the State Education Acts, and more recently of the Right to Education, 2009 (RtE 2009). These schools are part of the unregulated shadow economy but they are in demand as they profess to offer English-medium education aspired to by low income/poor families. Unrecognised private schools have been reported to be growing in low income neighbourhoods and around poor settlements where state-run schools are inadequate and are of poor quality. 'Low fee' schools targeted at the poor and low income families are now viewed as a profitable business in urban India and there is a growing transnational advocacy for this segment of the education market (Nambissan 2014). Menon (this section) draws attention to the unregulated low fee/low cost market for schooling and credentials of uncertain value on the capital's fringe. In the absence of adequate state provision of education and the regulation of private schools, the market which is thriving on the aspirations of poor parents, holds them to ransom.

19.6 Conclusion

A third of India's over one billion population today lives in urban areas. The number is likely to increase manifold with estimates of 50% of the population expected to live in cities by 2050 (UN 2014). The foregoing discussion highlights the ways in which urban spaces are being produced and reproduced, how education is influenced by and shapes this process, and the implications for the right of citizens to the valued resources of the city. The urban-education interface in India has yet to be systematically explored. The authors of this section have begun to analyse the unfolding of the urban and education within the specific contexts of the cities they are researching.

It is quite clear that the urban space is today being shaped by neoliberal capitalism on the one hand, and rising aspirations of different social classes for access to the city and its resources on the other. Neoliberal capitalism is driving different forms of post-industrial economic growth, and in particular the new economy of services, and cities are the key sites where this is visible. The restructuring of urban spaces for neoliberal capital has led to infrastructure development, creation of hi-tech districts, accompanying shopping malls and leisure spots as well as the gentrification and beautification of cities. These processes have led to the eviction and

relocation of the poor in slums and resettlement colonies in specific parts of the city or they have been displaced to its periphery. The fringe of the city, as has been shown, is frequently unplanned and lacks publicly provided basic services. It is to the unregulated markets that the poor living on the margins are forced to turn to for these services. Thus, spatial inequality compounds social inequality (Soja 2009).

The market, and forms of capital within it, restructure the urban space in different ways and create a web of social relations that yields privilege and advantage for a few, while large sections of the city's public are excluded from access to entitlements of citizenship, including elementary education. The contrast is most starkly visible in the privatised and exclusive spaces in the metropolis as against the slums and poor settlements on its periphery. For those who are economically and spatially on the margins, the social segregation in the city is also reflected within schools. Government schools are overcrowded and dilapidated and are predominantly accessed by the poor and disadvantaged groups (SC, ST, and Muslims), especially at the primary level. The private English-medium schooling that has given power and status to the middle classes is equally desired by the poor for their children, and is in growing demand. While the state has failed to ensure a publicly-funded system of good quality, it has been quick to close municipal schools in the prime areas of the city and facilitate public-private partnerships, ostensibly to improve school education. Urban school governance reforms have also brought in new forms of participation that are characterised by a democratic deficit. The market has also responded to these new opportunities in urban education – both in the private school sector, and in the shadow economy.

Shadow education in different forms (private tuitions, tutorial centres, coaching institutes) has emerged as the key growth sector in the new economy, and a highly profitable investment. This appears to be a 'bubble' in the market that is unlikely to burst given the rising aspirations for access to a limited number of elite professional institutions and hence the increasingly high stakes of the entrance examinations. From the chapters in this section, we see that the spread of the education economy is likely to mark urban spaces especially where the coaching industry is concerned. The shadow industry is likely to play a key role in restructuring urban spaces and creating an increasingly narrow and instrumental imaginary around education in relation to test-taking skills. The role of the state in facilitating the accumulation of education capital and its further investment has been highlighted in some of the chapters. The fact that the coaching economy is currently unregulated, despite being a multimillion industry that directly impacts the education and living conditions of vast numbers of students, also points to the disturbing nexus between the state and the neoliberal urbanisation.

For young women who are working in metropolitan Delhi, the city is a space that provides opportunities and choices, far greater than in the villages or even in small towns to which many originally belong. However, Vaid's (this section) study shows that the city is an aggressive space for women who have to learn survival skills to negotiate space and time, both of which they experience as gendered. At Delhi's fringe as well, young women students look to the city for a life of greater freedom and opportunity. However, inadequate public schooling of reasonable quality and

an unregulated market for private education, including unreliable further credentials mentioned earlier, are severe obstacles in the path of young women of Morpur (Menon, this section) who are also far more bound by conventional norms than the working women in Delhi (Vaid, this section). In other words, while gender mediates women's experiences as they negotiate the metropolis, the urban may take on different meanings for those who are spatially located on its periphery.

'Smart cities' have been announced as the future face of urban India. Global manufacturing and trading hubs and industrial cities are also being planned along industrial corridors and parks for which large tracts of rural India are likely to be cleared. In this seemingly relentless march of post-industrial neoliberalism, it is imperative to keep in mind the rights of those who are required to give up their lands and homes for an urbanisation that is both exclusionary and unsustainable. It is hence urgent that there is collective reflection on what kind of urban is being produced. The authors in this section argue that privilege and exclusion are clear markers of an increasingly segregated urban India, and underscore that spatial justice is implicated in social justice (Soja 2009). The civic cosmopolitan that was attempted by a pro-active state in Baroda far ahead of its time, does not appear even faintly visible on the agenda of the state today. In fact, the urban spaces produced by the shadow economy as well as the privatized cities that are emerging (and the state is complicit in both) appear as caricatures far removed from the web of inclusive and co-operative social relations that is integral to the *Urban* society that Lefebvre (2003) was pointing to. It is important to revisit the idea of the 'modern city', the 'sanskar nagari,' and the *Urban Society* if we are to build social imaginaries of spaces that are inclusive, diverse, and socially just. A re-visioning of education would be critical to such an imaginary.

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Chapter 20

Homogenized Educational Imagination and Polarized Educational Opportunities: Schooling in Contemporary Kolkata

Manabi Majumdar

20.1 Introduction

Keeping in mind the contextual and specific history of urbanization on the one hand and the current agenda of capitalist urbanization that spans the globe on the other, how do we understand the ‘urban’ and urban schooling in contemporary Kolkata? Does the dominant discourse and practice of schooling in the city, seemingly fashioned by a model of upper middle class control and activism, at once homogenize educational imagination and polarize educational opportunities? Taking the social and family strategy perspective of schooling as the backdrop and moving into the inner space of the schools and classrooms, to what extent do educational policies enable or enervate schoolteachers to improve children’s learning, to improve the quality of their own training and teaching, and above all to address unevenness in the distribution of quality teaching across the city schools? To put it more generally, to what extent can the schools in the city, especially the state-run schools, address concerns of justice, equity and quality in education? If seeds of such transformatory potentials of schools are visible, what bearing do they have on a critical re-examination of the test-driven, profit-driven education reform agenda that seems

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to be overwhelming the urban educational imagination itself? These are some of the questions that are raised, though not necessarily answered, in this paper, which has a primary focus on elementary education.

In the following discussion, first, I will debate the idea of the urban in a third world setting of India. Second, I will offer a fleeting glance at the history of the city of Kolkata and its education system, its demographic features, growth and so on. Third, I will focus on how the 'outside'- specifically the class strategies of upper and upper middle classes, and the business strategies of educational entrepreneurs-shapes the 'inside', that is, the school system. Fourth, I will look into the inner workings of the school system, especially at the spatial distribution of schools, and then try to examine what schoolteachers can do in order to ensure equity and quality in education. In concluding, I will revisit the question of educational purpose, and not just of its quality, since the aim of education itself has come under the thumb of capitalist urbanism.

20.2 Understanding the Urban

There are multiple and competing meanings of the urban (Noblit and Pink 2007). On the one hand urbanity entails cultural sophistication and cosmopolitan attitude; on the other hand the urban is associated with crime, squalor and overcrowding. The urban is imagined as a problem, as a hub of poverty and inequality, but also as a desirable destination of prosperity. In a third-world setting in particular, the urban is a zone of luxurious 'gated' housing communities, at once also a 'planet of slums' (Davis 2006).

The urban in the developing world, therefore, has its own contextual specificities. In fact, the so-called 'urban bias' in policy consciousness and policy actions is found to be a typical third-world feature. The urban therefore is not just about urban poverty. There is opulence amidst poverty. Similarly, although there are degrees of residential segregation there is no stark and neat slicing of wealthy and less affluent families into impermeable zones; both intra- and inter-neighborhood inequalities persist.

But social inequalities seem to be more pronounced in urban areas as compared to rural locales. Within the same city space there are sections of the city dwellers who belong to the 'first world', 'even without applying for a visa', in terms of their opulence, living conditions and lifestyle, while there are others who live in abject poverty.

Again, in Kolkata and in many other Indian cities urban schools do not necessarily have a negative connotation usually associated with the so-called inner city schools in most parts of the Global North. There are quite a few highly reputable schools and higher education institutions in Kolkata and in other Indian cities. Neither is the city itself uniformly characterized by run-down, low-income neighbourhoods. A little over 30% of the population lives in slums in the city, as per the data from Census 2011.

Importantly, however, spatial exclusion or separation is less stark than school segregation as far as Kolkata is concerned. That is to say, streaming of children from upper class and working class backgrounds into separate worlds of education is much more pronounced. In short, polarization of the student intake of urban schools is a fact, although there is a wide range of schools in between the two poles of 'corporation' (municipal) schools peopled with children from disadvantaged backgrounds and 'corporate' (elite) schools having fees that only the hyper-affluent can afford. That the less affluent parents happen to stick to state schools- a trend visible more in Kolkata than in a city like Hyderabad, for example, where low-income parents seem to opt out of government schools in favour of low-fee private schools- does not, however, signify that the disprivileged sections of the city dwellers suffer from a self-perpetuating 'culture of poverty' or that they lack interest in their children's schooling. As we try to suggest below, educational aspirations as well as efforts of indigent parents far surpass their meager economic wherewithal.

To mention once again, in Kolkata residential segregation and school segmentation crisscross rather than overlap. No doubt, neighbourhoods within the city are socio-economically stratified, some being more prosperous than others; this by itself is not uncommon when we compare with situations in many other cities of the world. But, sometimes even within the same neighbourhood resource-starved or low-income families live next to the moneyed people. And the children from indigent families living at the fringe of a relatively posh area are often found to be attending the local resource-starved municipal school, while those from wealthy households in the same locality get admission into 'elite' schools that may be located quite a distance away from their residence. This implies that schools are rarely neighbourhood schools or socially mixed schools; rather they too are socio-economically stratified. Historically, the municipal schools, known as 'corporation schools', were set up in the city for public provisioning of educational opportunities for the children in a local area. Over time, however, and especially with increasing massification of educational participation (which meant a growing school participation of the erstwhile excluded social classes), there has occurred a more clear-cut streaming of children into government and private schools; the first-generation students are availing of publicly provided 'free' education, while those from highly privileged backgrounds are opting for high fee-charging private schools. This 'elite flight' from government-run schools is often viewed as a vote in favour of quality education. Indeed, the growing attraction of low-fee private schools even among less affluent working class parents in the country is taken as a mark of the allegedly superior quality of anything private. This perceived penchant for quality may however mask a hidden class preference for exclusivity and against integration. It is important to note, however, that the expansion of low-fee private schools is relatively less pronounced in the city of Kolkata as compared with some of the other Indian cities. Privatized school choices, as I discuss below in greater details, are no doubt on the rise at the pre-primary and primary levels and especially among the elite and upper middle classes; but a sizable section of lower and middle- middle classes in the city still seems to choose from among a wide variety of government-run or government-aided schools.

At the present juncture, to understand the urban would also require us, as Lipman (2010) persuasively argues, to focus on neoliberal political and economic processes that are restructuring cities across the globe – the phenomenon the author describes as ‘neoliberal urbanism’. This tends to cause an upward mobility of wealth and thus produce hyper-inequality between the sections, for example, of transnational and global elites living in a city and their fellow denizens who often are dispossessed farmers and informal workers living in poverty and insecurity of life and livelihood (Harvey 2010). Recent research on the reduction of multidimensional poverty (and not just income poverty) in India, for instance, suggests that such reduction is mainly owing to reduction in rural poverty and that the rate of poverty reduction in urban areas has slowed down (Alkire and Seth 2013). Such intensification of social, spatial and economic insecurities and inequalities in urban locations is bound to impact public policies as well as market-led processes that shape the contours of the present-day urban education, and is highly likely to generate new patterns of educational inequality and exclusion.

It is well to point out that these pro-market urban processes and urban schooling capture only a part of the city dynamics of education. Drawing on Henri Lefebvre’s notable idea of ‘the right to the city’ both Harvey (2010) and Lipman (2010) underline the need to look at the city space not only as a centre of hegemonic power effecting the production of urban space in an exclusionary manner, but also as a site of countervailing power and resistance generative of demands for democratic control over organizational and investment decisions that shape the life of the city, including its educational fortunes. In the following discussion I will explore whether there are any traces of such pro-democratic and equity-enhancing educational counter-currents evident in the cityscape of Kolkata.

20.3 A Potted History of the City and Its Education System

Kolkata, formerly known as Calcutta, has a rich social history, economic background and demographic setting, each having an impact on the nature and functioning of the city’s school system. The short account of such a checkered history of the city that I present here is necessarily in-exhaustive and is meant only to provide a broad-brush view of its past. Calcutta was the central axis of British-Indian administration in undivided Bengal; this had a lot to do with its demographic composition, settlement pattern, commercial features and with the formation of its social elite and their educational and professional ambitions in the late nineteenth century (Mukherjee 1977). The multi-ethnic character of the city was striking; the population estimates made in 1837 by W. Birch, the then Superintendent of Police in Calcutta, were included in ‘Vital Statistics of Calcutta’ prepared by C. Finch and it recorded the presence of a motley crowd consisting of ‘English, Euro-Asians, Portugese, French, Chinamen, Armenians, Jews, Western Muslims, Bengali Muslims, Western Hindus, Bengali Hindus, Moguls, Parsees, Arabs, Mugs, Madrasees, Native Christians, and Low Castes’ (Finch, as quoted in Mukherjee

1977). Thus, the city, having a number of networks of trade, finance and learning, attracted a heterogeneous population consisting of diverse social and cultural communities; but the majority of the population was Bengali Hindus, followed by the second largest sub-group of Bengali Muslims. From a small European settlement Calcutta gradually evolved into a bustling commercial city and as a home for merchants and bankers who in turn offered employment for clerks and petty administrators who also settled in the city. All this led to the rise of a 'new' urban class. Different types of education were on offer to cater to the interests of the *Bhadraloks*, ranging from indigenous elementary and post-elementary schools known as *pathshalas* and *toles* to English schools (Acharya 1990). The social elite were not uniformly in favour of vernacular education; some were keen to join the English education classes. They were also eager to serve on the school committees, and in the recently formed School Book Society and School Society and took an active interest in shaping the course of educational development in the city in general.

Calcutta also witnessed, as an offshoot of the divisive policies of the colonial administration, the Partition of Bengal and the consequent displacement and dispersal of large sections of the population, particularly sections of the marginalized Scheduled Caste peasants (Bandyopadhyay and Basu Ray Chaudhury 2014). Their migration from the then East Bengal (now Bangladesh) to West Bengal started from the 1950s and has continued ever since. The city has continued to experience the predicament of the so-called 'refugees' and the challenges of their resettlement within its confines. Its identity as a refugee city has influenced the nature of politics in postcolonial West Bengal. Importantly, self-mobilisation and self-settlement strategies taken up by many refugee groups in the city led to the formation of refugee colonies on the northern and southern fringes of Kolkata. What is more, their initiatives and agency amidst all sorts of hardships led to the creation of a 'civic environment' within the refugee neighbourhoods. Under the aegis of such self-initiatives, local roads were built and local schools were established (Chakrabarty 2014). The history of education in the city, therefore, is distinguished by both plebeian and patrician educational endeavours.

Coming to the more contemporary period, many parts of the world have been witnessing in recent times a massive scale of urbanization (Davis 2006). However, the situation is somewhat different in the case of Kolkata. The urban renewal initiative introduced in several Indian cities a few years ago under the auspices of the Central government has had a focus on urban infrastructural development. But the more recent drift in favour of developing the so-called 'smart' cities also entails offering new incentives to real estate developers. The new genre of urban renewal may thus imply the dispossession and removal of marginalized social groups from their residence and place of employment.¹

¹Rural land has been a major site of such dispossession in many developing countries that are going through a phase of capitalist development; in addition the dispossession of urban land for private investment is also quite visible. Some details of similar development in the city of Kolkata are discussed below.

The greater Kolkata metropolitan area has roughly about 14 million people as per the Census of 2011. Within this larger landscape lies the city of Kolkata, being under the administrative control of a municipal corporation, and having a population of about 4.4 million. Although the city has witnessed a negative growth rate of population during the period between the decennial censuses of 2001 and 2011, it is still a hugely populous, and tightly packed city, with a population density of 24,306 people per sq. km.² Kolkata is truly a State-sized city, of a country-sized State of a continent-like country of India. This scale factor constitutes one of the key features of the contextual specificities and background conditions that fashion the city's education system.

Kolkata, to mention once again, was the capital of British India till 1911, having left a distinct political and social legacy of its own. This port city also grew as a centre of vibrant economic and industrial activities that created in turn a demand for skilled and unskilled workers, attracting jobseekers from the neighbouring regions and States. Thus, the twin forces of urbanization and immigration shaped the social, political and economic life of the city for a long time; in fact between 1901 and 1991 greater Kolkata remained one of the most populous cities in India. In the more recent past Kolkata's business and industrial activities started decelerating, the rate of growth of urban population started declining somewhat and the denizens of the city started out-migrating, yielding a perception that the city was losing much of its previous attraction as a destination for cultural, educational and economic opportunities. Indeed, the metropolis that was the foremost centre of commerce and industry in the not so distant past has experienced industrial decline in recent times unlike a few other premier cities in India. This has possibly made the erstwhile middle class entrepreneurs more dependent on the public sector that itself is however shrinking in size in the State of West Bengal.³ The relatively discouraging employment scenario in the State has also likely amplified middle class anxiety about the intense competition that their children will have to face in their educational journey and beyond. It is possible that this fretfulness has driven them to opt for ostensibly 'better' quality education in private school, while at once remaining keen to have 'better' quality jobs in the public sector. This said, schooling decisions are not dominated by employment considerations alone. In fact, the dependence on private schools in Kolkata is more at the pre-primary and primary level and progressively

²The recent demographic trough, that the city experiences, is largely due to its falling Total Fertility Rate (TFR).

³Kolkata is the capital city of the State of West Bengal. The contribution of industry in the Gross State Domestic Product of West Bengal has shrunk according to recent statistics (The Hindu 2013). The trend to downsize public sector employment- employment in the Central government institutions in the State in particular- started in the 1990s. However, the share of employment in the public sector still far outweighs the corresponding share of the organised private sector in the State (Economic Review 2011–2012). Among the major States of India, West Bengal is a middle-order performer as far as employment rates are concerned (Economic Survey 2012–2013). On balance, economic performance of the State is unexceptional, neither exemplary nor miserable comparatively speaking.

less at higher levels of schooling. So there is a supply-side story too. Furthermore, there is also a self-conscious distancing of upper middle classes from the government run education institutions at a time when the masses are accessing these institutions in greater numbers. Simply put, the social processes that underpin the growing educational polarization among various social classes are far more complex than a straightforward and linear economic explanation.

The relatively lackluster school education policies of the State, during 34 years (1977–2011) of the Communist party rule in particular, have had their own imprint on its urban educational fabric. Indeed, the Left Front government focused much of its energy, for justified reasons, on wage issues and those of security of land tenure of peasants and their livelihood struggles, but remained under-active, for not so justifiable reasons, in the field of mass elementary education. Also, its decision to discontinue teaching of English at the primary level in state-run schools in the early 1980s and its reintroduction in the 1990s created a lot of controversy about the creation of a gulf between government and private schools. The Left rule's apparent lack of attention to the educational needs of the underprivileged sections of the State's population is attributed, in some writings, to the 'social conservatism' of the party's *bhadralok* – 'gentlemen' – leadership (Bag 2011). Some indications of change in official thinking vis-à-vis the educational deprivation of Kolkata's poor were evident in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This, however, mainly took the form of an NGO-led alternative mode of educational delivery to meet the special needs of children of the poor. The creation of such a parallel system contained the risk of diverting attention away from the larger context of public provision of schooling in the State and the city and its equity implications (Nambissan 2003). The need to energize the equity-enhancing potential of state schools and correlatively to facilitate professional development of teachers for such purposes appears to have dawned on the city's policy consciousness somewhat late, partly in response to the passage of the Right to Education Act in 2009 that enjoins the State government to better spread and fund education across a broader range of the population. To react to this imperative, however, the government seems to turn more and more to a public-private partnership mode that we discuss later. It is against the backdrop of the apparent twilight of the city's social shimmer mentioned above and its checkered political career that I aim to shed light on the problems as well as promises of its education system, focusing particularly on school education.

But if it is a sunset situation, it is also a moment of a new initiation. Much recent scholarly research has drawn our attention to the phenomenon of an expanding middle class in India and its cities, as a group empirically defined by income level and consumption pattern, but more importantly as a new 'moral majority', as an ideological force that dominates the discourse on what India aspires to be in this new era (Fernandes 2006; Mooij and Lama-Rewal 2010). This new middle class is, of course, not large numerically speaking, but enjoys a position of substantial influence in defining what 'good' education is. This is as true in Kolkata as in any other Indian city. In particular, learning and speaking English and a command over the

language has become the most sought after educational goal of this class. This is indeed a revival of the longing for English education that a large part of the Bengali elite displayed in colonial Calcutta. This craving is of course linked up with the issue of employability in the present neo-liberal climate. What it does is to straight-jacket and homogenize the imagination of education within a narrow range; such conformity itself spans across the local and the trans-local spaces. It is therefore unsurprising that parents from disadvantaged backgrounds in the city of Kolkata chase the same 'vision' of education, but have unequal opportunities to actualize that vision. This is the new turn of events that I will discuss in what follows.

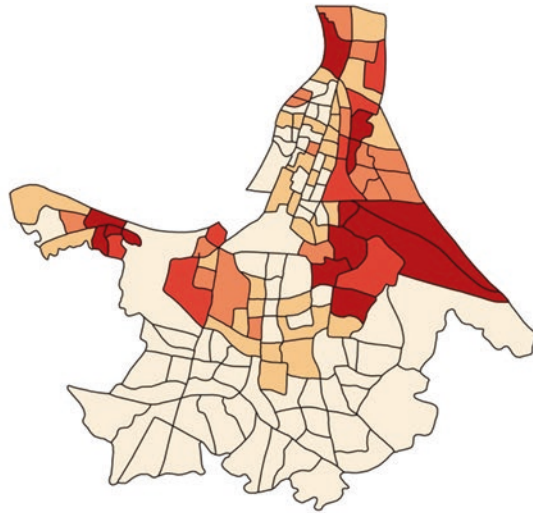
But as an aside, it is well to flag though briefly another dimension of the new moment, particularly since this has implications for the likelihood of school closure. The growing real estate business and urban property development is trying to push the frontier of urban Kolkata, displacing residents from many of the erstwhile squatter colonies to build lavish housing apartments for its wealthy denizens. A new politics of displacement and land acquisition thus permeates the city environment; the consequent spatial re-configuration may also entail eviction of schools. A process of displacement and dispossession that Harvey (2010) claims as central to the urban process under capitalism is quite real for the city of Kolkata.

Without going into details about multiple cycles of displacement and resettlement that the squatter and slum population in the city has experienced, one or two general observations in this regard are made here. Settlements on the land without legal title are sometimes not even recognized as slums and the people settled in those areas have no formal housing rights; they also lack access to a modicum of municipal services. Even if for electoral considerations the authorities and local politicians sometimes negotiate with the squatter population (Chatterjee 2004; Roy 2002), whenever any kind of mega development or real estate project comes up, people of the area are pushed on the margins of the highways or other peripheries of the city. A quick look at the distribution of the slum population of the city across its different municipal wards (see Map 20.1) indicates that between the decennial census of 2001 and 2011 expansion, resettlement and concentration of low-income colonies have occurred mainly in south and south eastern and west-central parts of the city. Importantly, between 2001 and 2011, the total slum population in Kolkata has declined only by 1 percentage point; and yet the number of wards recording zero slum population has risen from 34 in 2001 to 60 in 2011. It is possible to conjecture that due to increased real estate activities in the city there has been gentrification of some parts of the city while other areas have witnessed greater degrees of ghettoization. To be sure, some people may have moved willingly, but many have been displaced and dispossessed, because widespread resistances are also reported from within the city.

Legend

2001

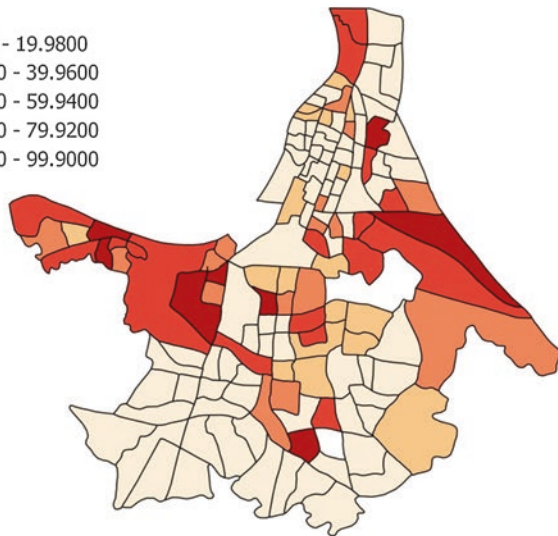
- Percentage Slum Population
- wards
- 0.0000 - 19.9800
 - 19.9800 - 39.9600
 - 39.9600 - 59.9400
 - 59.9400 - 79.9200
 - 79.9200 - 99.9000



Legend

2011

- Percentage Slum Population
- wards
- 0.0000 - 19.9800
 - 19.9800 - 39.9600
 - 39.9600 - 59.9400
 - 59.9400 - 79.9200
 - 79.9200 - 99.9000



Map 20.1 Spatial distribution of slum population in Kolkata

20.4 The Urban Educational Ethos as a Trendsetter

The centrality of an urban educational ethos, itself an artifact of both local and global forces, can hardly be exaggerated in fashioning institutional, civic and familial educational goals and practices both in urban and rural areas. In India and its constituent states both access-centred policy discourse and actions as well as success-centred market-driven reform agendas are focused on urban schools and aim more generally at shaping the urban social, political and policy consciousness, which in turn is expected to percolate down to rural areas. Therefore, the way in which the idea of what is ‘good’ education is constructed in the urban education sector, and the manner in which this is sought to be provided and attained in city schools and out-of-school tuition and test-preparation centres, define to a great extent the nature and structure of the entire education system, and therefore justify a closer scrutiny. I will analyze three specific elements of the educational culture that appear prominent in many cities in the country, including Kolkata, namely, (a) a strong preference among upper middle class city dwellers for private schooling and English education, and a strong dislike for almost anything public; (b) a growing acceptance of education being a for-profit venture leading to the emergence of a new education market in the city; and (c) a test-intensive culture of education nurtured by the global and local education industry, as well as national, state and local educational authorities, signifying a new kind of public private partnership that often favours interests of private capital.

20.4.1 *Privatized Choice as an Urban (Upper Middle Class) Penchant*

India has passed the Right to Education Act in 2009, acknowledging free elementary education both as a right as well as a compulsory duty. This has set off a relatively accelerated pace of expansion of educational opportunities and infrastructure for the school-age children in both urban and rural areas of India. New state schools have been set up and new schoolteachers have been recruited such that the masses, especially the hitherto excluded children, get a wider access to elementary education. In the city of Kolkata the number of state-run elementary and post-elementary schools has recorded a sizable presence, especially after the passage of the Act (Table 20.1). Furthermore, the proportion of private schools- roughly about 22%-has remained more or less unchanged during most part of the last decade, with the exception of a higher share of 30–33% during 2006–2009. This perhaps implies that private schools continue to remain the preserve of the privileged (the elite flight from state run Bengali-medium schools became particularly noticeable in Kolkata

Table 20.1 Year-wise number of schools by management in Kolkata

	Number of schools			Percentage of private schools to total schools
	Government	Private	Total	
2002–2003	1,324	387	1,711	22.62
2003–2004	1,505	432	1,937	22.30
2004–2005	1,541	418	1,959	21.34
2005–2006	1,532	475	2,007	23.67
2006–2007	1,538	632	2,170	29.12
2007–2008	1,459	725	2,184	33.20
2008–2009	1,435	725	2,160	33.56
2009–2010	2,019	602	2,621	22.97
2010–2011	2,093	617	2,710	22.77
2011–2012	2,089	601	2,690	22.34
2012–2013	2,079	617	2,696	22.89
2013–2014	2,078	618	2,696	22.92

Source: District Report Card, National University for Educational Planning and Administration, various years

since the 1980s when it was officially decided to discontinue teaching of English at the lower grades of elementary school; inequality in urban education increased manifold).⁴

Private schools are of course not new in Kolkata. A number of non-profit private schools used to impart education to the city's youth alongside the state schools in the past. But over time owners of private schools demanded government takeover of schools; they put pressure on the government to provide funding for teachers' salaries and other infrastructure development. School education was increasingly seen primarily as a state responsibility, even though the state itself remained quite deficient in providing universal access to education to the children of the city. What is new is a shift in that understanding; in particular for the upper and upper middle classes state schools have lost much of their relevance. Also, private schooling itself has undergone a transformation in that they are mostly for-profit ventures now. It is important to point out here that we do not observe a huge expansion of private

⁴There are some definitional issues here too. For example, official documents mention that some of the grant receiving schools, formerly known as private aided schools, especially those that get dearness allowance (DA), are re-defined as Departmental (i.e. state-run) schools. This acknowledged, state schools are still prominent in the urban landscape in the State of West Bengal, particularly when we take note of the schooling options of the underprivileged. According to the latest NSSO survey in 2014 (Government of India 2015), in urban West Bengal (city-specific data are not available) at all levels of school education the poorest income classes send their children mainly to government run schools (about 82–92%). In contrast, about 60% of the primary school going children from the richest income classes opt for private unaided schools in urban Bengal. At the post-primary level the corresponding figure is 38%, which declines further to less than 30% at the post elementary level. Again, it is well to point out that out of all the private unaided schools in Kolkata, nearly 50% are Bengali, Hindi or Urdu medium schools. Put differently, private unaided schools cannot be automatically taken to be English medium schools.

schools and their intake in Kolkata in the recent past. This of course cannot be straightforwardly taken to be a lack of predilection for private schools. Rather, we surmise that for-profit private schools in general remain outside the reach of less affluent parents in the city and that they largely depend on state schools for their children's education. This is the area that however needs a deeper probing. Of course, what is a widespread practice in the city is a near universal dependence of all sections of students – mediocre and meritorious – from all sorts of socio-economic backgrounds at every level of school education on supplementary private tutoring which is increasingly being viewed as 'essential' even to master the basics (Majumdar 2014). This is a private supplement of a different sort that weakens the relevance of school in the life of the student, except as a certification centre. This may also be viewed as 'choosing private education through the backdoor'.

In view of the general enthusiasm for school choice in urban areas, we may note that the recent focus on the right to access seems overshadowed by a strong passion for educational success; this passion is shared by parents, planners and the global pro-market educational think-tanks, generating in turn a penchant for individuated educational choice. The shift of focus from access to success also signifies a drift away from the rights discourse towards the one on private choice. The idea of choice becomes particularly meaningful when we take note of the educational aspirations and strategies of the upper middle classes and their role, owing to their social and political weight, in sculpting the discursive space of education (Nogueira 2010; Nambissan 2010). It is their educational imagination (or its instrumentalization), their definition of 'good education', which is internalized by disprivileged classes, leading to the production of homogenization and conformity of aspirations. Yet, at the same time, in a climate of intensified and class-based educational competition for access and success, the middle class strategy of 'concerted cultivation' (Laureau 2003) of their children's skills to succeed in their career which would then be a passport to the 'good' life, leads the wealthy parents to maximally use all sorts of resources and capital at their disposal – extra coaching, use of legitimate and less than legitimate means of admission into prestigious schools and colleges- 'bribery, jugarbazi...and other forms of backstage manoeuvring' to use the phrases of Drury (as quoted in Nambissan 2010), cheating and impersonating at examination halls and so on- to the advantage of their children's education and to the maintenance of their social status. A single-minded pursuit of such class strategies is bound to be self-maximizing and thus exclusionary and ultimately to be causing reproduction of inequalities.

This turns out to be a model of upper middle class control of the school system in the sense that it is their educational activism and strategies, and not just state initiated education policies, which shape the school system, its vision and functioning and the outcomes it yields. A number of scholars (Ball 2003; Nambissan 2010;

Donner 2008, among others) have compellingly argued in favour of acknowledging their role ‘as co-producer [along with the state] of [urban] educational reality’ (Nogueira 2010). Nogueira describes this phenomenon as the ‘rise of the educational “parentocracy”’. What is more, the upper middle classes of India have come under the sway of corporate capitalist thinking like never before (Chatterjee 2010). And the corporate and technocratic classes fancy top-down solutions; as a result their pairing with middle classes has impaired the growth of democracy (Mishra 2015).

It may be well to point out here that the proclaimed **centrality** and weight of parental means and modus operandi are important forces only in case of upper class parents. Parents who have a lot of money dominate over the teachers and school administration. Parents with meager means do not call the shots in matters of urban schooling- in securing either the educational access or success of their children. Also, even the active participation of the upper middle classes in the shaping of the education system on account of their social dominance (as Nambissan 2010 forcefully argues) is not totally independent of supply-side inducement. That is to say, parental choice and demand is often supply-induced demand. The education market offers all kinds of education services and products – starting from ‘smart’ technologies to test preparation kit to study guides, to branded uniforms and shoes to branded chain of private schools – and aggressively campaigns and even coercively mobilizes parents to opt for these services often in collusion with school authorities. Thus publishing houses, textbook and study guide markets, markets for branded school clothes and shoes all flourish, so much so that private agents are known to give generous gifts (read commissions) to school authorities in exchange for their endorsement of the marketed products. The larger aim is to make parents accept and internalize the underlying market model and logic of education itself.

Education entrepreneurs aggressively market their educational products and services to upper middle class residents of the city and consciously marshal and organize their participation in the education market. For example, the newspaper dailies, billboards, bus and railway stations, school walls, and even lamp-posts in the city of Kolkata are full of advertisements for various out-of-school privately paid supplementary services and learning materials. Marketing strategies also include face-to-face campaigns, as reported by a staff of a coaching centre in the city. For example, at a time when students sit for their annual or school leaving examinations and when as a result many parents throng at the school gates, paid agents of private coaching centres distribute leaflets soliciting parents to choose their centres for supplementary coaching for their children (Leaflet 1).

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20.4.2 Education as a Business Enterprise

Non-profit private schools, missionary schools, and privately managed community schools have been an integral part of the school education system in the city. At some point several of them were brought under the ambit of the governmental grants-in-aid system that assured their financial viability. The kind of high fee-charging private schools that have come into existence in more recent times are of a different genre. These are often called ‘five star’ schools, as they proudly advertise the comforts they offer, such as air-conditioned classrooms and school buses, swimming pools, rooftop synthetic turf for playing games and so on. A number of the ‘new’ private schools run on a business model in the city indeed boast of having such ‘jewels’ in their schools’ crown, as a schoolteacher has put it pithily. They also insist on their students getting branded schoolbags, shoes, ipads and so on. Gadgets like ‘smart boards’ and giant TV/Computer screens used for Q&A sessions are introduced in these schools through active promotion of such techno-savvy teaching-learning material by profit-chasing business companies. If aggressive advertisement is one side of the story, running like a business also means secrecy and surveillance. As a former teacher of a private school commented, many private schools in the city have installed biometric surveillance systems in the school, which she compared with a kind of a ‘machine’. A quick look at the websites of a number of ‘cream of the crop’ schools in the city reveals that a majority of them have been established fairly recently, in the late twentieth or early twenty-first century, signifying the arrival of a new genre of private educational institutions operating under a new model of education as an industry. Most of them have sprawling campuses and impressive school buildings; the architectural construction of these school buildings in a way shapes the construction of the subjectivity and identity of their students. Their websites proudly advertise the facilities they offer, such as the installation of CCTV throughout the school premises for safe and secure environment, amphitheatre, interactive smart boards, yoga rooms, children’s parks, fully air-conditioned classrooms, ergonomically suitable adjustable chairs for students (one school advertises that these chairs are ‘procured from West Germany’), free laptops for teachers, excursions to countries in Europe, and so on. Surprisingly, most of them have very little information on their websites about the profile of teachers who work there and their qualifications. A few of them mention that they have direct academic links with selected schools in the Global North. It is, however, hard to expect that these schools will have any contacts with those schools within the same city space that are physically nearer but socially distant in terms of their student profile. The annual school fees for a student in these corporate schools range from Rs50000 to Rs90000, whereas the annual per capita income of India stood at approximately Rs90000 in 2011, according to the Economic Survey 2011–2012 (The Hindu 2012). No doubt, only the affluent and the hyper-affluent can afford these ‘top’ schools.⁵

⁵The sample of schools for which the website analysis is done includes 19 schools.

Mushrooming of private coaching centres represents another dimension of the commercial and market model of education. There are a handful of very popular and highly expensive coaching centres that operate in the city; those who can afford the hefty fees charged by these institutions count them as must-enroll test preparation centres for admission into prestigious colleges. Getting their children enrolled in these centres is also a status symbol for many parents. The parents of more modest means also spend quite a lot on supplementary tutoring for their children to give them a competitive edge; and yet their children often remain trapped in low-grade schools as well as second-rate coaching centres. Where they face a real challenge relates to the acquisition of English language skills- the skills that are deemed essential for upward mobility in countries of the Global South (Thapan 2015). The 'respect and awe for the aristocratic virtue of the majestic English language' that Carnoy spoke about while discussing the cultural imperialist dimensions of the 'Anglicist policy' (as cited in Thapan 2015) resonates strongly with the parents of all social backgrounds in the city of Kolkata, including the working-class parents. Yet, their private efforts, enervated by the huge asymmetry of information under which they make their choices, more often than not yield unsatisfactory results.

20.4.3 Test-Intensive Education

Nowadays, there is a worldwide emphasis on student learning at each level of schooling, driven principally by various international agencies, which are advocating all kinds of performance indicators and measures for the purpose of educational evaluation (Carnoy 2007). Various international tests are being used as a standard to measure and compare student learning across nations (Darling-Hammond 2014-15). The dominant view is that to improve student scores we require more tests and more testing policies. Several educationists call it a kind of an 'obsession' with test scores (Ravitch 2014).

Many teachers internalize this obsession and respond to it by heavily relying on MCQs, which in turn are permutations and combinations of similar questions year after year, culled from question papers available in the market. The market that thrives around all these activities is described by a schoolteacher in Kolkata as a 'beehive'. It is indeed difficult to unravel the tentacles of this commercialized network.

Parents respond to these business practices in a rather resigned manner, with a TINA mentality. Preparation for entrance examinations starts very early in the life of a child, say, to gain admission into the kindergartens or first grade of a 'good' private school. As Drury observes, 'Exam culture' begins at age 3' (as quoted in Nambissan 2010). Also, parents and students sometimes join in protest marches if students are stopped from cheating. As an education administrator remarks, this is no longer a law and order problem but a social pathology.

How do the testing and technology industries respond? Starting from global players, such as the British corporation called Pearson, to local coaching centres, to

publishers of study guides—all are proactive in this field. A representative of one such popular publishing company in the city was waiting to meet the headmaster of a city-based corporation school during the time of our visit to leave samples of such guides with the school principal. Again, in Kolkata and its suburban areas there exist a number of branches of an institution called the Regional Institute of Competitive Examination (RICE) that prepare their students for all kinds of tests. This phenomenon spans across many countries. And in countries like China with a huge technological edge, “...companies sell answers and wireless cheating devices to students, and students engage in all sorts of elaborate cheating. In 2013, a riot broke out because a group of students in Hubei Province were stopped from executing the cheating scheme their parents purchased to ease their college entrance exam.” (as quoted in Ravitch 2014).

As Ravitch (2014), reviewing the work of Zhao on the school system in contemporary China, observes, the examination-based system rewards obedience, conformity and above all encourages ‘homogeneous thinking’, not critical thinking, curiosity and the ability to question and not comply with the authorities. Also, even though everyone in the race for higher scores wants to succeed on the highly competitive exams, few actually do. In fact, due to the lack of required resources the disadvantaged children suffer more from this systemic distortion and fail in greater numbers than their privileged peers. So educational thinking becomes more and more homogeneous; but there is no equalization of educational opportunities.

Self-maximizing individuated strategies of the upper classes of the society on the one hand and profit-maximizing operations of education entrepreneurs and industries on the other thus shape the contours of educational realities in the city to a large extent. The cross-class conformity of educational aspirations of parents is in fact a product of this dominant structural force. But does this entail a fair distribution of educational opportunities among children of all classes or castes? This is the question that I will now address, by focusing on the schools in the city and their spatial distribution, and more specifically on the role of schoolteachers – the routinely neglected and undervalued community in the school education system (Batra 2005; Kumar 1994) – in equalizing educational chances of their students irrespective of their social backgrounds. More concretely, to improve learning proficiencies of children from low-income households depends crucially on the quality of developing high-quality and socially engaged teacher education curriculum and training programmes, as also on whether schoolteachers are allowed to cultivate their professional skills by interacting and working together as a team rather than working in an environment of teacher isolation (Carnoy 2007; Darling-Hammond 2014–2015). Their ability to make a difference to the educational fortunes of the children suffering from multidimensional poverty and inequality requires conditions that enable them to develop the twin practices of professionalism and social justice activism (Majumdar 2011).

20.5 Are Schools Spatially and Socio-economically Stratified?

Lipman (2010) has drawn our attention to scholarship in critical geography which focuses on the 'spatial restructuring' of urban education occurring within the larger context of neoliberal urban restructuring. Among others, school closure, related in turn to issues of investment or disinvestment in schools, and inequality and unevenness in school funding etc. is one such rather extreme form of reconfiguration of schools. Admittedly, with the passage of the Right to Education Act, many new schools have been set up in different parts of the city to address the educational standards and norms required under the law. But in a brief survey of a few schools in selected neighborhoods in the city, we did come across some instances of school closure. These allegedly unviable schools, however, are precisely those that admitted homeless, street children. In one such instance, a municipal school housed in a small one-room structure that stood on the footpath itself has been pulled down. In its place now stands a small garden maintained by the same municipal corporation. Again, in some more affluent neighbourhoods there exist a few state schools that are not popular among the children of wealthy parents in those areas. And there seems to be a kind of veiled pressure on the authorities of such schools to close them down. For example, I found that a Bengali-medium state run school in a rather prosperous area of the city has been running for all these years from a rented school building on a 51-year long lease which came to an end in 2012. After years of litigation the school authorities have lost their case in the lower court and will probably have to vacate the building if the verdict in the higher court goes against the school. In the words of the school principal, the government is not taking much interest in this matter. There is a rumour circulating among the students and their parents that the school will close down in the not so distant future. The proximate causes that have created this uncertainty may appear to be straightforwardly legal, but the distal causes may have deeper connections with processes of urban property development. In a recent meeting of a group of primary teachers in the suburban areas of Kolkata (May 3, 2015), the participants expressed concerns about the declining rate of enrolment in a number of city-based state schools that may run into problems of viability in the near future.

In addition to a growing likelihood of closure of such 'unviable schools', we also find traces of the old or new geographies of schools in the city. Spatial mapping of schools and the underlying patterns of exclusion is of course a complex exercise that is not taken up here. Instead, a modest attempt is made to look at the distribution of the slum population of the city across its municipal wards in order to examine how these areas are placed in terms of the availability of state run and private schools, their respective student intakes, the extent of crowding in classrooms, and above all the proportion of enrolled students who belong to the Muslim community. This numerically large -roughly about 22% according to Census 2011 data- 'minority' population is known to be concentrated in the slum areas of the city and is known to suffer from various educational disadvantages.

It is evident from the figures presented in Table 20.2 that private schools are conspicuous by their relative absence in areas having relatively high concentration of

Table 20.2 Schools in 'Have-Little' and 'Have-Enough' areas in the city

(Municipal wards of the city classified by the proportion of slum population in the total (in %))	Share in total number of schools in the area (%)		Share in total enrolment in the schools in the area (%)		Share of Muslim students in total enrolment in govt. and private schools in the area (%)		Share in total enrolment of Muslim students in the area (%)	
	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private
Low (1.13–27.22)	73.0	27.0	73.3	26.7	8.7	2.9	89.2	10.8
Medium (28.17–60.38)	73.2	26.8	84.7	15.3	40.3	13.0	94.4	5.6
High (61.23–100)	78.6	21.4	88.2	11.8	30.0	2.4	98.9	1.1

The disaggregated data on ward-wise distribution of slum population in Kolkata is taken from Census 2011. The percentage share of slum dwellers in the total population of the municipal corporation of Kolkata as a whole is about 30%. School data are taken from UDISE 2012–2013. The proportion of Muslims in the total population of Kolkata is about 22% as per Census 2011. Each cluster mentioned in column 1 consists of 27 municipal wards. In 60 wards out of the total of 141, no slum population is recorded in the Census of 2011

slum population; perhaps these are not attractive destinations for profit-oriented private schools for obvious reasons. It is the state run schools that cater to the educational needs of the children in these low-income neighbourhoods. Importantly, government schools on the whole have a substantial share of school enrolment in the city across all types of neighbourhoods; and expectedly this share is much higher in the relatively depressed neighbourhoods. One can also deduce from the data that there is a high concentration of Muslims in slum dominated areas of the city, resulting in a higher proportion of enrolment of Muslim students in government school in these areas as compared to that in wards that have a lower proportion of slum dwellers. This is true, although less strikingly, for private schools also. But across the socio-economically stratified clusters of neighbourhoods that are under study here, a common pattern springs out of the data: school-going children from Muslim communities mostly attend state run schools, almost entirely in the case of the cluster having the highest concentration of slum population. The school education system in the city thus carries the marks of both social and spatial segregation.

If state run schools appear more accessible to unprivileged children, and if the state seems mindful of expanding education infrastructure in low-income neighbourhoods, intriguingly, on another side of the register, there are cases of governmental activism also in favour of for-profit private entrepreneurs who are active in the education sector. For example, the Government of India has recently launched a partnership programme called the Teacher Education through School-based Support in India (TESS-India) project. Its official website states, 'The TESS-India initiative

seeks to significantly improve the classroom experience of millions of pupils in elementary and secondary schools across India. The seven focus states for the first phase of the project are Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Assam and West Bengal.... It is working towards improving the quality of teacher education in India.’ It is important to keep in mind that the capital city of Kolkata in the State of West Bengal, like its counterparts in the other six States, serves as the nodal point between the government and this trans-local education entity led by The Open University in the UK, and is claimed to be funded by aid from the UK government.

The project apparently focuses on the professional development of teacher educators and teachers, and on the preparation of manuals that are to be distributed widely among schoolteachers who will then just follow in their classroom practices the pedagogic techniques and tools suggested by the ‘experts’. This is a recent urban education initiative, a plan for public private partnership that encourages a direct hand of private players in education policy, the actors who are not answerable to the public for their decisions that may have wide-ranging public consequences. Lipman (2010) describes such developments as ‘the intervention of the state on the side of capital’, while Harvey (2010) describes the same as ‘the integration of state and corporate interests’.

20.6 What Schoolteachers Can Do

There is continued theoretical debate on whether schools have ‘independent power’ (Apple 2002) in bringing about social change, especially in the midst of entrenched social inequalities. Contrarily, scholars have examined the ways in which school curriculum, classroom pedagogy and achievement evaluation norms and practices reproduce rather than reduce social inequalities. In juxtaposing these opposing views it is well to ask whether the school system is a fully ‘determined institution’ or whether it can have independent effects (Apple 2002; Thapan 2015). My argument leans in the direction of the latter, although admittedly its potential to alter exclusions and inequalities cannot be taken as inevitable or automatic. The schooling experiences of children from affluent and working-class backgrounds still socially position them differentially and unequally, especially when the school system becomes a drill-driven, test-centred tedium rather than an exercise in stimulating curiosity and critical thinking. The common tedium has a damaging effect on all children, but it hurts the disadvantaged children disproportionately as their parents are starved of all sorts of capital – from economic to social to cultural- to compensate for those systemic deficits. What schools can do is therefore a complex and contingent question, but a question that is worth repeating. At the risk of oversimplification, I focus here, albeit in a limited manner, only on one dimension of this multidimensional problem, and then ask to what extent and in what ways schoolteachers and their agency can make a difference to the lives of their pupils.

It is rather disheartening to note that there is a general sense of cheerlessness about state schools in many parts of the country; what is more, in several recent studies it is found that teachers working in government schools are unenthusiastic about the government school system, even though they have seen improvements in their working conditions, professional training and in school infrastructure, including the availability of libraries, books and teaching-learning material (Ramachandran et al. 2015). A part of their indifference is perhaps due to the fact that they are treated by the administration more as employees at the bottom of a hierarchical system than as part of a professional community (Majumdar 2011; Mooij 2008). This general neglect by the system of the community of teachers and their potential intellectual contribution and the neglect on the part of the teachers of their own professional role create a serious problem as far as the goal of improving the quality of education is concerned. This is because improving the quality of learning hinges squarely on improving the quality of teaching, and relatedly on the condition that disadvantaged and advantaged children get access to the similar quality of teaching support (Carnoy 2007). Put simply, do schools that cater to the poor suffer from poor quality of teaching? In his study on the Cuban school system, Carnoy shows that there is a fair distribution of ‘good’ teachers among rural and urban schools and among schools that serve either disadvantaged or advantaged children. This basic fairness principle is routinely violated in many developing countries even within the boundaries of the same city, resulting in ‘the polarization’ of teacher quality among schools. This is linked with related questions of pre-service teacher training programmes, support and monitoring by school administrators, and professional and collaborative connections between teachers themselves. And as scholars like Carnoy (2007), Darling-Hammond (in Collier 2011, 2014–2015) and Sahlberg (2012) compellingly argue these are the most crucial and perhaps the most difficult elements and conditions to achieve in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning, requiring sustained efforts and sizable investments. It is debatable whether the teacher support programme undertaken recently in Kolkata and West Bengal under the aegis of the TESS-India project mentioned above is likely to continue as a long-term sustained programme, and not just an ad-hoc intervention.

I will briefly focus on the teachers in corporation schools of Kolkata to address the problem of this ‘teaching gap’ and teacher distribution discussed above, and then ask to what extent they can close the learning gap of their students. The discussion in this section is based on two focus group sessions that were organized in two different locations of the city on June 14, 2015, and school-visits and observations conducted during June-August, 2015.⁶ Admittedly, in corporation schools, teachers have to deal with student poverty and social inequality on a first-hand basis; in the slum areas they also face larger class sizes. Some say, ‘we are child minders and not teachers’. The difficult background conditions indeed make the task of teaching that

⁶The focus group meetings were held at two separate teacher-training centres in the city. A recent attempt is apparently being made by the Department of Education to orient schoolteachers and improve their competencies to address ‘the educational and social needs’ of disadvantaged children.

much more difficult for these teachers. Many of them internalize a strong preference for test-intensive teaching-learning practices. Some also focus squarely on the problems that the first-generation students create for them, rather than focusing on what they themselves can do to help children learn the basics against many odds, prolong their school life expectancy and in the longer term ease their journey out of poverty.⁷ There are of course deeply reflective and positive counter-voices too.

In one group the drift of the argument focused on what working-class families do not do – train children to be clean, attentive, and well-behaved in class; see to it that they complete their home tasks etc. What these parents – day labourers and domestic servants – of first generation students lack in terms of their efforts was the essence of their conversation. In short, they stressed on the ‘home environment’ of the children as the ‘roots’ of their learning deficiencies. They were also critical of many incentive schemes- like distribution of free clothes and shoes to children from deprived backgrounds- that state schools have, since these make the children, they held, a permanent clientele of charity.

In the other group the focus was on what schools and schoolteachers can do to mitigate the effects of background conditions of these children that hold back their educational participation and obstruct their school completion. One of the participants claimed, ‘Even if we can educate only a few students this will be a contribution to the society’. They indeed deal with children some of whom have already lost part of their childhood; some of them at a very young age come to school by train; earn petty cash doing some odd jobs and are familiar with the adult world. One such student used to bring a knife and some other hazardous stuff to the class. The teacher narrated how she used to ‘buy’ such stuff from the student making small payments out of her own pocket, and how she gradually persuaded the boy not to bring those items and motivated him instead to continue with his studies. Now this boy is about to complete his school education. Several other participants voiced their optimism about the growing ‘awakening’ of working-class parents to the importance and value of acquiring education for their children.

Some of them deeply reflect on their pedagogic ideas and practices too. A teacher of a state school located in the suburb of Kolkata writes (Shiksha alochona, 27–28 May, 2015), ‘Many of us think that we teach and that is why a child learns. In this manner of thinking there is a strong sense of ‘I’. It is better that we get rid of such egotistical feelings, because even if we teach, a child learns in their own way. When there is a huge gap between my teaching and their learning there is a problem. This gap has to be reduced; teaching and learning need to go hand in hand. This complementarity has to be achieved.’ During our school visits, a handful of teachers, working with children from low-income backgrounds, stressed on their students’ eagerness to learn, and their involvement in classroom activities such as recitation of poems, group play, painting, and so on. Such teachers too were familiar with the ‘family constraints’ that many of their students grapple with and their disadvan-

⁷Teachers’ unions and associations that have played a prominent role in the State’s left politics for long have however not been adequately sensitive on the whole to the educational needs of the first generation students (Nambissan 2003; Majumdar 2011).

taged social position; and yet these teachers articulated their thoughts and efforts to reach out to these students. As one of them said, 'We try to give them special attention just like a private tutor does; we assess the level of their proficiency and ability and guide them accordingly; we sometimes give them extra lessons in off-periods'. Such remarks indicate a sense of purpose that these teachers have about their own profession and about the school system they are a part of.

Part of the problem why more teachers do not share their confidence and enthusiasm in reaching out to their pupils is that teaching or learning is being treated as an isolated activity, as 'bowling alone', rather than as a cooperative endeavour built on a network of collaborations and connections. And since teaching and learning are both effectively rendered individuated pursuits, failure is 'individualized' both for students and teachers, taking no cognizance of collective or systemic deficits. To put it differently, that teaching is a 'team sport' (Darling-Hammond in Collier 2011) is inadequately appreciated. Teachers develop professionally when they find time and scope to collaborate with other teachers to improve their own work, when the system allows them to form communities and share their expertise in a sustained manner, the benefits of which then percolate among students. Both in state schools and in privately managed schools, however, the formation of teacher communities is discouraged. In state school, and in any kind of public institution in general, a real aversion has developed vis-à-vis any kind of teacher unionization, especially in the current neo-liberal climate. Again, a conversation with a former academic coordinator of a private school in Kolkata (interviewed on May 27, 2015), whose task was to monitor teachers from the side of the management, revealed that private school managements do not quite encourage teachers to work as a 'homogeneous' group. This is both for disciplining purposes and to regulate circulation of information among them about the differentiated salary structure that the school has. What schoolteachers can achieve is therefore a political and contingent question, and not an inevitable process.

20.7 Rethinking Educational Purpose: From Test-Fetish to a Taste of Understanding

In her recent influential book Nussbaum (2010) expresses some deep concerns about a 'silent crisis' in education visible in all corners of the globe that expresses itself in the form of a predominantly commercial and profit-driven model of education that is bound to enervate rather than energize the idea of education as the school of democracy. As Nussbaum compellingly argues, education should inculcate among children the values for a democratic society which include the capacity to criticize oneself as well as the authorities, the ability to appreciate the socially heterogeneous character of the society in which one lives, and the capacity to develop 'imaginative sympathy' for others.

This therefore implies that education has to be an activity pursued in a predominantly non-profit system since it has to bend the arc of our imagination away from strictly self-regarding goals and towards 'collective and relational understandings of individuals and their societies', to borrow from Harvey (as quoted in Macpherson et al. 2014).

A re-examination of educational purposes is certainly linked up with reviewing the way in which the urban education community can develop 'assessments of deeper learning', to borrow the words from Darling-Hammond and Adamson (2013). It is this community that can, in principle, think of a more creative and innovative examination system that is fun for children and at the same time a helpful guide for teachers to assess students' abilities to think critically (Rampal 2013). The importance of the urban perception on these issues can hardly be exaggerated when we consider its wider effects on educational thinking in rural areas. It is, however, disconcerting that the urban education policy apparatus does not encourage involvement of schoolteachers in developing such innovative assessment practices, thereby supporting teachers' own professional learning. If education is, as Nussbaum (2010) argues, 'preparation for life', that too an 'examined life' which includes examination of oneself and one's social and citizenship obligations to the others as well as to the health of a democratic society, then it has to be different from a life full of examinations that only encourage mechanical, academically unchallenging, drills for higher test scores. A lot depends on how the twenty-first century city, especially its counter-hegemonic voice, addresses this first-order question.

In concluding, I revert back to the contextual specificities that define the city of Kolkata. While discussing its distinctiveness, Radharaman Mitra wrote in 1970, 'If you had made an effort to look at the full face of Calcutta you would have found not only diversity but varieties of contradictions in the city. Only one of her eyes smiles, the other is full of tears' (as quoted in Sinha 1987 p. 9). Do these contestation and contradictions of the city lose their force as the market emerges more and more as the fetish of our time? More specifically, does the school system in the city unequivocally mimic the market path of growth that is visible in several other cities in the country? In one view, this is indeed the case. It is felt that there is a kind of urgency among the middle classes, let alone among the elite, for private schools. It is believed that the city is a latecomer in the marketization phase of the education sector; the market has just started responding to the seemingly growing appetite for private English medium schools. And one indication of this slow but certain transition is the expanding market at the pre-primary and primary level of education in the city. Its distinctiveness therefore seems to lie in the fact that it is a late starter in an otherwise unidirectional trail of progress of the education market.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Kolkata played a critical role in the radicalization of politics in Bengal, as discontented middle class students went into a phase of protest and revolt. They sought alliances with marginalized groups in rural Bengal with an aim to create a movement to build another kind of society. No doubt, that radical spirit has lost some of its vigour over time, especially at a time when the contemporary urban experience is surrounded with an aura of the 'liberating' force of the market. Yet, resistance struggles against market-induced dispossession and

eviction are reported in some parts of the city. Similarly, there are a few counter-examples of non-profit models of education delivery that are functional in the city.

It is therefore possible to look at the educational experience in Kolkata through a somewhat more intricate and rounded lens. To put it more specifically, what seems to characterize the urban educational experience in the city is a kind of jostling and contestation, if not contradiction, of competing and opposing forces. The growth path of the school system in the city that I have tried to chart out here attests to this contention. While the private education sector appears to have gained some ground in the cityscape, parallel attempts to energize and improve the state run schools are also evident. And since for the underprivileged children of the city, state schools are practically the only 'entry pass' into the world of education, egalitarian and quality reforms in these schools are a first-order social justice imperative. As a corollary, it is essential to exercise a collective right to the city, to conduct public debates and action to shape educational imagination and the grand direction of education, and above all to act not as consumers but as citizens belonging to a collective community.

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Chapter 21

The City, Education and Social Mobility: Women's Narratives from Delhi

Divya Vaid

21.1 Introduction

The Indian city has been a central part of conversations and debates on access to space, mobility aspirations, and in the articulation of goals and fears both before, and in the context of, the era of liberalization (Prakash 2010; Vaid 201b). For women especially, city spaces while providing some element of freedom are constraining in other ways and, identities such as caste and class location mediate with gender where access to the city is concerned (Phadke et al. 2011). For some, in cities we find an increasing “polarisation along class, gender and ethnic lines” (Banerjee-Guha 2007, p. 262). More recently, the city as a site of increased equalities of opportunity in educational and occupational choices or conversely of reproduction of inequalities and barriers to mobility has been emphasised in debates on class and social mobility (Fernandes 2006; Brosius 2010; Krishna 2013; Harvey 2008; Beteille 1991 on the family and reproduction of inequality). Here as well women's trajectories and experiences of mobility are found to be distinct from that of men, though other identities such as caste and class can mediate this difference (Vaid 2014b).

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This chapter focuses on one city – Delhi – and explores the experiences of young women in relation to education, work, aspirations and being in the city. Delhi is India's capital and one of the largest growing metropolitan regions in the world. In the post-independence period following the partition of India in 1947 there was an influx of a large number of refugees from West Pakistan to the city, as well as an out-flux leading to major demographic changes (Zamindar 2007). Since then, Delhi has also been a major centre for migrants who come to the city for its range of educational institutions as well as job opportunities. This combination makes Delhi a 'melting pot' of people from all parts of the country (Kumar 2004) and across the region. More recently, the National Capital Region (NCR) that includes and surrounds Delhi and in effect extends Delhi to the neighbouring states of Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, has grown substantially to absorb the rising population in the city (National Capital Region Planning Board n.d.). This expansion, with a daily movement of people for work within the NCR, has had important ramifications on the social life in the city. This movement has been made easier by the expansion of the network of fly-overs, connecting highways, and the metro. Not only is the distance and time needed to commute between place of work and the home changing, the differential access to resources is also seen in the increasing residential segregation seen in the city with those in the aspirational middle class withdrawing into their enclaves with further ramifications for women (Fernandes 2006; Donner 2011; Unni and Rani 2007).

Delhi has always been a site for opportunities of education and social mobility. While the city hosts preeminent and elite state sector institutions, the private sector in higher education has also grown in recent years across the city and in its outskirts. This has consequently drawn a growing population of those who wish to pursue an education to the city. In the theories of modernization as well as in everyday imagination, education is expected to play a critical role in creating opportunities for social mobility (Vaid 2014b; Vaid and Heath 2010; Treiman 1970). Through education, the link between social origins and destinations is expected to weaken, leading to assumptions of increased opportunities for the advancement for anyone who can achieve the requisite education and skills. Given the opportunities for education available in Indian cities, the city itself as a site for education and social mobility becomes crucial. This picture of increased possibility of social mobility due to education is complicated by gender. Critically, however, research on social mobility opportunities and educational experiences has tended to focus on men (Jeffrey et al. 2004; Jeffrey 2010; Kumar et al. 2002), while the experience of women has been only tangentially referred to. Furthermore, literature on aspirations too has been limited to studying young men (for an exception see Raju and Baud 2007). Some work has hinted that women in India display a distinctive pattern of occupational stability (compared to the more fluid picture in industrialised nations on which data exists, Vaid and Heath 2010). However, in a recent study for Delhi, at the level of the metropolitan city, there are hints that women's rates of intergenerational social mobility (when compared to father's occupation) are greater than that of men (Vaid 2014b), though there are increased anxieties around safety and negotiating a gendered urban space, highlighting the specificity of the city. Does the experience

of education and the aspirations associated with education and work underlie such findings?

Unlike other major metropolitan cities, namely Mumbai and Kolkata, Delhi was considered a political capital lacking the histories of commercial activity and labour migration seen in the former cities. This has changed following economic liberalization with the expansion of industry and commerce in the city and especially in the NCR. While this has increased the job market possibilities it has also subsequently followed neo-liberal economic trends of an increasingly insecure job market where contract and informal labour is on the rise leading to heightened precariousness and anxieties (Raju and Baud 2007; for more on the anxieties faced by the middle class in one city in the south of India see Dickey 2012). This increased contractual work has also begun to replace historically secure permanent jobs in the public sector (a sector that has a prominent place in Delhi).

These two changes, following the neo-liberal turn, of increased privatisation and informalisation along with the withdrawal of the public sector, have led to a shift in the class structure, especially in the composition of the middle classes (Fernandes 2006) with consequent ramifications on changing educational demands in mushrooming private educational institutions that are now geared toward jobs in the private sector (see contributions in Shaw 2007). In this context, it is critical to examine the experiences of young women in higher education and in the labour market in light of the avenues that have opened to them, though these do not always lead to secure positions, while family responsibilities and issues of security still constrain their access.

While cities have been sites of increased mobility and opportunities for both women and men, what makes Delhi distinct is that in actual practice very few women are in the active labour force according to national statistics (Directorate of Economics and Statistics 2014). This is discussed further in the penultimate section of the paper. However, despite this low participation, with recent economic changes, a change in women's aspirations for education and work is expected (discussed later). Further, education (especially English language education) has been seen as an important avenue for upward mobility not only through work but through marriage as well (Munshi and Rosenzweig 2006) as those with higher education, in particular English proficiency, have different trajectories both in terms of work choices and in terms of marriage choice. In this context, have the increased possibilities of education available to women led to a shift in their social mobility aspirations and approaches to work, in their expectations and mobility experiences in the city?

Critically, while on the one hand Delhi is seen as a site of opportunity for both women and men, on the other hand, more recently Delhi has become notorious as the "rape capital" of the country (with "18.63 reported rapes for every 1 lakh women¹" in 2014 according to National Crime Records Bureau statistics (Rukmini 2014)), and as a city considered generally unsafe for women. In this context how do

¹ 1 lakh = 100,000.

women, both those originally from Delhi and migrants to the city, view their place in the city?

In this chapter I am especially interested to consider whether education and occupational status influence women's relation to the city. Especially, whether there are diverse pathways through which women from different classes, castes and occupational locations view and approach the city. This chapter will hence explore the significance of a metropolitan "city" for increased mobility opportunities for women. This chapter is based on interviews and conversations with a range of working women with varied educational qualifications across different socio-economic strata. The chapter will consider their narratives and unpack the experiences of women and how we understand the city through their lived experiences.

21.2 Data and Method

This paper draws on interviews with 15 employed women below the age of 35 working in Delhi.² In-depth interviews were conducted in April–May 2015; with some interviews conducted over more than one sitting. A series of questions on family histories, educational experiences across generations, work experience, marriage and experiences of living, studying and working in Delhi were explored. The purposive selection of the women allows us to ensure a representation of a variety of voices across various strata (with the usual caveat regarding non-random sampling and selection bias especially as the views are clearly of women who are engaged in the labour market and not of women outside the labour force).

Table 21.1 provides details on the demographic characteristics of the women interviewed. We can see that a variety of employment and work statuses, education levels, caste and religious affiliations are covered by the study. The respondents have been arranged by occupational status to provide some conceptual leverage on categories of work. Given that employment status (contract, permanent, self-employed), employment relations (labour versus service contract) and occupation have repercussions on an individual's life-chances (Breen 2005), one of the primary criteria for the selection of respondents was based on occupational location.

More than half the women interviewed (8 of the 15) counted Delhi as their permanent home, of whom 5 were born and raised in Delhi, and one moved back to Delhi after being away a few years. Those who came to Delhi from outside had been in Delhi anywhere between 9 months and 20 years.

With regard to work, 73% of the women were in full-time work; while the remaining 27% were engaged in part-time work (of those in part-time work, two women were students working part-time in teaching positions). The study captures

²The reason for restricting the sample selection to those aged below 35 was to capture women recently out of education and those already making a place in the labour market as by 35 young people are expected to have entered the labour market and also to have achieved "occupational maturity" (Goldthorpe and Erikson 1992; Vaid and Heath 2010)

Table 21.1 Details of respondents interviewed

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Caste	Religion	Marital status	No. of children	Migrant status/years in Delhi
Bimla	29	BA	Administrative assistant (contract)	ST	Hindu	Engaged	0	Migrant/7 years
Vishali	28	MBA	Administrative assistant (contract)	General	Hindu	Single	0	Non-migrant
Sabina	27	MPhil	School teacher (senior grades) (contract)	–	Muslim	Single	0	Migrant/14 years
Lata	23	BA	School teacher (primary grades) (contract)	OBC	Hindu	Single	0	Non-migrant
Sana	28	MPhil	Adhoc teacher (university level) (contract)	Ansari	Muslim	Single	0	Migrant/5 years
Shanti	32	9th standard school	Custodial/janitorial (contract)	SC	–	Married	2	Migrant/8–10 years
Nita	29	12th standard school	Domestic worker (informal/no contract)	SC	Hindu	Married	0	Non-migrant
Fatima	34	10th standard school	Tailor (informal/no contract)	–	Muslim	Single	0	Non-migrant
Jhanvi	34	12th standard school	Beauty parlour owner (self-employed)	General	Hindu	Married	2	Migrant/20 years
Ritika	29	BA	Architect (self-employed)	General	Hindu	Married	0	Migrant/from NCR
Mina	25	MA	Coaching (self-employed)	General	Hindu	Married	1	Non-migrant
Puja	30	BA	Catering-packaged food (self-employed)	–	–	Engaged	0	Non-migrant
Jaspreet	31	BA/LLB	Lawyer (self-employed)	Jat	Sikh	Single	0	Migrant/10 years
Shivani	29	MA	Banking – public sector (permanent)	General	Hindu	Married	1	Migrant/2 years
Sarla	25	BA	Banking – public sector (permanent)	OBC	Hindu	Single	0	Migrant/9 months

Note: All names have been changed

Age is reported in completed years as on interview date in April 2015

Education in completed grade/degree. Two respondents with MPhil degrees are currently pursuing their PhDs

Contract refers to time-bound contract that is not permanent

Religion as reported by respondent; Hindu castes aggregated to the Constitutionally recognised categories of SC Scheduled Castes, ST Scheduled Tribes, OBC Other Backward Classes. Castes in other religions as reported by respondent

Non-Migrants are those born in Delhi. This also includes one respondent who identified as permanently living in Delhi though not born in Delhi, and another one born in Delhi but educated outside for a few years before returning to Delhi

a range of locations in the labour market with three women in permanent positions (two of whom were employed in the public sector), six women holding contractual positions, three women engaged in the informal sector, and three self-employed women (one of whom worked in her husband's coaching centre). These women are employed in a broad spectrum of occupations: from lawyers, teachers, established and struggling entrepreneurs, domestic workers to skilled labourers. There is a clear diversity with regard to the educational attainment of the respondents with two women having dropped out of school by the tenth standard, and two women studying for their PhDs. Further, these women come from across religious and caste strata.

This chapter engages with the narratives of these women and maps their various trajectories though it does not attempt to draw any generalisations to the larger Delhi population. The chapter is organised as follows: the next two sections discuss the value and significance placed on education and the pathways to education, followed by a section that explores ways in which education is accessed and the role of the family and gender, the section after that studies the relation between education, work and gender, followed by a section on the "city"; the final section concludes.

21.3 Education: Its Value and Significance

Three key narratives regarding the significance of education are seen: education for survival; education for making choices; and education as providing a 'voice'. All three of these have significant repercussions in women's lives and play out differently depending on their social location as reflected in the discussion below.

Firstly, education is essential for surviving in the city. A minimum level of education is seen as necessary to negotiate everyday life in the city, from work, to economic transactions, the traffic and to public transport (Chanana 1993). Hence, as mentioned by the respondents, education ensures that one knows which bus to catch, which forms to fill in a bank and how to negotiate ones place in the public and especially in the job market. For women, given the nature of the marriage market and the socialisation roles imagined for them by their families, having an education in the city has a further advantage. The significance of these basic literacy skills should not be over looked. They provide a sense of confidence as strongly expressed by the respondents, especially by those with lower levels of education; and, this seems critical for survival in a large metropolitan city. Further, in the context of the labour market (and to an extent the marriage market) the significance of English language education, or at least a working knowledge of English, was stressed by these young women (I return to this point later in this section). English connects one to a broader clientele, and more job opportunities.

Additionally, education is seen to generally change the way of thinking, as Shanti, a 32 year old custodial worker who dropped out of middle school put it "... their way of thinking, of the upper class people, of the educated people, is different". She went on to stress that "those who are not educated have a smaller world

view/a narrower way of thinking". Education as a means of broadening ones horizons of learning how to 'be' in the world is critical. The obverse, a possible critique of the educated/upper-classes from the middle class has been reported by others (see Dickey 2012) though the women interviewed for this study did not engage with those narratives.

Secondly, education is critical for making choices. For Sabina, a 27 year old part-time school teacher, as someone who is educated she is "more aware of the opportunities that [she] would have and [she] can make better choices". This is connected to the idea of independence – a very common narrative is the belief that education frees one from the dependence on others; education gives "power". Importantly, independence is seen in terms of significant life decisions, and education goes a long way in giving women the "power" to make those decisions. This was highlighted by Ritika, a young architect, who observed a close female family member go through a divorce and surmised that the only thing that helped her relative recover and support her children was education; and, the choices education gave her to "stand on her own".

Finally, this independence is seen to influence both the familial life (the private sphere) and the women's relation to the world outside (the public) (Arendt 1958). For instance, it not only influences women's ability to make decisions on when to come and go from a house, but significantly it influences one's "reputation" within the home as "educated women's voices are not suppressed" (according to Sana, an adhoc University lecturer), and that educated women can be seen as more than "household property" (according to Fatima, a tailor).

21.4 Education: Pathways to Change

The acquisition of education as we understand it is usually seen to involve a formal trajectory – for example, through some form of formalised schooling. However, education, if seen as forms of knowledge, can also be acquired through everyday experiences and encounters. When asked about their education experience these young women most often stated the grade till which they had formally studied. However, delving deeper, stories of how "jaankari" (information) is acquired from more than formalised schooling, for example through the experience of volunteer work when interacting with NGOs,³ by acquiring information on sexual and reproductive health in discussions with organisations, by learning about rights of women, and by teaching oneself English by watching day time television came out. In sum, the women in the study acquired what they described as "education" or "jaankari" (information), through direct degrees, diplomas, distance education, as well as through official and on-the-job training, through NGOs, and interestingly through

³In the context of non-formal education and its role in women's education, "feminist action" and empowerment see Stromquist (2015, p. 60).

watching television. This ‘jankari’ then is significant for these women to locate their place within the city.

Not only are there multiple pathways to acquiring education, there is a clear sense that living in Delhi provides an edge that would not be available outside. The city then seems to be a space of ‘imagined possibility’, especially given the ‘frame of reference’ of villages and smaller cities.⁴ Hence, education is not merely limited to formal institutional education, but includes both literacy, and experience and education as “capital” (Bourdieu 1986). As Fatima, a 34 year old tailor, succinctly put it:

if you learn how to read and write (*parh likh kar*) you get a lot of information/knowledge (*jaankari*) that sitting at home does not give us.... when we go out, when we see the world and when we study, only then we understand where and how we should sit, how we should get up, how we should talk, so we get a lot of information about all sorts of things.... and sitting at home one’s mind is shut off, we do not understand anything other than cooking and feeding.⁵

This gives an expansive understanding of how education is seen. It is beyond “reading and writing”; it helps one to understand the world, to understand a public space as opposed to simply the private sphere. It seems to underline in particular how education allows one to enter into the public sphere and achieve more than what is expected from women in the private sphere (from domestic responsibilities). In these interviews the distinction between the public and the private was subtly expressed; and, education was the means to bridge the gap.

Further, these women saw education as a means of achieving some sort of “gender parity” at home and at work. At one level, women’s education helps them achieve some level of parity with men at home (discussed in the next section) and women with an education are seen as an asset in the household not only as they can help educate their children, but also as they may be able to draw upon job opportunities (see Gupta 2014 for more on “ethos” and role of women in the home). The latter allows women to also engage at the public level and is a means of achieving increased social mobility opportunities by participating in a larger world.

Related to the idea of the public, education is also seen as critical for “exposure” to the world – it teaches one how to interact with people who are most probably dissimilar and helps opens the mind and broadens the horizons. Hence, education is important for breaking stereotypes; this was further expressed by the respondents who have experienced university level education in Delhi. Studying in large universities in Delhi has opened them to a “secular” environment where they have a chance to meet and interact with people from all over the country and the world, opening them to ideas beyond what they experienced in schools or in education institutions outside Delhi. Conversely, some interviews seemed to suggest that those who do not have education (human and cultural capital) are often looked down upon as people who lack “information” on how to “behave”. For instance, a young woman in a

⁴ I thank Geetha Nambissan for this point.

⁵ Translated from the Hindi.

secure banking job felt that for people who are unable to get their kids educated it means that “their lifestyles (gesturing with her hand) are low”.

This brings us to a discussion on the ways in which education allows women to make use of two values associated with education: ‘survival’ and ‘choice’ (discussed earlier). While the importance of education was stressed by all the respondents, the role of education for survival has evolved. As seen above, education is essential to ‘be’ in the world (for example see Heidegger 1962). However, where the usefulness of education is concerned, while most women expressed the view that it lead to choice and independence in the job, a couple of them seemed to suggest that the value of education for women seems to extend to their role or responsibility of socialisation of the children, and for household maintenance. As Chanana (1993) summarised “even women’s wider access to education was unable to overcome the influence of socialisation” (p. WS30) and in studies she reported education rather than breaking the mould, seemed to lead to the “formation of a particular type of identity” (ibid.). It is of interest that this is not the predominant view among these young women – rather the dominant role of education is seen to be the broadening of horizons and opportunities of working and negotiating their space in the outside world. Further, it was felt that men and women in a relationship should be equally educated as otherwise one can “look down upon” the other and need not treat the other with respect. A gap in “thinking” can have negative repercussions for a couple (according to Nita, a domestic worker). Chanana (1993) underlined a similar idea that “Husbands appeared to be less aggressive when their wives were educated” (p. WS30).

So, while education provides independence and freedom, it also has value in the job market for survival as ‘capital’. This is seen as critical in Delhi as education provides the means to participate in the new economy; especially, as many of the expanding sectors and jobs are in the lower end of the service economy which requires some rudimentary education and some amount of cultural capital including knowledge of English (Bourdieu 1986).⁶

The absence of adequate education is looked on with regret. This regret was most often stressed by women who did not complete their schooling. This regret is compounded for these women in the context of their lives in Delhi (both for migrants and non-migrants to the city). But, as we see in the following discussion the ‘location’⁷ of these women in terms of their class and occupation influences their views on the importance of education (see also Raju and Baud 2007). Hence, for these women the value of education with regard to work was felt differently at different

⁶For example, English language skills, work and personal etiquette and grooming, rather than qualifications alone play an important role in the hiring process, as does coming from a ‘good family’ which is a cover for other factors such as caste, class and urban education (Jodhka and Newman 2010).

⁷Despite questions on caste and their experience of caste in the city, these women did not discuss caste as either constraining or facilitating opportunities. This cannot be taken to imply that caste is not important in the city, but rather that conversations on caste with a relatively unknown researcher may not be considered politically correct in the city. For more on caste and occupation/labour market see Vaid (2014a).

social locations. For instance, women at lower level positions felt that education would have allowed them to rise above their current jobs. Shanti, a custodial worker who dropped out of school after grade 9 and was married by 16, felt that if she had studied when there was a chance “we would have been saved from cleaning dirt”. On the next day she went on to elaborate this point when she said that if she had studied she could have had

a job that needed reading and writing, a job in which one could sit on a desk.... I now regret it. My father used to tell us to study, but we didn't study, he even hit us at times to make us study. He used to work in a school, in a college, and he was aware of what 'good people' (*acche log*) did, but none of us listened to our father. At that time I used to feel very bad that he is always after us for studying. But, now I really regret it and realise that my father was right. My mother never told us to study as she was illiterate herself, but my father was slightly educated, and then he sat among good people, among teachers, he had some good knowledge, he is an intelligent man.

This was echoed by Nita, a domestic worker, who believes that if she had stuck it out in school, she may now have had a better life, a better job, a better home. However, we find that among women with an undergraduate education and above, the emphasis on the value of education shifts to the value of English language education. In this regard 'English speaking' has a further decided advantage in the job market. For instance, according to Jhanvi a beauty parlour owner, missing out on a university education and the absence of adequate English knowledge has not only been a hurdle in negotiating with clients, but for her this absence is framed as an issue of dignity and confidence. A sense of humiliation when clients “talked down to her” in English and her inability to respond was felt deeply by her. Her strategy of coping with this has been to train herself to understand basic English by watching television shows. Further, this absence of an adequate grasp of English is seen strongly among the women working in the government sector, such as in banking jobs, as absence of English makes one less employable and less able to negotiate promotions.

While these issues of English language are also closely connected to issues of social class – i.e. as shared experience of an aspiring middle class – this is also an issue of gender as women require these skills to negotiate the world without being dependent on others in the family. The usefulness of English is seen not only where the relation with the job market is concerned, but also by women in their daily lives. Fatima for instance expressed her pride in understanding enough English to fill in bank papers and to not get lost while taking the bus.⁸

Clearly, education and its role in everyday life and at work is critical for women. However, this role is also mediated by women's other locations – especially their class position as seen in the previous discussion. This comes out even more prominently in conversation with Puja who sees herself as 'privileged' due to the family

⁸ We also see that the possession of English skills seems to alleviate some of the discrimination faced by migrants from the North East of the country to Delhi. The interviews found support for McDuire-Ra's work (2012) on how these migrants made a “home” and “place” in Delhi taking advantage of neoliberal growth especially in the services industry.

she comes from and the choices she has had. Puja is an entrepreneur running a packaged foods business with her partner who provides the financial assistance, while she manages the day-to-day running of the business. Rather than education being transformative she sees her education in Delhi as limiting and constraining. She came to Delhi to do her BA. As someone who has studied in international schools in India and lived and travelled abroad with her parents, studying in Delhi (at a premier University) was a huge disappointment and the reason why she did not pursue further education after completing her undergraduate studies: “coming back to an Indian system kind of really ruined it for me.... it was a very stifling environment.... rote learning is a big thing you know.... even when I was in [an expensive private] school... I have struggled with it.... which is why I enjoyed my American schools so much more because you get an understanding.... it's not memorising.... so that way college was a huge disappointment for me. Because, even if you try to question your professors, they got angry and.... I have had my professor say that, you know, anybody except her can raise their hands, so it was a lot of discrimination.... it's a huge regret, the education was very bad”. She was thus convinced that her professional trajectory would have been different if she had not gone to a University in Delhi.

Unlike, as discussed above in the context of ‘exposure’, for other university educated women who were interviewed, there was a clear sense with this young businesswoman that the opportunities that she had when younger were much broader and only a pressing personal reason meant that she could not go abroad and study – there was a sense that studying in Delhi paled in comparison with the broader canvas of opportunities that could have been available to her. This further brings out the heterogeneities within women and the diverse nature of their experiences regarding education given their social location. While overwhelmingly education is seen as important, there are also voices of dissent regarding the extent to which education can help with decision-making for women. According to Vishali, an administrative officer, women do not always have a clear choice, and even the decisions they make may often be influenced by their families. This leads us to look at the ways in which education is accessed and the role of the individual and the role of the family (see also Raju and Baud 2007 for choices around vocational education and the job market).

21.5 Ways of Accessing Education

Education has been seen as significant for women or men to achieve their potential. However, the desire to study is mediated by both financial constraints and constraints of family life. In the case of women, the ‘family’ clearly plays a key role in their opportunities. When it comes to the decision to study, including the length of study, and the subjects to study, the critical push factor for these young women was most often their family, followed by financial resources. For some women, the need to earn and support their family was the critical reason for their dropping out of school.

And, for some others, the desire to earn money, and get a good job was the predominant factor for their acquisition of higher education. This further highlights that social and financial locations are important for education decision-making.

Compounding the financial constraints, the role of the family is seen as critical for education. Significantly, in my interviews it emerged that while father's seemed to be fairly supportive of education,⁹ it was the mothers who seemed to impress on their daughters the value of education.

As discussed by Chanana (1993) in her study on multi-generational Punjabi women in Delhi in the context of the experiences of partition, mother's had a key role to play in pushing their daughters to higher education. Chanana found that

[i]nterestingly, women in general, wanted their daughters to be educated, and with the same or slightly differing motivation. They viewed getting a degree as crucial for, this would enable them to get jobs in contingencies. It need not immediately lead to employment. Further, those who had to become economically dependent after Partition were very keen that their daughters should not have to face a similar situation. They argued that daughters were unlikely to get the support of their brothers in the changed social situation when joint families were disintegrating. Therefore, they should be educated to become economically independent to face crises. (Chanana 1993, p. WS30)

We find, that in agreement with Chanana's (1993) observation there is a lingering sense of "gender appropriate education" for the young women in the present study as well (discussed further below). Families follow specific strategies for their daughter's education for not only economic benefits, but also in terms of "status production" (WS30). Further, as seen in Chanana's quotation above, education is looked upon as something that would help in the employment market and beyond.¹⁰

21.6 Education and Work

Education at one level prepares women to work; and, to work on par with men. However, on another level the value of education can be undercut by gendered family and work expectations.¹¹

The influence of mother's opinions was felt strongly, as was its gendered dimension. For instance, for Vishali, a young administrator who comes from a business family, while there was a sense that her parents were not biased about education between herself and her brother, underlying this was a feeling that the kind of education is gendered due to the gendered idea of what work a woman would do.

⁹This was true even for the respondent who was married at 16. But, while her father encouraged her to study, her marriage was non-negotiable. For her, her dropping out of school was due to her own lack of interest and due to discrimination she faced at school, and not due to parental pressure.

¹⁰As the present study did not interview mothers, their views on education could only be imputed by what the daughters related.

¹¹For a discussion on the 'choice' of subjects enrolled in/disciplines in which women predominate, and changes in these patterns over-time, see Chanana 2007 (also see Raju and Baud 2007).

Her mother, she said, put more pressure on her to study and do an MBA while this pressure was not put on her brother as he was expected to inherit the family business which would not be an option for her: "They were not biased.... they were not biased at all.... they were quite okay with whatever we want to do.... but, in my case being a girl my mother wanted that I should have the highest education qualification [rather] than my brother.... he can do the business, but she wanted me to have a good qualification".

When exploring the idea of gender bias, this narrative becomes significant. So, while education prepares one to work on par with men in theory, and there is in a sense a 'promise' of the chimera of "choice" that comes with education, this is in practice undercut or limited by gender. So, while education purports to liberate, by itself it does not liberate and as Fuller and Narsimhan (2008) have shown, all choices are "negotiated".

Going back to Vishali, when she was asked whether it helps women and men equally to have the same level of education, her answer was an emphatic "No". She emphasised that while we may imagine that women can study as much or more than men, there are hurdles that need to be crossed: "The work profile may have hurdles in qualification thing.... boys can do any kind of job, I mean... as far as family is concerned.... they will never allow girl for the marketing kind of job or sales which involves door to door marketing. They will not allow after getting the same qualification, but the boy can go for [any]thing.... time is changing but somewhere down there is still the same thinking, the family thinks.... girls should not work late at night.... she should be home by 9; but, boys can be home at 11–11.30. If they were working in a BPO they could be home early in the morning as well [sic]".

As discussed previously, for some women their choices in terms of education and career were quite openly supported by their parents; while some others had to work hard to convince their parents. For women who come from families where older siblings are educated, and parents have high levels of education (especially mothers education), doing a BA was considered to be the minimum and the choice to drop out after school doesn't exist (a majority of these women now work in the formal sector, or are self-employed). This encouragement to study from parents was especially emphasised by Sabina, a Muslim teacher, whose parents felt that "it's really important and especially for Muslim girls to get an education". On being questioned why they feel this way, she replied: "All of us know as a minority Muslims, not just that they are minority but otherwise also the education status of Muslims, both men and women, is pretty low in the country. And I think that's why, and now that we are in a 'place' [implying secure position], now you could achieve something.... through education only. And, if you are not aware of what is around then you can't actually have a serious strong say in the society. So, I think for Muslims especially to have a voice it is quite important. Not just for the community, but also for the individual members who are there". However, for some women who came from outside Delhi, convincing their families that they needed to study further met with stiff resistance especially as living in Delhi is looked upon with suspicion given its reputation as unsafe for women.

While most women interviewed were encouraged to study (at least till school completion), the application of that education in the types of jobs that they can do and the hours they can work is still mediated by the family. Further, women are expected, without that always being openly stated, to take care of the home and the family. The experience of the “dual burden” is very real for these women. For instance Vishali expressed her frustration on the inequality faced in the home as her brother is not expected to help with household chores, while she has to despite spending a full day at work: “I think a man being a man he doesn’t have that sense.... that he has to do household work or something like that.... maybe we inculcate the thing since childhood in them.... you don’t have to work when the girl is working”.

So, on the one hand, for some women, to be able to work was decided in negotiations with the family, for others ‘not working’ was not an option. Either financial constraints of their families and everyday survival forced some women into work, while for others work was a ‘given’: as Puja stated, “If not work, then what?!”. Similarly, there are diverse aspirations connected to work. For some, a job provides opportunities to grow and earn better. For others working gives a sense of freedom mirrored in the earlier discussions on the importance of education. Further, a woman who brings an income to the home gets respect from all family members: “when a woman has money with her, then her uncle, her brother, her father even, all of them respect her.... they all greet her.... they all bless her; and when the need arises then they demand the right to borrow money from her” (Fatima).

However, there is a downside to women’s participation in work. There is a strong sense (especially among those in the corporate sector) that while women are highly educated they are not able to achieve the highest occupational positions due to “male dominance”; they get passed over for promotions (though Shivani and Sarla, both women in the public sector did not support this view and felt that promotions etc. are gender neutral). More critically, there are disadvantages for women that are more subtle than outright gender inequality on the job – which has more to do with the practicalities of some jobs as seen in the discussion on ‘time’ (below). According to Vishali whose family she feels sees “marketing or sales work”, or running a business as risky for women, there is still a lingering sense that certain jobs are meant for women and conversely some jobs are best left to men. This is emphatically put by Puja working in a male-dominated field of cold food production and catering:

So, I remember the first time I went to my cold storage, like, all their jaws dropped, because I don’t think a woman had walked into it; and I remember the first day somebody from the factory had come with me, like he is basically my manufacturer Man Friday and he was very upset. So I asked,.... ‘*kya ho gya*’ (what happened?) and he was like, ‘*nhi nhi nhi, aise nhi aacha lagta*’ (‘no no no, it doesn’t look good like this’), you get a guy to [like] do all this for you. So I was like, a) I don’t have that luxury, like I don’t have anybody to kind of do my dirty work for me and.... I remember then the cold storage guy was like,, ‘just get a guy’, because ‘*aapko toh kya pata business k baare mein*’ (‘what do you know about how to run a business’), So I was like, ‘sure I don’t.... But am sure I will pick it up along the way, you know’.

She went on to say that in “order to get things done... you have to kind of do it on your own also, and I can’t stand there and like, be like, pick this up, do this, pick this up. Because I have met with lot of resistance, so the initial months, I was also like the delivery boy,

so when I was going to all these stores, I actually had to take cartons which I would take and see like a lot of men just standing there watching but not helping, but you can't kind of, ah, order them around, you have to be like 'I am okay with getting my hands dirty', I don't have an issue and I don't think it's a class thing, you know, so...that I think...eventually kind of got them to have some faith in me, that she is not one of those, you know,..... in this kind of business at least when you are dealing with factory level people, you have to asexualise yourself, so you can't be like, you know, 'I am a... , you know, delicate little petal, and like I can't do anything', kind of thing, and I have always been more tomboyish anyway.... but you really have to kind of just...just the way like you dress, the way you talk, the way everything." (- Puja, 30 year old entrepreneur)

To be taken seriously women have to deal not only with the reservations of their families, but also the reservations that their colleagues or subordinates hold. They need to go one step further to prove their competence and to be taken seriously. This vignette was supported by Jaspreet, a lawyer, who said that getting criminal cases was tough for female lawyers as clients don't have trust in them – she has felt this personally with clients from rural parts of Punjab and Haryana who have approached her chambers in Delhi.

Thus, while for some women the path towards a job has been relatively smooth, others have experienced many hurdles, among which: finance, language barriers (reported mostly by migrants to Delhi; where language includes Hindi and English), and the cultural barriers and to some extent discrimination that migrants often stated are predominant. Further, non-permanent jobs are risky and not "safe", however often there is no choice but to take them. This increases the pressures to meet targets, this leads to additional problems for women as working late is not often considered a suitable option by their families (see also the discussion in the earlier section on families and gender bias). This harks back to our previous discussion on time and space for women – while going to work is acceptable, which in a sense is a space inhabited by women, staying at work late is not acceptable. The same space becomes loaded with suspicion contingent on 'time'.

In this regard this issue of 'time' or staying out late is felt by women across the class and occupational spectrum. This restriction of "time" was underlined in many of the narratives – not only by women working in the public sector or in permanent jobs, but by women across all occupations. For some the pressures of what they call "society" regarding their freedom of movement have closed off some avenues of employment. For Shanti, a custodial worker: "we know how these 'small minded' people think. They say things like 'your wife comes late at night', this and that, they tell the husband, they tell the in-laws: 'your daughter-in-law comes at night, where does she come from, how does she come'.... that's why I do not even consider such kind of jobs."

Previous studies on opportunities of social mobility open to men have been unable to explore these limits to education and whether the benefits accrue to women and men differently. This gender inequality at work and the lower status of women is stressed by Sarla, a bank manager, who said that: "men have a different upbringing.... see if a man screams and talks they take it very easy. If a woman starts speaking in a high volume, no man would accept. He will never agree to accept the high pitch volume.... See, in anger his voice can be high, he wants it should be accepted

but if a woman speaks in anger, if her voice is in higher pitch, no men would accept it.... wherever we go.... wherever our society goes.... however far our society progresses, this thing is limited to some people.... In general I don't think [...] equivalence [sic – equality] will ever come".¹²

Further, managing the home and work is seen as a “dual” burden by all the married women in the sample; and by a few of the un-married women as well. These women felt that when men have children they are never asked to take time off from work, and consequently women's careers are not looked at seriously by employers. However, others felt that continuing to work even after children was important (Chanana 1993); an architect mentioned that one never knows how a relation goes with a husband – so the choice of being independent and taking care of oneself must always be there.

21.7 The City

I am far.... better [than] them (– Bimla, 29 year old administrator in the corporate sector)

Women's experiences of education and work are clearly mediated by their families, their role expectations, and their social location. However, being in a metropolitan city adds a further layer to the fractured nature of their experiences. Critically, most conversations on Delhi were structured in a kind of opposition between Delhi and other places. With regard to work and education opportunities, Delhi was seen in a largely positive light compared to other cities and to rural areas. With regard to negotiating the city, the views regarding comparison with other sites were mixed.

It is not an understatement that Delhi divides opinions. There are those who believe the city gives opportunities to everyone and it is up to the individual to take advantage of that; and, then there are others who believe that Delhi is not a place to spend an entire life and especially not for women. In this section, some of these views beginning with views on Delhi as a site for possibilities for women both studying and working here is summarised. This is followed by a discussion on Delhi as a ‘tough’ place for women.

Before we discuss how the city treats its women, one common narrative in all interviews was the infrastructural advancement in Delhi over the past few decades – the new and improved roads, flyovers, buildings, improved transport systems and (for some) the increased cleanliness in the city all typify a fast developing metropolitan city. The most appreciated improvement in Delhi is its metro system as it takes away some of the stress of using public transport (commuting is discussed later in this section).

With regard to job opportunities Delhi is seen as a land of opportunity. All sorts of jobs seem available according to these women – and no job is too small. If one

¹²Interestingly, this act of showing aggression (seen as a legitimate male trait) did not bode well for women according to Puja, the entrepreneur.

is hardworking, has strength and is 'aware', anything seems possible in Delhi. As Sabina, a young teacher who came to Delhi from Patna put it: "whatever I strived for, I got from Delhi"; something she felt was not possible in her home town. Additionally, a few women felt that Delhi as compared to other places has 'normalised' the sight of women working. For instance, Puja mentioned that as Delhi has more women in the workforce, it is not seen as unusual for women to work and hence women going out to work is not looked on suspiciously. Interestingly, this belief in the high rates of employment among women in Delhi contradicts official empirical data (NSSO 68th round) on workforce participation in Delhi according to which only 6.8% of the total women in Delhi are in the labour force, while this number rises to 9.2% for women aged 15 years and above (DES 2014).¹³ Put another way, the Labour Force Participation Rate for women in Delhi is 9.9% compared to 90% for men (ibid.). Clearly then, for the respondent, there was a *perception* of higher employment among women in Delhi which in turn she felt was the reason for more women working and an encouragement for her to pursue her career. She further mentioned that as Delhi is an expensive city, so to make ends meet one *has* to work, this is an advantage for women as their going out to work is not looked at negatively. Women's presence in the public as "producers and consumers" is discussed by Phadke et al. (2009) in their work on Mumbai. They state that "as Mumbai strives to take its place among the global cities of the world, the presence of women in public space, as professionals and consumers, increasingly signals a desirable modernity. As a result, even if women in general don't have unconditional claims to public space, in the narrative of the global city, women of a particular class and demonstrable respectability have greater legitimacy in public than many men of a lower class" (pp. 187). This clearly has resonance to Delhi as well.

Delhi as a site for possibilities was echoed when the provision of education was discussed. Delhi provides access to a wide choice of both public and private educational institutions and allows for the use of agency and choice in selection that is found to be missing in other cities and small towns as seen by those who come from these places. As Sabina said, "if we wouldn't be in Delhi probably we wouldn't have got the education that we have". This view is expressed especially by migrants to the city, when they compare their situation to those back at home highlighting the critical importance to their varied 'frames of reference' when evaluating their experiences in the city. For Bimla, a migrant from Assam, the difference between Delhi and her home town was as simple as the absence of good communication skills among her friends who did not leave home. For her friends at home have "no practice in speaking English", and it is a matter of pride for her and her family that she is working in Delhi. Hence, working and studying in the city seems to give a sense of pride and achievement to these women, and they feel that it broadens and opens their mind so they can meet diverse people and learn how to interact, survive and thrive in the city. Further, Delhi is also seen as a good environment educationally to bring up children. This also influences the aspirations these women have for their children. All five mothers in the sample expressed the view that Delhi was good for

¹³I thank Diya Mehra for pointing this out.

their kids – this would be a place for them to get a better job, have a better life, not to struggle.¹⁴

Other than for work and education, Delhi is seen as a site of freedom by women from other parts of the country. Cultural differences were often referred to, but the freedom that Delhi girls have to wear what they want, stay out at night, the confidence they display in talking with men, and the perceived higher level of support they receive from their families, were noted by more than a few migrant women. For instance, Fatima who spent a few years studying in Aligarh, U.P. before moving back to Delhi, said that she found Aligarh's 'environment' to be diametrically opposite to Delhi. In Aligarh according to her women cannot leave the house and *Purdah* (a system of veiling) is followed. She went on to say that the "normal" environment in Delhi is in favour of women, there is no need for *Purdah* and in her opinion at least 80 % of women go out of the house and work (again this opinion contrasts with official figures). When being questioned why Delhi provides these opportunities for women and Aligarh does not, she felt that the reason must be the larger number of organisations in Delhi that have worked with women – to train them in certain skills, to provide health services and to help increase their knowledge; this she felt is lacking in Aligarh (Stromquist 2015). She stressed the difference between a village and a city like Delhi "this is the major difference between a village and a city, there are many things in a city, many provisions that are not available in a village....". She went on to add that in a village in U.P. where some of her relatives are "a 10 year old girl was told that she can't wear a frock anymore, she will only wear a suit... as fear has settled on people's minds.... due to all the things happening to women.... which if we look at it is much higher in the U.P. side.... Delhi doesn't have so much of this, but Delhi is the one that has got the bad reputation.... women's wishes are mostly suppressed in U.P."

Delhi is hence seen as a "melting pot" and as a city that gives "exposure". As expressed by one young woman, if one lives at home one has to constantly "report to family"; living alone in Delhi gives one the freedom to do as one likes.

However, the positives of the city are quickly balanced by the negatives for these women. Delhi is seen as tough for women; especially working women. The biggest struggles are safety and travel, especially public transport. Acts of groping, of random staring, and of men always wanting to "take a chance" in public transport was reported by the majority of the women (only one respondent who has her own car said that while she doesn't experience the unpleasantness in using public transport, she has been bullied and intimidated by young men who follow her car – especially when they are in large groups).

The criticism of public transport is minimised to an extent by the introduction of the Delhi metro. Seen as a marvel of modern engineering and planning (Sadana 2010), the metro also provides women across social class lines with some sense of

¹⁴ However, the downside to bringing up children in Delhi is the issue of safety which seems to be magnified for those women who have young daughters.

security, not least because of greater surveillance and the separation of the 'women's only' compartment from the general compartments (ibid.). However, according to Sadana, while "some are relieved to have an optional, segregated space for women, ... others see it as reinforcing gender stereotypes of women needing extra protection, a step back in what was a new kind of public space for Dilliwalas" (ibid, p. 82). However, while the metro is seen as mostly positive, there is a sense among all the women interviewed that Delhi is not a city for women to travel in.

A Muslim respondent mentioned an additional disadvantage she faces – she reported an everyday experience in the metro – as she was wearing a *dupatta* (head scarf), the female guard conducting mandated security checks in the metro asked her to remove her scarf; on refusing to do so, the guard abused her and said "I don't know where *you people* come here from?" For this young woman, "women face double discriminating on the basis of not just gender but also certain other identity that [they] are carrying"; in this instance it is being a Muslim. A similar discrimination was reported by two women from the North East – they both reported being referred to by the derogatory term "chinky" (see McDuie-ra 2012), which for them is now seen as an everyday occurrence. There was the added concern that women from the North East were not respected in the city.

In addition to travel, work pressures too are high in the city – a public servant who had a posting outside Delhi before coming to the city mentioned that being the administrative capital there is always a lot of work to do, much more hectic than the towns she was posted to before. It is a more competitive space, and one needs to be 'strong' to survive it. And, some women in the corporate sector felt that women were not promoted despite their capabilities (this view was not shared by the two women in government employment).

These work pressures are seen to overflow in the everyday, as nearly all the migrants to the city identified the city as an "aggressive" and too fast paced as a place to live; and the people of Delhi as having an "attitude problem". For one woman, perhaps this aggressiveness is linked to neo-liberalism and the corporate culture that typifies the city. On the other hand, a few women felt that Delhi gets a bad reputation as anything that happens in Delhi becomes news. One migrant to the city said that she has seen both sides of the coin – people speaking out against bad behaviour against women and also people staying quiet. As she put it, "it is being called a rape city and all of that so yes it happens but I think Delhi has the potential or say it will be a city where most protests would also happen". She went on to express the idea of becoming one with the city, of being in the city despite coming to the city from outside "lot of times.... I would abuse Delhi, say it's so bad, and on the other hand if someone from outside comes and says something bad about Delhi I would defend Delhi.... 'it's not that bad!'"

For these women then their views on Delhi are mediated by their own location and their 'frames of reference'. Delhi is, for its residents, in equal parts exhilarating and frustrating, and these two emotions are amplified for women negotiating the city.

21.8 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on one city – Delhi – a fast growing metropolis that attracts students and workers from all over the country. It explores the experiences of young women in relation to education, work and being in the city using in-depth interviews. It is critical to note that previous work on aspirations, opportunities and social mobility has under-explored the narratives of women, leading one to conclude that education influences occupational pathways in a more or less linear fashion (Jeffrey 2010 does question this direct education-occupation link). This chapter argues that while education is seen as critical for survival in the city, educational choices, attitudes towards education, and aspirations are still mediated by family and gender. The city is seen as critical by many in providing opportunities and ‘choices’ unavailable in small towns and villages, and by providing a ‘voice’ to women; however, the city itself can be aggressive and uninviting for women and negotiating ‘space’ and ‘time’ with their families become crucial for these young working women.

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Chapter 22

Education in the ‘Sanskarnagari’: Baroda, Provincial Capital of a ‘Progressive’ Princely State in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

Nandini Manjrekar

22.1 Introduction

Baroda, or Vadodara, as it has come to be renamed in recent times,¹ is the third largest city in the western Indian state of Gujarat, one of India’s most economically developed states, known for its long history of trade and commercial enterprise. The city is located in central Gujarat, about 200 km from the state’s capital, Ahmedabad, and around 600 km from India’s financial capital, Mumbai. Baroda’s geographical location, inward of a long coastline and on important trade routes to central and northern India, contributed to its position as an important urban centre from pre-colonial times. Both Ahmedabad and Mumbai (then Bombay) were key industrial cities by the mid-nineteenth century, and Bombay, as one of three ‘Presidency’ towns (the others were Calcutta and Madras) was also a centre of colonial governance. Within this geographical grid of industry, capital and labour in western India, the establishment of the railways in the late 1800s furthered Baroda’s position as it formed a key junction on western rail routes to the north. Its importance continues in contemporary times, with the city emerging as an important manufacturing hub of the two new industrial ‘corridors’ linking the region with other industrial centres both of the state as well as the rest of India.²

¹In 1974, the city was officially renamed Vadodara, or abode of the ‘vad’ (banyan) trees, drawing on various pre-modern references in the historical record.

²From the 1990s, in what is generally referred to as the ‘post-liberalisation’ era of structural economic reforms, the state has come to be associated with a particular form of capital-intensive industrial development, popularly referred to as the ‘Gujarat model’. Baroda lies in the region

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From the eighteenth century up to its integration in the postcolonial nation-state in 1947, Baroda served as the capital of the Baroda princely state, one of more than 550 such states governed by hereditary rulers or Maharajas who had partial sovereignty from the British colonial administration that ruled India over the same period.³ The princely, or ‘native’ states together made up slightly more than half (52%) of India’s territory under direct British rule. At the time of Indian independence in 1947, about 89 million people, or 28% of the population of the territory, lived in these states.⁴ More than 300 of these princely states covered nearly four-fifths of the territory of present-day Gujarat.⁵ Several princely states were known for their social reform measures, in particular in the field of education, especially the larger ones, like Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda and Gwalior – but also the relatively smaller ones like Travancore and Cochin in present-day Kerala. It is somewhat surprising that the extensive scholarship on colonial education in India, in terms of policy, ideologies and knowledge, and the various threads in the nationalist response to these, both in terms of resistance and accommodation, has largely bypassed the historical experiences of these states.⁶ This gap in the historiography of education in India under British rule is often filled by colonial, often Orientalist, accounts of despotic rulers with extravagant tastes and burdened subjects, indifferent to the need for education among their people, or indigenous reports and commentaries of the time that often invoke hagiographic accounts of ‘progressive’ rulers.

The relationship of the native states to systems of modern education are complex and varied. Many reforms were responses to the various colonial policies governing education at the time, such as the promotion of vernacular education or state support to private schools via the grant-in-aid system.⁷ Some scholarly debates on educational reforms in these states refer to rulers ‘mimicking’ colonial modernity, or using models of western education as anti-colonial resistance; others write of the adaptive and absorptive nature of educational ideas and practice.⁸ While more

known as the ‘Golden Corridor’, an industrial belt created for capital investment, especially in the chemical industry, that stretches from the north of Mumbai to Ahmedabad, as well as the Delhi Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC), a mega- infrastructure project of USD 90 billion.

³The colonial government had political residents in the princely states, who, along with the Dewans or Chief Ministers, effectively ruled the state, safeguarding the political and economic interests of the Empire. The colonial governments thus governed through ‘indirect rule’ (Ramusack 2003, p. 90).

⁴Government of India (1950) White Paper on Indian States. Delhi: Manager of Publications, p. 17.

⁵Wood, J.R. (1984), ‘British versus Princely Legacies and the Political Integration of Gujarat,’ *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1, p.67.

⁶As examples of widely cited scholarship, among others, see Krishna Kumar (2014) *Politics of Education in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Routledge; Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (ed.) (2002) *Education and the Disprivileged*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

⁷See, for example, Tharakan’s analysis of education in the Travancore princely state. Tharakan, M.P.K (1984) *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development: Case of Nineteenth Century Travancore*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp. 1959–1967.

⁸One of the only detailed analyses of university education in the princely states of Baroda and Mysore is that of Bhagavan (2003). Bhagavan forwards a thesis of ‘mimicked modernity’ and education as resistance in the case of the Baroda state. Others have been more cautious in this

research into these ideational and practical dimensions of education remains to be done, one could say that the boundary between princely state and colonial rule was a diffused one, and rulers negotiated this boundary differently, depending on how they were situated vis 'a vis colonial domination on one hand, and the social and political structures of their states on the other.⁹

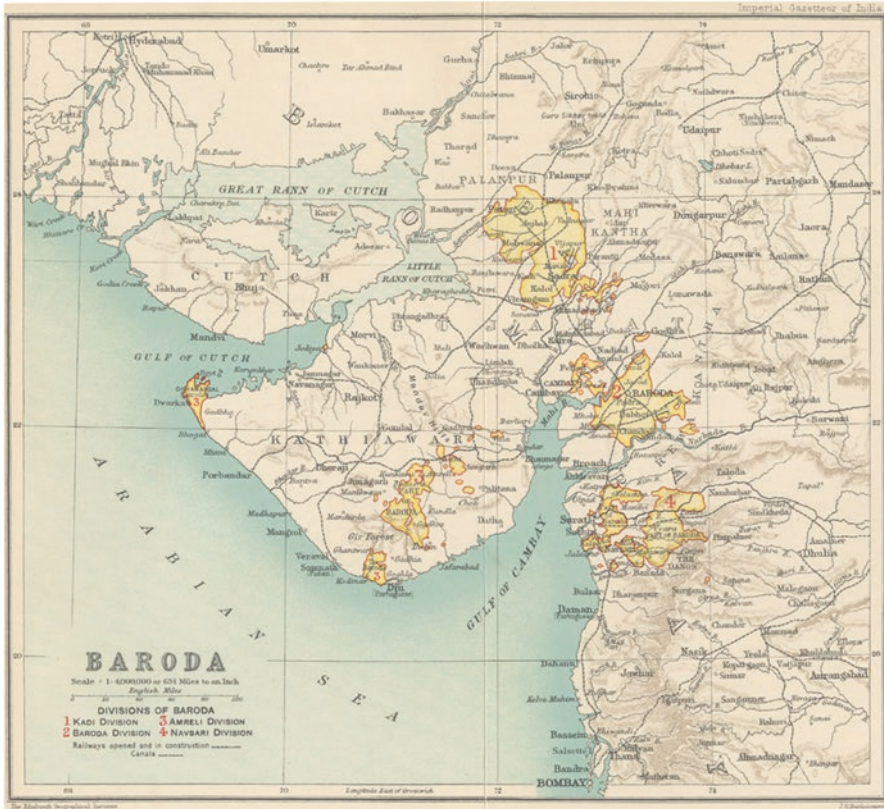
Wide-ranging reforms initiated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw Baroda emerge as a city associated with a vibrant cosmopolitanism and as an important centre of arts and education, giving it the epithet of '*Sanskarnagari*', or city of culture. This paper attempts to situate the *Sanskarnagari* within the discursive and material contexts of its historical making, primarily focusing on the role played by the state in promoting education as a driver of modernity and progress. The period examined here spans the years from the 1870s to the 1930s, which set the tone for developments up to independence and merger of the state with the Indian union in 1950. Intertwined in this historical narrative are several related strands that will be drawn together here to understand the relationship of the modern, democratic institution of education to the development of the city in the Baroda princely state. The first strand relates to the ways in which a provincial cosmopolitanism was fashioned through state support to the city's development as an educational centre. The second relates to education in the imagination of an 'enlightened' ruler and his administration, in terms of its role in influencing practices of modern sociability and rules of social life in the capital city as well as its contours, institutions, practices and pedagogies. A third, and crucial strand, is the way in which the policies of the 'progressive' princely state and its social structure were related to educational development, particularly within the context of the city. These intersecting strands in the historical narrative are further related to the historical contexts of colonial rule, indigenous responses to colonial modernity, and the ways in which educational progressivism was viewed by both the colonial authorities as well as the nationalist movement that was growing across the subcontinent over the same period.

22.2 Baroda: From Medieval Town to Capital City

Historical and archaeological evidence point to a few pre-modern settlements on the river Mahi whose tributary Vishwamitri bisects the modern city of Baroda (Map 22.1). Artefacts from these sites suggest that these towns had trading relations

regard, see, for example, Frenz, M. and Brekemer, G. (2006) *Colleges and Kings: Higher Education under Direct and Indirect Rule*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.1261–1268. Recent work on Baroda as a centre of the visual arts and crafts tend to focus on the absorptive element, see essays in Maholay-Jaradi (2015).

⁹Ernst, W. and Pati, B. (eds.) (2007) *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism*, New York: Routledge; Hardiman, D. (1978) 'Baroda: the structure of a 'progressive' state', in Robin Jeffrey (ed.) *People, Princes, and Paramount Power: Society and politics in the Indian Princely States*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 107–135.



Map 22.1 Regions marked in *yellow* constitute the Baroda princely state (Source: Imperial Gazetteer of India. New edition, published under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. Volume 7, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907–1909)

with centres outside the Indian subcontinent.¹⁰ A fortified town emerged as an important urban centre in the medieval period, when Baroda's economic fortunes flourished under various trading activities. Like other such centres in pre-colonial times, this town formed the original core around which the modern city developed. The unique historical legacy of architectural and social features of the old or 'walled' part of the city can be seen in modern Baroda, where the old lakes, religious shrines and four sixteenth century gates still remain important landmarks in the city.

The Baroda princely state came into being in the late eighteenth century as a result of negotiations between the feudatory Maratha rulers of western India and the British. The area under the princely state comprised scattered territories across the territory of the modern Gujarat state. Most of these were high revenue areas, growing fruit, tobacco and cotton, the most significant cash crop in the region which earned the state high revenues.

¹⁰Imperial Gazetteer of India, Baroda, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.

The state was embroiled in a series of crises with the colonial government but its rise to prominence is closely associated with the ascension, in 1875, of Maharaja Sir Sayajirao Gaikwad III. Sayajirao, a distant relation of the ruling Gaekwads, was adopted at the age of 12 by the reigning Queen Mother who had no sons, under the supervision of the colonial government after they deposed his predecessor. He came from humble peasant origins, and was put under the tutelage of Sir F.A.H. Elliott, a member selected from the Indian Civil Service as his tutor, for six years before being coronated at the age of 18 in 1881. The first Indian ruler to have received a western education, he was given intense tutoring in Indian and European languages, the social and physical sciences, and the arts of governance, etiquette and protocol.¹¹ Elliott had a decisive influence on Sayajirao's thinking and remained a close advisor, mentor and friend over the first twenty years of his rule.

By the time Sayajirao came to the throne in 1881, the state had been managed by an able chief minister or *dewan*, Sir T. Madhavrao, who was appointed by the British Resident to oversee the functioning of the state in the absence of a king. Madhavrao had worked in other princely states (Travancore and Indore) before coming to Baroda. He had initiated a series of administrative and educational reforms in Travancore and was widely celebrated as an excellent administrator. In Baroda, he modernised the bureaucratic set-up in keeping with the colonial administrative structure, instituting an administrative service and police force, setting up a court of justice, and building hospitals, public works and schools. Independent judicial and legislative mechanisms in the state diminished the monolithic autocracy exercised by the royals. The early period of Sayajirao's reign was completely managed by Sir Madhavrao, who left the state service in 1881 ensuring that Baroda was one of the richest princely states in India, and well on its way to becoming a 'model' for all princely states.

Maharaja Sayajirao went on to rule till 1939, aided by this modern bureaucracy and a succession of experienced and efficient *dewans*, many of whom were drawn from the Indian Civil Service or from the services of other princely states.

22.3 The Making of the *Sanskarnagari*: Knowledge, the Public Sphere and Imaginations of the 'modern'

By the 1880s, Baroda city had already acquired all signs of being a culturally diverse, cosmopolitan city. Since the ruling dynasty were of Maratha lineage, there was a sizeable Marathi-speaking population, largely comprised of upper and middle castes employed in the administrative and military services. Most of the local Gujarati-speaking population was engaged in trade and commerce. Upper caste Gujarati Brahmins were in the administration or professionals like teachers, doctors and lawyers, while the Vantias, a trading caste, were financiers and promoters of small business. The religious composition of the city was also heterogeneous; apart

¹¹ Rice, P.S.W. (1931) *Life of Sayaji Rao III, Maharaja of Baroda Vol.1*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 33–35.

from the Hindu communities of various castes, the city also housed Muslim, Parsi and Christian communities. A small group of British officers and their families employed in the colonial administrative and military services lived, as in other provincial towns, in the 'camp' and cantonment areas of the city. This cosmopolitan city was surrounded by a hinterland predominantly populated by landowning middle castes and lower caste peasants dependent on agricultural cultivation and artisanal crafts.

By the time Sayajirao ascended the throne, the economy of Baroda state was wholly dependent on agricultural revenues. Changes in land revenue laws and the promotion of industries led to migration from rural areas into the city. Census reports of the time show that the majority of migrants came as workers. Many, including women, came to the city in search of wage work or to set up small businesses like shops. These migrants were from the lower peasantry or those who did not own land; however, reports indicate that there was also migration from among landowning castes like Patidars. In 1911, it was reported that 12% of the population of the state were engaged as industrial workers, chiefly concentrated in the city of Baroda¹² By the 1920s, the city expanded to include around 16 villages that lay on its periphery. The state's revenues increased from urban taxation and industry started to develop on a considerable scale.¹³

The first decade of the twentieth century saw a veritable flood of innovation and reform of public institutions in the Baroda state, most of them the first in native and colonial India. Economic reforms had helped to swell the coffers of the state and the increased revenues could be used to finance these undoubtedly expensive reforms. The appointment of the well-known civil servant R.C. Dutt as Revenue Minister helped to support these efforts. Dutt was committed to seeing Baroda transform into a model state of India 'renowned not only for its advances in education and methods of administration but also in the prosperity of the agricultural people [and] the briskness of its trade and enterprise.'¹⁴ All vernacular education was made free and five international education scholarships were instituted. Boarding houses were constructed for students of the untouchable castes. A poorhouse, and a public park and garden was commissioned in the city, as well as public water works. A law was passed banning child marriage. In terms of political reforms, a Legislative Council of elected members with full legislative authority was instituted. Financial streamlining to manage industrial and state reserves led to the setting up of the Bank of Baroda in 1908, managed on modern banking methods. The Bank took over the work of the State Treasury and was soon opening branches in the presidency city of Bombay. In the wake of these developments, the finance and education departments were administratively linked, and senior administrators were involved in compiling

¹² Report of the Baroda Economic Development Committee 1918–1919, Bombay: The Times Press, p. 9.

¹³ Hardiman, op cit.

¹⁴ Cited in Copland, p. 30. Copland, I. (1978) 'Sayaji Rao Gaekwar and 'Sedition'', in Peter Robb and David Taylor (eds) *Rule, Protest, Identity: Aspects of Modern South Asia*, London: Curzon Press, pp. 28–48.

reports on education, and formulating proposals on how to improve education at all levels.



Maharaja Sayajirao III (Source: <http://www.gaekwadsofbaroda.com/content/royal-chronicles>)

These dramatic changes in the princely state's administration inevitably led to transformation of the city. A great deal of investment was made in the fashioning of the provincial capital – between 1877 and 1910, a range of administrative offices were set up to plan, manage and maintain the city. By 1892, the city municipality was set up to oversee its maintenance. With financial streamlining and governance structures being established, city plans were drawn up between 1904 and 1910, when the City Improvement Trust was set up. These plans were in congruence with the growing population in the city on account of its industrial expansion.

Sayajirao himself was known to be a connoisseur and patron of the arts, and Baroda bore the mark of his aesthetic sensibilities. New institutions with impressive Indo-European architectural styles, dotted the landscape of early twentieth century Baroda city.¹⁵ Under the patronage of the Court, eminent British architects working in different parts of India were called in to design and execute public buildings. The styles adopted were unique in their experimental features, combining elements of western and traditional architecture.¹⁶ Apart from the royal buildings, public buildings like the high schools, the government vernacular school, the teacher training colleges, the Court, Baroda museum, Baroda college and many others were designed by well-known architects from the Royal Institute.

¹⁵The Imperial Gazetteer of India: Baroda (1908, pp. 89–90) notes that with the creation of a Municipal Board in 1906, and a sizable income, high expenditure on developing the city was possible, especially with respect to road building, conservancy, street lighting and provision of free, filtered water from the Ajwa water works, a favourite project of the Maharaja.

¹⁶London, C.W. (2015) *Cosmopolitanism articulated: The evolution of architecture from Wada to Palace*, in Priya Maholay-Jaradi (ed.) *Baroda: A Cosmopolitan Provenance in Transition*, Mumbai: Marg, pp. 46–69.

The well-known Scottish town planner Patrick Geddes¹⁷ visited Baroda in 1916 at the invitation of the Baroda state to make recommendations on town planning, and was impressed by the layout of the city, with its city centre, its traditional architecture and neighbourhood *pols*,¹⁸ its gardens, tanks and impressive buildings. Education figured in Geddes' recommendations in two ways: firstly, in the larger sense of seeing the planning of the city in terms of the civic spirit which went beyond the aspirations of the city's educated elites to holistically encompass the social composition of the city, including the labouring classes. Geddes also recommended that students of the schools and colleges be encouraged to take part in civic surveys for more 'effective functioning and consciousness', whereby 'the student could become a more effective citizen and the citizen a productive student'.¹⁹ Although there is little evidence that these frameworks informed approaches to planning the city, they reflect not only Geddes' unique sociological approach to urban planning, but also the place of Baroda on the map of colonial India as a city of growth, education and promotion of civic spirit.

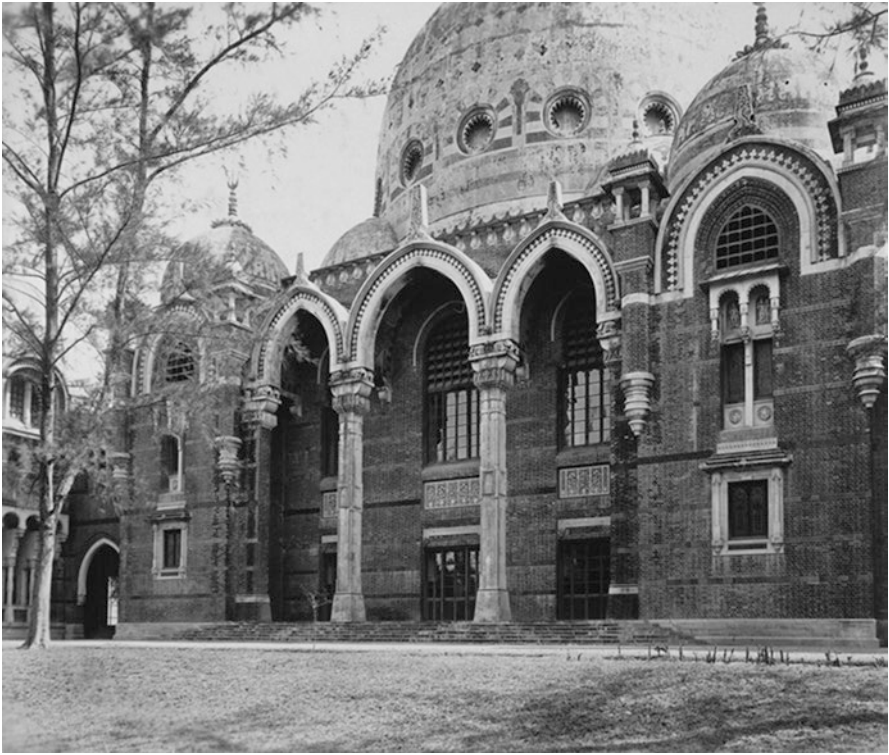


The Anglo-Vernacular School, Baroda (Photograph, late 1890s. From the Curzon Collection, British Library <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/a/019pho000430s24u00038000.html>)

¹⁷Trained as a biologist, and well-known as a sociologist – he was later to head the department of Sociology at the University of Bombay from 1919 -Geddes had a 'socio-biological' approach to city planning. He worked on 50 town planning reports in India (Heller 1990).

¹⁸Collective residences typical of Gujarat's cities.

¹⁹Geddes, P. (1916a, b). 'A report on the development and expansion of the City of Baroda, Published by the Order of the Government', Baroda: Lakshmi Vilas Press. p. 80.



Baroda College, now the Faculty of Arts, Maharaja Sayajirao University (From the Curzon Collection, British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/b/largeimage63714.html>)



Baroda Museum and Library (Photograph, late 1890s, from the Curzon Collection, British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/b/019pho000430s24u00053000.html>)

For Sayajirao, the modern city was critical to developing a particular habitus among his subjects that was suited to modern systems of administration. Education, the visual arts, crafts and architecture were widely promoted in his time, often through interventions under his direct supervision. Education in the capital of the princely state had to be designed to suit the needs of an urbanism characterised by social and cultural diversity, economic growth and efficient, professionalised management of urban affairs. The years between the 1870s and 1920s were spent on building and consolidating these efforts. By any measure, the achievements in education in the state were extraordinary. Prior to 1871, the state had no educational facilities apart from privately run schools (*pandyajini nishalo*) to train boys in priestly duties and impart rudimentary reading, writing and arithmetic.²⁰ The cantonment area of the city that housed British officers had a small Anglo-Vernacular school that was financed jointly by the princely state and the colonial government. Five schools following the ‘modern’ scheme of education were started in 1871 – the Baroda High School, which rose to become the city’s premier school that offered higher levels of education in English, and later, in 1881, got connected to the Baroda College, and four other schools (two each in Marathi and Gujarati). A Vernacular Education department was set up in 1875 to oversee the running and curriculum of schools in the indigenous languages. In the same year, several other schools were established in the city: two girls’ schools including a school for Muslim girls, Urdu schools for Muslim children and Sanskrit schools. By 1883, the city had nine Sanskrit schools, three Marathi schools, three Gujarati schools, one Urdu school, and two girls’ schools. The 1881 census reported that almost 25% of the city’s population were under formal instruction. A Vernacular College of Science was started in 1877, but unfortunately could not be sustained despite recruiting highly trained professors, due to the lack of translated materials in the modern sciences.²¹

The late nineteenth century saw the setting up of a range of institutions of modern education. By the 1890s, Baroda city had several public institutions to its credit: the Baroda State Library was set up in 1877; the Baroda College, set up in 1881, affiliated to the University in the Bombay Presidency and offering courses in Arts, Science and Law; Kala Bhavan (Temple of the Arts) a technical institute, set up in 1890, which offered courses in a range of engineering, technical subjects and specialised training focused on modernisation of traditional crafts; Baroda Museum, also set up in 1890, within the sprawling Sayaji gardens, with two large sections for the Arts and Sciences and a pedagogy section with teaching learning materials like lesson cards and models.²² A teacher training institute for women was set up in 1882 and another for male teachers in 1885. In 1886, a music school was established in the city.

Maharaja Sayajirao maintained a close association with these institutions. Those brought in to head them were people of eminence in their fields, usually handpicked by Sayajirao personally. The emphasis was on competence in modern systems of

²⁰Rajyagor, S.B. (1979) Gujarat State Gazetteer: Baroda, p. 660.

²¹Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency 1883. Vol.VII: Baroda, p. 475.

²²Dutt, R.C. (1904–1905) Introduction, Baroda Administrative Report, 1904–1905. p. 240.

knowledge.²³ Many were British scholars either working in India or appointed from England. In many cases, Indians working with these scholars were sent abroad by the state for further studies, often to return to positions of leadership. More than 25 students were sent abroad for advanced studies between 1890 and 1915. The areas of study were engineering, industries (like watch-making, pottery, mining), agriculture, forestry, gardening, economics and sociology.²⁴

It was not only the 'western' that served as a valid indicator of knowledge. Institutions training students in classical languages like Sanskrit and traditional knowledge systems like Astrology and Logic were supported by the state. From 1893, the state set aside substantial funds for the 'Gaekwar Oriental Series'. Sanskrit scholars and scholars of other classical languages were sent to all parts of the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere to source and copy rare manuscripts in private collections. This manuscript collection formed the core of the 10,000 rare manuscripts of the Baroda Oriental Institute formally set up in 1908. Prominent Indologists were invited to study the Indian arts and their incorporation into a world art collection at the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. In the field of visual and plastic arts, local and international portraitists, sculptors and painters were invited to Baroda city to study local forms, train local artisans and build collections of private and public art.²⁵ Public architecture in the city, commissioned to well-known British architects from the Royal Institute, consciously combined traditional Indian elements with western forms.²⁶ At the Kala Bhavan, special attention was paid to upgrading the traditional crafts to make them suitable for global markets. Indeed, the Baroda princely state participated in all the World Fairs to showcase the products of these efforts at merging the indigenous with the modern in terms of technologies, forms and aesthetics. Key to this entire enterprise, in which the Maharaja personally invested his energy and time, was the creation of well-planned archival repertoires based on diverse knowledge systems that were consciously made part of the public sphere. This experimental, eclectic and hybrid urbanism was distinctive to Baroda's development as a provincial capital city.

Moreover, the city was seen a centre of diffusion of knowledge. A prime example is the Public Library Movement. The promotion of reading and 'love of books' was an important part of Baroda's education programme. On a visit to the United States in 1906, the Maharaja invited W.A. Borden, an American library expert from the United States to come and set up the Baroda Library Department. Under the depart-

²³Ustad Maula Baksh, for example, who was asked to set up the music school (Gayanshala) was an outstanding musician from the Mysore and Tanjore courts who introduced 'scientific notation' to study classical music and was referred to as 'Professor'. It is interesting to note that his son who took over as Principal of the college, was sent to Europe to study western classical music (Bakhle 2005, p. 38).

²⁴Pandya, T.R. (1915) *Education in Baroda*, Bombay: M.Nowrojee, p. 161.

²⁵Most notable of artists in Baroda was Raja Ravi Varma, a prince of the Travancore royal family. Varma's studio was established in the Palace grounds. His work exemplified the possibilities of artistic crossovers from traditional depiction of Indian epics with western forms of figurative art in an era of mechanical reproduction.

²⁶London discusses this in some detail. See C.W. London (2015), op. cit.

ment, a Central Library was set up in 1910 along the lines of the New York Public Library. Apart from the Central Library in the old city, all towns and villages in the state were to have libraries and reading rooms. By 1912, there were 9 town libraries, 265 village libraries and 60 reading rooms throughout the state, making it larger than the American public library system.²⁷ This led Borden to remark: 'I am determined to introduce into Baroda what we in the United States have recognised as a goal to be ultimately attained... What America could only dream of, Baroda could do, and in a measure has done.'²⁸ A good library system was seen as part of mass education, an 'essential supplement' to keep literacy alive, and to reach knowledge to those outside the small, English-knowing elite in the city. Vernacular libraries were given importance, as well as translation of works in English. The Central Library housed a separate women's library and a children's library. A unique aspect of the library system was the travelling library that covered rural areas which did not have libraries or reading rooms. Village school teachers were expected to assist in the running of libraries. The approach guiding public libraries was to see them as literary clubs, spaces for social and intellectual interaction and exchange of knowledge. By 1924–1925, there were 43 town libraries, 618 village libraries, 87 reading rooms, and 47,506 registered readers, apart from those who availed of the travelling libraries. The Central Library in Baroda issued 83,000 volumes in the year 1925 alone.²⁹ The place of the Central Library in public memory is borne out in narratives of long-time residents of the city who recall how weekend visits to the Library were part of their growing up years.

Scholars associated with these institutions, principals, teachers and former students, along with those higher up in other state services like the judiciary, administration and medical services came to constitute the 'meritocracy' of the Baroda princely state. Many of these people were involved in the setting up of educational institutions and went on to make their mark in the history of the nationalist movement and in post-independence India, in the arts, sciences and administration.³⁰

²⁷In 1927, the Central Library had some 88,764 books in 1927, 20,000 of which were donated by the Maharaja from his personal collection, largely covering subjects in history, biography and social sciences; the travelling library had 16,739 volumes. These were apart from the Sanskrit collection, which were transferred to the Oriental Institute. (See Dutt, N.M.(1928) *Baroda and its Libraries*, Baroda: Central Library.)

²⁸Nagar, M. L. (1969) *Public Library Movement in Baroda* (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, p. 4).

²⁹Sargeant, P.W. (1928) *The Ruler of Baroda: An Account of the Life and Work of the Maharaja Gaekwar*, London: John Murray. pp. 303–4.

³⁰For example, the school for Muslim girls, that is still an important institution in Baroda, was set up in 1875 by Ameena Tyabji, the wife of Abbas Tyabji, Chief Justice of the Court, who had close links with the royal family and was later closely associated with Gandhi in the nationalist movement.

The list of people who went on to make their mark in the nationalist movement and independent India in the areas of academic and administration is too long to be elaborated here. However, a few well known examples are: Hansa Mehta, a graduate of Baroda College, and the daughter of Manubhai Mehta, one of the Dewans of the state, went on to become a member of the Constituent Assembly, represented India at the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and chaired an important

22.4 Free and Compulsory Education

Baroda's real claim to modernity, however, drew from its unique interventions in mass education at the school level. For Sayajirao, compulsory education was to 'place the three R's within the reach of every child in Baroda'.³¹ Breaking the stranglehold of traditional control by higher castes on knowledge could only be achieved by delivering mass education: 'Give the mass of the people elementary education and the demand for more will follow.' In 1893, an experiment was initiated in Amreli, one of the backward pranth (regions) of the state. In 1906, the silver jubilee year of the Maharaja's coronation, free and compulsory education was extended to the entire princely state under a legislative sanction passed, making it the first state in colonial India to do so.³² The free and compulsory education law covered all boys in the state between 7 and 12 years and girls between 7 and 11 years.³³ The state committed to providing funding for the setting up of schools, equipped with libraries and museums. Expansion of female education was a priority so that female teachers could be appointed to girls' schools. Funds were put aside for preparation of reading materials in both English and the vernacular. Towards making schooling compulsory, parents were fined up to a maximum of 10 rupees for a graded period of 'offences', or absenteeism from school for specific periods, and liable to be brought in for enquiries by local administrators. Exemptions were granted in certain cases, depending on the circumstances of the child. Fines had to be paid within 15 days, or adjusted as arrears from land revenue. Employers of children were also liable to being fined. Of the money collected by the state in fines, 65 % was spent on school buildings and 35 % on books for poor children.³⁴

Curriculum in Baroda's schools was not very different from those in British India. Distinctive features of the Baroda 'experiment' included the incorporation of a 'before school' or pre-school year with a structured curriculum, a vigorous

committee to look into education in 1964,; she was also Vice Chancellor of the SNDT Women's University in Bombay; Dadasaheb Phalke trained in photographic methods at Kala Bhavan, and was sent to England for further training by the Maharaja; Phalke went on to become India's first filmmaker.

³¹ Sargeant, *op cit*, p. 207.

³² Bhagavan (*op cit*, p. 50) observes that in 19604 Sayajirao began a "campaign of comprehensive reforms that would, he believed, either uplift and strengthen his people or lead to his reprimand [from the British government], the latter exposing British hypocrisy, and both striking at the heart of colonialism." He describes his reforms as a process of reclamation: "the possession and usage of Western practices in a structurally altered Indian way such that the transboundary object was no longer foreign but native." (p. 58).

³³ Amendments to the law were periodically made, and by 1940 the law extended to all children between 7 and 12.

³⁴ Some of these were: (1) if their presence at home was indispensable owing to sickness of infirmity of the parents; (2) impossibility of learning because of physical or mental defects (*sic*); (3) if the school was more than a mile from home (Pandya 1915, p. 56). At a later stage there was a proposal to review the timings and vacations of the school to fit the seasonal calendar for agricultural operations in which children of farming communities were inevitably involved.

programme of translation of Hindi, Sanskrit and English works into Gujarati and Marathi, and the early introduction of arithmetic. The English schools set up in the state followed the colonial curriculum more closely, although they were also required to offer some education in the vernacular and in Sanskrit. Reports indicate that school learning relied a great deal on memorisation and drill, and reading levels in particular were too difficult for first generation school-goers. There was a strong view, particularly at the time of industrial expansion in the cities, in favour of having separate curricula for urban and rural children, and focus on vocational education to enable children, especially boys, to seek employment.³⁵ Breaking the 'stranglehold of tradition' in the rural areas as a social commitment of the progressive regime could not match these pressures; the hope was that a wider base of education at the lower levels would draw in more students of 'merit' into college and university education in the city of Baroda.

Under British principals, teacher training colleges in Baroda sought to deliver 'modern' courses in different subjects. All graduates were appointed as teachers in the state school system after their 3-year training. However, much as Kumar (2014) has described the construction of the teacher as 'meek dictator', embedded in regimes of surveillance, teachers in Baroda schools were subject to the constant gaze of revenue and education officials. T. R. Pandya, who did his PhD at Teachers' College, Columbia in 1915, and returned to Baroda to serve in the Education Department,³⁶ noted that one of the problems of the school curriculum was the involvement of officers rather than teachers in framing the school curriculum. This centralised mode of bureaucratic control over education, even as it supported local level administration, appears to have pervaded educational reforms in the state.

The expansion of education over the first three decades of enforcement of the law are reflected in the remarkable progress of education in the state (Table 22.1). The decadal census reports from 1891 show a gradual increase in the literacy rate in the Baroda state as compared to British Gujarat. Comparisons to Bombay, a Presidency city and emerging metropolis, were even more dramatic. In 1891, Baroda city had 21% literacy as opposed to 24% literacy in Bombay city. By 1921, the literacy percentage in Baroda city had crossed that of Bombay.³⁷ By 1931, while Bombay's literacy rate remained at 24%, literacy in Baroda city had risen to 41%.³⁸ The Census Commissioner noted that the threefold increase of literacy among the two major communities of Hindus and Muslims in the 15–30 age group could be attributed to the effect of compulsory education.³⁹ Moreover, the spread of education had

³⁵ Baroda Economic Development Committee 1918–1919.

³⁶ Pandya later headed the Secondary Teachers' Training College when it was set up in 1935, on Littlehailes' recommendation. The college later became the Faculty of Education and Psychology of the University in 1949.

³⁷ Census of Baroda 1921, p. 255.

³⁸ Naik, J.P. (1941) *Compulsory Primary Education in Baroda State: Retrospect and Prospect*, Dharwar: Karnatak Co-operative Educational Publications Society Ltd., p. 3; Hardiman (1984), p. 118.

³⁹ Census of Baroda 1921, p. 261.

Table 22.1 Comparative picture of education in Baroda princely state 1904–1905 to 1938–1939 (From Naik 1941, p. 1)

		1904–1905 (before compulsory education)	1938–1939
1	Number of schools	1,243	2,439
2	Number of pupils	81,649	2,59,288
	Boys:	68,536	1,50,993
	Girls:	13,113	1,08,290
3	Percentage of pupils to population	4.3	10.6
	Boys:	6.7	12.0
	Girls:	1.4	9.1
4	Expenditure on primary education	4,00,000	2,202,000
5.	Percentage of literates (age 5 and over)	9.4	20.9
	Males:	18.0	33.1
	Females:	0.9	7.9

its most dramatic effects on girls' and women's education. By 1937–1938, the number of girls to 100 boys was 61.2%, the highest in all of India.⁴⁰ Reports suggest that this was not only because of compulsion but also because of strict enforcement of the law against child marriage.

The expansion of education was achieved through a combination of competent planning and administration and scientific systems of monitoring. The state made revenue officials available to the education department at three important stages: preparing the census of school-age children, prosecuting and fining defaulters and in recovering fines.⁴¹ Periodic reviews of the programme were done from the inception of the programme. From 1927, local Deputy Educational Inspectors were expected to make annual studies of one village on their beats to examine the lists of schoolgoing children, exemptions from fines, causes of withdrawal, lapse into illiteracy and whether parents had advanced in their appreciation of education. These studies were periodically compiled and published as a Compulsory Education Studies series by the Baroda state.⁴²

The inspectors' reports provide insights into the ways the social structure of the state intersected with schooling. By the late 1930s, despite the expansion of educational infrastructure, many children continued to be out of school. Girls in general and the lower artisanal castes and Muslims showed the maximum rates for illiteracy, either after completing the mandatory 5 years of the 7 year elementary course, or from withdrawing altogether. Moreover, it was clear by this time that although revenues were being obtained from fines, compulsion on the whole was not a success, given the overall situation of poverty. Reports of education inspectors describe how

⁴⁰Naik, op cit, p. 9.

⁴¹Saiyidain, K.G., Naik, J.P. and Husain, S.A. (1966) Compulsory Education in India: Progress of Compulsory Education in India 1951–1966, New Delhi: Universal Book and Stationery Co., p. 29.

⁴²Naik, op cit., p. 4.

upper castes prevented lower caste children from going to school through threat and coercion. As one education inspector reported: ‘Lapse into illiteracy has no meaning in their case; the forward classes are very careful to see that the backward classes should not learn anything and thereby remain under subjugation as of yore. Poor backward classes are the only people to be fined and often their forward overlords do not hesitate to pay up their fines.’⁴³

22.5 Sayajirao’s Vision of Education as Social Reform

Extensively travelled in England, Europe and the United States, Maharaja Sayajirao had great faith that institutions fashioned on western lines could provide the framework to plan and engineer reform in his state to increase its power and privilege and further social progress. His many speeches and addresses amply illustrate his fascination with western science and technology and their significance to planning modern education in the state. The adoption of ‘Western’ ideas was matched by the belief that the princely states, rather than being autonomous entities, were part of a greater nation that had the ability to absorb ideas from wherever they emanated. In his view, the princely states provided the space to further ‘national interests’ through the adoption of ‘altered, Indianised concepts’.⁴⁴ In his speeches, colonial rule was often faintly and sometimes more explicitly referred to as the source of bondage that only reforms could address. According to Bhagavan, for the Maharaja, the ‘Western’, or rather as he saw it, the ‘Modern’, had to be reclaimed as a tool of resistance. Bhagavan argues that Sayajirao’s commitment to modern institutions constituted, in itself, ‘resistance to the paramount power’. This discourse of modernity, in particular the vision of education and its crucial place in social reform that was inextricably linked to the way in which Baroda came to be seen as an ‘ideal progressive’ princely state.

Writing at a time when nationalist demands for increased political freedom were being articulated, Sayajirao viewed education as the only means to move away from traditional ways of life that bound men to unfreedom. His experiences in the West convinced him that education was linked to economic progress. In one of his articles, he writes, ‘..Every additional ounce of brains may tell for an incalculable amount in the final apportionment of success and failure... That nation, therefore, is likely to outstrip its rivals which gives the greatest educational advantage to every individual citizen without distinctions of class or respect of persons.’ His own state, he often asserted, saw the provision of universal education as the first duty of a government. As he writes, ‘In the old days, when people were expected to pay taxes, to obey the law and to till the fields, the necessity of educating them was not felt. But in these days, when more and more value is attached to public opinion and a

⁴³ Naik, op cit, pp. 17–18.

⁴⁴ Bhagavan, op cit, p. 51.

fuller and fuller measure of free and responsible activity is conceded to the people, universal education is needed to equip them for their new destinies and responsibilities.⁴⁵

In his large collection of speeches and addresses to educational institutions, social organisations and other groups, Sayajirao repeatedly reiterates the importance of education as the only solution to India's chronic social backwardness, particularly as exemplified by the social and economic humiliation of the untouchable castes and the low status of women – two areas he was particularly committed to improve through social reforms in his state. Many of Sayajirao's ideas on education, particularly those related to women, reflect the 'homonymy' between colonial and nationalist discourses on education. Education for women, for example, was essentially to prepare them to enhance their roles as mothers of an educated and aware citizenry: 'Women regulate the social life of a people and men and women rise or fall together.'⁴⁶ However, girls and women in Baroda greatly benefitted from state support to female education. Between 1881 and 1901, the number of girls attending primary schools rose dramatically, from 600 to 8,360; by 1921, the total number of girls in coeducational and girls schools was 67,000.⁴⁷ Efforts were made to widen educational opportunities for girls and women, such as hostels attached to girls'schools. 'Zenana' classes, where women could study in seclusion, were added to the female training college in Baroda city. Although these classes basically taught, in addition to English and local languages, the 'feminine arts' (embroidery, stitching, etc), they helped women, and especially young widows, to access reading and writing and a social world beyond the familial, and even seek some 'respectable' employment.⁴⁸ Along with free and compulsory education, the abolition of child marriage (passed as a law in 1904) was seen as critical to getting girls to school.⁴⁹ The publication, in 1910, of his wife Maharani Chimnabai's book 'The Position of Women in Indian Life', which advocated that the 'new, educated woman' come into the public space to take up the feminine professions opening out in the city's new economy furthered public discourse around women's status and their education.

A firm commitment to the education of the untouchable castes led to the setting up of 'Antyaja' ('low caste') schools across the state as early as 1883. Sayajirao's critiques of caste are broadly encapsulated by a liberal discourse that views caste as an antiquated structure acting against intellectual growth and social engagement.

⁴⁵ S.R. Gaekwad, *Articles on Education*, cited in Pandya, *op cit*, pp. 53–54.

⁴⁶ Kumar, *op cit*, p. 35; Sargeant, *op cit*, p. 208.

⁴⁷ Sargeant, *op cit*, p. 207.

⁴⁸ One respondent in a recent study spoke about how these classes helped two generations of women (upper-caste but poor) gain economic mobility through education (Varsha Chitnis, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Ohio).

⁴⁹ Under the provisions of the Baroda Child Marriage Prevention Act (1904), all marriages of children under 8 were declared void and all those responsible Age of marriage was fixed at 18 and for girls at 16, and all those associated with marriages under this age were liable to imprisonment or fines of Rs 1,000 or both. (Naik 1941, p. 10).

His commitment to the education of the lower castes is often attributed to his espousal of western liberalism, and influence of his experiences of social life in western countries in which he resided for extended periods of his reign. However, a contrary view is that he was influenced, as a child growing up in the bordering state of Maharashtra, by the strong anti-Brahmin movement of the Satyashodhak Samaj led by Jyotiba Phule (to which he generously donated) and Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj, ruler of the princely state of Kolhapur who worked for the cause of Untouchable castes and was related to him by marriage.⁵⁰ Many of the Antyaja schools had hostels attached to them, and all students received scholarships. Opposition from higher castes to admitting these students (for example in Kala Bhavan, which had students from the artisanal castes) were, according to official records, dealt with sternly by the administration.⁵¹

22.6 Education as Resistance?

Sayajirao's emphasis on social reforms, particularly those related to uplift of the untouchable castes and women, was widely lauded, even by some colonial administrators. Nonetheless, the historical juncture in India at which his reforms were initiated – the ascendance of nationalist sentiments and anti-colonial mobilisation – meant that he frequently found himself at the receiving end of punitive colonial power. Sayajirao had several conflicts with the colonial state which saw in his actions wilful resistance and potential subversion of its authority. Free and compulsory education, in particular, was a source of much anxiety at a time when the colonial administration was under pressure from the nationalist movement.⁵²

With innovative and wide-reaching reforms across the state, and administrative and educational structures to oversee and monitor their implementation, the Baroda princely state was seen as a threat to the paramountcy of an imperial power that was hesitant to implement reforms on that scale. The period in which free and compulsory education was introduced was a turbulent one for the colonial regime. Britain passed its free and compulsory education bill in 1870, leading to a demand for its application to the colonies. In 1882, in their appeals to the Indian Education Commission, Indian leaders demanded mass education and the passing of a

⁵⁰ Mehta, M. (1993/1994). 'Princely ruler as an agent of change: A study of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad's policies towards untouchability, 1882–1915.' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 54, pp. 403–8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

⁵² His support to certain strands of extremist nationalism in the early twentieth century when it was taking hold in other parts of the country invited intense political vigilance by the colonial rulers and he was dangerously close to being accused of 'sedition'; his famous 'defiance' of protocol at the Coronation Durbar of 1911 creating outrage and calls for being deposed (Bhagavan 2003; Copland 1978). His frequent trips to Europe where he was suspected to be in touch with nationalists based in England and France kept him under the constant surveillance of British intelligence and the Scotland Yard (Gaekwad 1989).

compulsory education act. The Swadeshi (national self-reliance) movement was at its peak after the first partition of Bengal in 1905. British goods were being boycotted and there was a demand for domestic production. The Indian National Congress (which was formed in 1885) and other nationalists were asserting their right to control educational institutions. This was the time that the Amreli experiment had been proved worthy of expansion and the Baroda free and compulsory law was being formulated.

It is worth mentioning that Baroda city was also the site of one of the first nationalist schools in the country, set up by the Cambridge-trained Aurobindo Ghosh,⁵³ (who in 1902 had been appointed Vice-Principal of Baroda College and was later the Maharaja's private secretary), his brother (one of the early revolutionary nationalists) and two members of the Baroda state service. The school was associated with extremist training, and publications against the colonial regime were printed there. A famous 'sedition' case was initiated against Maharaja Sayajirao, a dramatic case of intervention by the colonial government against a native king.⁵⁴

Free and compulsory education in the Baroda state was being lauded as a singularly remarkable achievement by the nationalists and questions were being raised on why such a model could not be implemented across the country. In 1911, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, the nationalist leader, cited Baroda's vision and success in a private members' bill tabled in the Imperial Legislative Council.⁵⁵ The bill, which argued for a law on free and compulsory law on the lines of Baroda, was rejected on the grounds that the 'conditions were not ripe' for it.⁵⁶

⁵³ Aurobindo Ghosh (1872–1950), who grew up in England, was an Indian nationalist highly respected within literary and nationalist circles. He left Baroda to take part in a revolutionary nationalist group. He later became a spiritual figure, establishing his own ashram in Pondicherry in south India.

⁵⁴ Initially, even as other princely states cooperated with the Raj (the colonial government) in dealing with the activities of extremist nationalists, Sayajirao chose to focus on his own state. Speaking to his Dewan he said: 'It is a storm in a teacup and the logical outcome of certain forces. To realize them one must visit other civilized countries. What India requires is a more liberal government. I think we need take no steps in our own State to pacify the exaggerated feeling of uneasiness. Our attention should be concentrated on progress in our Raj' (cited in Copland, op cit, p. 33).

⁵⁵ Echoing Sayajirao's appeal that the yardstick of western modernity be used to improve institutions in India, Gokhale stressed the need for mass education as beyond mere literacy, giving people 'a keener enjoyment of life and a more refined standard of living... a greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual... a higher level of intelligence for the whole community in general...'. He went on to add: 'Within the borders of India itself, the Maharaja of Baroda has set an example of enthusiasm in the cause of education for which he is entitled to the lasting gratitude of the people of the country... one great need of the situation, which I have ventured again and again to point out in this Council for several years past, is that the Government should enable us to feel that, though largely foreign in personnel, it [mass education] is national in spirit and sentiment; and this it can only do by undertaking towards the people of India all those responsibilities, which national Governments in other countries undertake towards their people' *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (1916), Madras: G.A. Natesan and Co., p. 718.

⁵⁶ For a detailed discussion on the political and historical context of Gokhale's bill, see Kumar, op cit, pp. 118–122.

By 1905, even before free and compulsory education was extended throughout the state, the Baroda state was estimated to be spending around five times per student as the British government.⁵⁷ Even though revenues were a source of concern, especially after the region had been ravaged by a plague epidemic followed by widespread famine between 1896 and 1900, the state was committed to seeing through the experiment. Many in the colonial administration viewed as an affront to their power that a princely state could set itself up as a model to be revered and emulated; free and compulsory education at the school level was seen as fundamentally unattainable by inferior natives. The historic moment at which these events unfolded – the nationalist upsurge at the time, the sedition case against the Gaekwad, and Gokhale's bill, set off alarm bells in the colonial administration. Between 1912 and 1915, the 'Baroda experiment' became the centre of political intrigue as the colonial administration at the highest levels in India and Britain enquired into its functioning. Confidential reports suggest that the colonial regime was determined to discredit it as a failure, for fear of a nationalist demand for its implementation across the country.⁵⁸

22.7 A Modern Sociability in the City? Limits of Educational Reform

Most writing on education and other social reforms in Baroda city and the princely state have focused on Sayajirao's ideas and actions as an 'enlightened monarch'. He is often glorified as a forward looking anti-colonialist whose educational policy and putative support of nationalist causes brought on the wrath of the empire. Manu Bhagavan's scholarly examination of the setting up of Baroda University locates Maharaja Sayajirao's educational interventions within a narrative of subversion to colonial authority, terming the university itself as a 'rebel academy'.⁵⁹ It is undeniable that Sayajirao was an energetic and opinionated maverick, one for whom many of his contemporaries and later historians have expressed admiration. But while his personality – one, moreover, whose actions and thoughts are richly documented in his own speeches, contemporary biographies as well as colonial records – make him a tempting character to study, one must be wary of painting too facile or personalised a picture of his times.

Free and compulsory primary education was a radical initiative at a time when education was the preserve of the upper castes alone. Yet, for the same reason,

⁵⁷ Baroda Administrative Report 1904–1905, p. 205.

⁵⁸ For details, see the two documents related to the enquiries into Baroda's education programme: Confidential report regarding the Baroda system of free compulsory primary school education India Office Records, Judicial and Public Department, 1915, L/PJ/6/1382; Parliamentary question regarding compulsory education in Baroda, India Office Records, Political and Secret Department, 1912, L/PS/11/15.

⁵⁹ Bhagavan, op cit.

it came up against traditional hierarchies of power within the social structure of Baroda. With persons from the higher castes in positions of power and authority, caste discrimination was widespread in the city. The earlier *sardars* or courtiers of the Gaekwadi regime resisted the idea of 'open' schools, refusing to send their children to these institutions and defiling their caste.⁶⁰ Since caste Hindu teachers would not teach untouchable children, schools employed Muslim and Christian teachers. The reformist Hindu organisation Arya Samaj, which did not practise untouchability, was invited to come and teach in these schools in Baroda.⁶¹ A poignant case is that of Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar, a towering figure of the Indian freedom movement who headed the drafting committee of the Constitution of independent India. In 1913, Ambedkar, who belonged to an Untouchable caste, was identified by Maharaja Sayajirao for a scholarship to do his Masters and PhD at Columbia University. As part of the terms of his scholarship, Ambedkar returned to the city to serve the administration. Although undoubtedly one of the most qualified persons in the administration, Ambedkar experienced severe discrimination on account of his caste and was forced to leave the city.⁶²

The historical archive on education in the *Sanskarnagari* and the larger Baroda princely state primarily comprises of state administrative reports and speeches of Maharaja Sayajirao. This historical record fails to adequately capture the realities of a state that was organised around the absolute authority of a feudatory ruler, with financial and political power concentrated in the bureaucracy. Sayajirao's visionary ideas about education and social reforms derived their legitimacy from the need for instituting a new social order based on the development of this modern bureaucratic system. As discussed earlier, by the late nineteenth century, Baroda had moved from being a feudal state with its wealth derived solely from land revenue from villages. Cautious and strategic restructuring of the land revenue system, without upsetting patterns of traditional dominance, saw increasing migration to the city. The region's small landlords came to the city for employment in the bureaucracy, the professions and commerce. The modern bureaucracy instituted in the Baroda state replaced the older 'patrimonial' order, in which traditional power holders gave way to officials appointed on merit and paid state salaries.⁶³ Reforms in state structure necessitated

⁶⁰Rice, op cit, pp. 57–58.

⁶¹In a 1903 address to the reformist Hindu Arya Samaj in Lahore, he invited them to come to Baroda to become teachers at the schools for untouchables "instead of criticizing Muslims and Christians for proselytizing their 'brothers'" (Mehta, op cit, p. 406)

⁶²Among Dr Ambedkar's teachers in Columbia was the philosopher John Dewey whom he greatly admired as a scholar and whose ideas deeply influenced his own. In 1917, Dr Ambedkar returned, by the terms of his scholarship, to serve the Baroda administration. His stay in the city for a short period of 11 days, was full of tragic humiliation. Because of his low caste status, lodgings were impossible to find, and the administration kept his official accommodation in abeyance. He was attacked in the dingy Parsi hostel he managed to find a room in. Many years later, he writes that being in the United States had made him forget he was Untouchable, and that the remembrance of those times cannot be recalled without tears. (Vasant Moon, Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 2, pp. 661–691).

⁶³Hardiman, op cit p. 115.

the acquiescence of the landowning peasantry, and the ascendance of the bureaucracy as a major sector of paid employment by the state, based on competitive examinations, led to support of these influential sections to opening schools in villages.

Modernisation of the state bureaucracy and the setting up of modern institutions of learning required the cultivation of certain classes to man these institutions. These classes mainly comprised of the upper and middle caste groups who had benefitted most from the expansion of education in Baroda. By 1910–1911, participation of children from the landowning peasantry was highest (almost 50%), followed by traders (10.3%) and state officials (7.6%).⁶⁴ Caste-wise data from the Census reports of 1921 and 1931 show that that children from the the upper castes (Brahmin, Kshatriya) and landowning peasantry (Kunbi/Patidar) castes had the highest representation in Baroda's schools. The participation of these groups is reflected in their literacy levels as well. These high and middle caste groups benefitted from the education and economic reforms of the Baroda state, and the opportunities created for an educated literati within the public administration, trade and industry. The demographic shifts in bases of social power as a result of the reforms are best illustrated by the decrease in domination of Marathi-speaking sections at the upper levels of the bureaucracy who were concentrated in the city of Baroda since the beginning of Gaekwadi rule in the eighteenth century. Positions in the modernised bureaucracy, civil, judicial and police services, came to be filled by dominant sections of the local population like Gujarati Brahmins, Patidars, Vaniyas and Muslims.⁶⁵ The highest percentage of administrators and professionals like lawyers, doctors and professors in the Baroda College, who were largely high caste Brahmins, were those who had availed of English education.⁶⁶ Despite all measures by the administration to promote a sense of sociability in the city based on rules of citizenship over ascriptive status, education continued to serve the interests of the wealthy and upper castes.

Obviously, given the times, this socially and economically privileged section in the city was represented solely by men. Women belonging to these communities were encouraged to access education, especially higher education, and census reports testify to the high levels of literacy among upper caste Hindu women. For these women there was an expectation of involvement in public life through affiliation with the many clubs, associations and institutions for women in the city which were involved in social 'causes'. In her memoirs, Shardaben Mehta, who was married to Dr Sumant Mehta, the personal physician to the Maharaja, writes about the elitist culture of these circles and her sense of claustrophobia at their isolation from the real social problems affecting the city – poverty, the condition of workers, and poor women.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Pandya, *op cit*, p. 163.

⁶⁵ Hardiman, *op cit*, p. 119.

⁶⁶ Census of India 1921, Vol. VVII, Baroda. Bombay: The Times Press, p. 364.

⁶⁷ Shardaben Mehta (1882–1970) was, along with her sister, the first woman graduate in Gujarat. She was active in the Gandhian movement. Her husband Dr Sumant Mehta was part of the Baroda

For the lower and untouchable castes, a degree of upward mobility was, however, made possible through education, as many gave up their caste-based occupations when they moved to the city in search of semi-skilled work in the wake of industrialisation. By 1920, there was huge expansion of cotton mills and chemical factories, and incentives were being offered to private capital to invest in organised industry. The Kala Bhavan's courses reflected these developments, with a course in weaving introduced in addition to the existing courses in carpentry, dyeing and mechanical engineering. Apart from attracting students from many parts of the country, there was a particular focus on bringing in students from the artisanal castes from in and around Baroda city.

However, as elsewhere, industrialisation also brought changes in the city's class structure. The large proportion of the city's population was engaged as labourers and industrial workers, illiterate and semi-literate migrants, who had to work under appalling conditions of exploitation.⁶⁸ It was these sections who had to bear the brunt of legal offences under the compulsion clause of the free and compulsory education law. Moreover, it is clear from educational reports that access to schools for the lower and untouchable castes was fraught with threat and subversion of rules by upper castes. Traditional caste practices, especially regarding the untouchable castes, continued to dominate the everyday life of the city, as Dr. Ambedkar's own experience clearly shows. In the early years of the twentieth century, the fashioning of an 'alternate modernity' through mass education came up against the solid edifice of tradition, albeit in transition.

22.8 Concluding Comments

As this paper has attempted to show, education pre-eminently figured in the emergence of Baroda as a city of 'culture'. Largely due to the philosophical approach of an 'enlightened' ruler, the provincial city of Baroda and the princely state it represented was invested in the creation of an educated and engaged citizenry marked by a distinctive cosmopolitanism. In the extant discourse on Baroda's educational 'achievements' – its impressive institutions and innovative practices – we find the intertwining imaginations of education as a social, public good, a transformative experience to be made available to all persons across social hierarchies of class, caste, gender, region, and religion. The particular form of modernity engendered by

Praja Mandal, or people's association, made up of the city's intellectuals, almost all Gujarati Brahmins, who aligned with the nationalist movement but were not effective in bringing its concerns to the princely state (Hardiman, p. 127–8).

⁶⁸ Patel (2011) notes that it is interesting that a state as invested in reforms on caste, gender and education as Baroda, offered little guarantees of workers' rights, even passing a basic one such as the right to unionise as late as 1938, 12 years after the British government had passed the law. See Patel, P.J. (2011) 'Trade union movement in a princely state,' *Contributions to Indian Sociology* Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 27–54.

such an imagination was related to the development of a capital city infused with possibilities of knowledge acquisition, a space signifying the aspirations not only of its ruler, but of all state subjects.

However, the evolution of the city was not removed from larger contestations of social power. The focus on modern education fitted into the longer term requirements of fashioning a new educated urban elite – the new class of industrialists, and professionals like doctors, teachers, lawyers and bureaucrats. In this paper I argue that a study of education in the context of the princely state not only requires the intentions of the ‘policy makers’, in this case the ‘reformed’ feudal monarchy, to be taken into consideration, but also historical shifts in society that gave rise to the need for such policy, and at the same time imposed certain limitations on its implementation. Baroda’s educational reforms, in particular the Baroda ‘experiment’ of free and compulsory education, was set against a matrix of contestations between ideas and social structures, colonial rule and nationalist assertions, domination of the upper castes and landed peasantry who seized educational opportunities, and the aspirations of those who migrated to the city in search of work in the new industries. Attempts to extend mass education were enforced through a modern bureaucratic machinery of a benevolent and liberal monarchy, but remained unachievable without measures aimed at social amelioration. A comparison with Travancore, a princely state which passed a free and compulsory act as late as 1945 shows that different historical conditions can give rise to the spread of education. Unlike Baroda, Travancore was socially, economically and politically embedded in upper-caste dominance, and social life was characterised by extreme forms of caste discrimination and violence. This situation led to education for emancipation and dignity becoming the rallying call for mobilisation of the untouchable castes. Reports often refer to the Travancore example where community mobilisation for entry into this important public space worked better than fiat from above.⁶⁹ Baroda, guided by the progressive paternalism of an enlightened ruler, witnessed no such movements, even through the years of the nationalist Gandhian movement that originated in Gujarat. Educational ‘experiments’ like the public library movement and free and compulsory education, the focus on skills and learning, the application of reason and ‘scientific’ principles to knowledge generation and dissemination, and

⁶⁹The princely state of Travancore is an interesting counter-example to Baroda. Even though it officially passed a free and compulsory act as late as 1945, social movements by the untouchable castes to access education for dignity and emancipation saw Travancore far ahead of Baroda in all educational indicators. (Saiyidain et al., *op cit*, p. 29; Tharakan 1984, *op cit*)

In fact, a section of nationalist opinion held that the Baroda state was prominent on the education front because it projected its western modernity through ostentatious expenditure. The Servants of India Society, led by the same Gokhale who had drawn inspiration from the Baroda experiment in proposing free and compulsory education in the Imperial Council in 1911, published a scathing article in its journal on the comparison between the two states, showing how Baroda amassed its wealth from land revenue (thereby keeping its subjects in poverty) while Travancore, which had similar if not better institutions, focussed on social development. See Vaze, S.G. (1923) ‘Travancore and Baroda’, in *The Servant of India*, Servants of India Society, Vol. 6, No. 9, pp. 101–103 (May 29, 1923).

most importantly, the setting up of institutions accessible to all to support these efforts helped create a sense of an 'educated public' in the city. The dynamics of urbanism in Baroda city helped to sustain education at all levels, but in other small towns and villages in its hinterland, these efforts could not sustain their energy after Sayajirao's death in 1939.

Even today, almost 70 years after the princely state of Baroda was merged into the federal union of India, belonging to Baroda registers one's difference from being a resident of any other of Gujarat's many towns and cities. The city's landscape is much altered with institutions set up in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century having adapted to the needs of post-independence demands for public education. The Maharaja Sayajirao University, established in 1949 from the Baroda College, with its impressive Indo-Saracenic architecture and list of illustrious alumni still occupies an important place in the identity of Baroda as an educational centre. Many of the educational institutions set up in the 1880s were brought into the university when it was formed, like Kala Bhavan which is the Faculty of Engineering and Technology, and the Faculty of Performing Arts, which was earlier the music school. It is the only state university in Gujarat that offers higher education in the English language. The university's 13 Faculties, spanning Languages and Literature, Engineering, Medicine, Sciences, Commerce, Home Science and Performing Arts have produced scholars of national and international repute. Its Faculty of Fine Arts is considered one of the foremost in the country, having among its alumni many of India's best-known contemporary artists. The university continues to stand among an urban complex of institutions of learning – the museum, the central library and the teacher training institutes. Some of the state schools set up in the 1880s up to the 1930s were brought into the local public school system in the 1970s, their impressive architecture marking them from their later counterparts. All these institutions remain important sites of memory within the city.

Over the past century, like all cities of the world, the dynamics of economic development have changed the character of Baroda. The city continues to be known by its honorific epithet *Sanskarnagari*, although more in terms of spectacle than substance, through ritualistic registering of its provenance through city festivals and state-sponsored events. Within the context of the aggressive corporate-led and capital-intensive 'Gujarat model' of development adopted by the state since the late 1990s, policies favouring the privatisation of education have seen the city emerge as an education 'hub' in the state, with two private universities and a range of international schools catering to local elites as well as those from the Gujarati diaspora. Commercialisation of education has accompanied the intractable changes in the cityscape – hyper-visibility of commercial complexes like malls and multiplexes, shrinking of public spaces, increased urban displacement and poverty and last but not least, the rise of social violence. Those who have been witness to these transitions may invoke the *Sanskarnagari* with more than a tinge of nostalgia. In these much-altered configurations of the city, revisiting its history becomes relevant to reinstate its provenance in public memory.

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Chapter 23

Closed City ‘Spaces’: Differential Access to Education in Vijayawada, South India

N. Purendra Prasad

23.1 Introduction

Vijayawada is a city located on the banks of the Krishna river in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, which is one of the five South Indian states. This city was one of the few important provincial cities even during the colonial period. Vijayawada today is a high-growth city as it is part of the new capital city region, where the new capital ‘Amaravati’ is being built in about 50,000 acres by the new state of Andhra Pradesh.¹ In order to understand Vijayawada city and its transformative phases, it is important to analyze the coastal Andhra region where it is located. The agrarian economy primarily revolved around the two river basins – Krishna and Godavari (comprising four districts Krishna, Guntur, East and West Godavari) contributing 60% of the agricultural produce in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. As the region has adequate canal irrigation facilities, it is economically well developed. Scholars have traced a significant increase of cultivable land both in Krishna and Guntur districts at two intervals, first, when the barrage was constructed across the Krishna river by Arthur Cotton in the year 1852, and secondly when the Nagarajuna Sagar dam was constructed in 1960s (Rao 1985; Reddy 1989). The region’s growth curve

¹ Andhra Pradesh state has been bifurcated into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana on 2nd June, 2014. Hyderabad was the capital of united Andhra Pradesh, while it is now the capital of Telangana. The state of Andhra Pradesh is building the new state capital in Amaravati, which is located adjacent (25 kms) to the Vijayawada city.

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took another major turning point with the green revolution since mid-1960s, intensifying commercial crops and generating surplus from the agrarian economy. This process subsequently led to rapid urbanization, as a result of which number of urban centres – Vijayawada, Guntur, Mangalagiri, Rajamundry, Kakinada, Tenali, Machilipatnam emerged in the region. The nexus between land and water played a significant role not only in economy but also in politics and the social sphere (Parthasarathy 2004), thus contributing to the development of social and cultural capital to use Bourdieu's concept (Jenkins Richard 1992). The economic, social and political networks constituted the basis for the upper castes to emerge as educational entrepreneurs in and outside the region by 1980s.

The period 1965–1980 formed an important growth phase for the coastal Andhra region. Economically, a rich peasant class² emerged with the agrarian surplus due to the green revolution. Secondly, distinct social and cultural strategies were adopted by the upper castes that contributed to class formations in the region (see Upadhyaya 1997; Prasad 2015b). In the next phase during 1980–1994, a dramatic transformation occurred in the deltas of Coastal Andhra. The surplus generated by the class of rich peasants was channelled into aquaculture, large coconut farms, rice milling, petty investments (e.g. in Cinema Halls, Hotels, and Restaurants) in both the semi-urban and urban towns in the region. Later, this class reinvested their surplus in Hyderabad in various 'new economy' enterprises (e.g. shares in IT, and Pharmaceuticals). Also a significant investment took place in education (engineering and medical colleges) and health (corporate hospitals) across the urban centres in the region and Hyderabad (Prasad 2014).

When the rich peasant class diversified their economic activities in 1980s, this period also marked two parallel developments. One, Telugu Desam, a regional political party emerged in 1982. Within a short period of forming the party, it came to power in Andhra Pradesh. This facilitated the upper castes³ to assert themselves socially, politically, and of course in consolidating their economic base. Second, the Indian information technology (IT) industry which was a marginal entity that catered to domestic needs in 1970s rose significantly in 1980s as major industry and later acquired a global software companies' status by the year 2000 (Nasscom 2012). This rise in this software industry has promoted educational entrepreneurship across south India, and in the coastal Andhra region in particular.

English medium education and strong motivation to pursue science and mathematics at school and college level have been the major 'advantages' for the southern states of Andhra Pradesh (A.P), Telangana, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu. As a cultural attribute, education, especially at the higher education level is highly valued in south India. The proportion of the urban population is also higher in south India (33 %) compared to the national average (28 %). Therefore, cities such as Bengaluru,

² *Kamma, Reddy, Rajus* and *Kapus* constituted the rich peasant class further consolidated their economic and political power, controlled the economy not only in the region but also in Hyderabad. They also constituted the interlinked moneylender-merchant-input agent class that managed all kinds of agricultural transactions related to commissions, inputs, credit, marketing of agricultural produce of the Coastal Andhra region.

³ *Kammas* in particular gained from this political momentum.

Chennai, Hyderabad and Coimbatore in south India have developed as software hubs. Given this scenario, this chapter analyzes how the rise in the IT industry contributed to the ‘entrepreneurship in education’ leading to the corporatisation of school and college education in coastal Andhra region. A particular mode of education (enabling the decoding of competitive entrance examinations for obtaining seats in the increasingly sought after IITs) spread across the urban centres in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, covering all the major cities – Hyderabad, Vijayawada, Visakhapatnam, Tirupati and Warangal.

This chapter primarily uses a political economy perspective to analyse the issues of ‘access’, ‘quality’ and social differentiation that is emerging among different classes of learners in urban India. This is conceptualized in terms of closed ‘spaces’. Here space is used the way Lefebvre (1991) defines it as one of the privileged instruments of the state in its efforts to control social relations among individuals, groups and classes. Lefebvre argues that the state is reconfigured in a new set of relations as necessary to the working of globalization. Lefebvre understood this reconfiguration of state as “production of space”. Thus, state is conceptualised not as fixed entity or container which holds both the market and society but as an ensemble of social relations that form a complex, intertwined temporal and spatial grid (Brenner 2004). Here in Vijayawada, the city space excludes certain social groups from gaining access to housing, basic amenities, and other critical resources including education. Under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) or Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and urban Transformation (AMRUT) the lower classes located in the core or inner city of Vijayawada got constantly displaced, raising questions about access to education. Inequality in the Indian city is not simply a legacy of the past but is produced and reinforced by the state, a result of active policies and practices that result from its institutional character (Heller and Mukhopadhyay 2015; Kamat 2011). Of course, David Harvey (2012) places the city at the forefront in terms of its position as a generator of capital accumulation and absorption of surpluses (of both capital and labour). Harvey explains that urbanization is very crucial for the capitalist production process and has an inherent tendency towards over accumulation. It is within this framework that the findings of the study are analyzed.

Primary data was collected through field work in Vijayawada and Guntur in February, 2015. Individual interviews and group discussion was conducted with the current and retired teachers from the coaching institutes, government and private schools, and colleges. In addition, municipal officials, members of the private college teachers’ association, and political activists were also interviewed. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section traces the historical trajectory of Vijayawada city, its growth, and how urban reforms and governance through JNNURM (renamed by NDA government as AMRUT) impacted educational and other services. The second section provides a macro narrative explaining how Vijayawada emerged as a corporate educational model that transformed school, college, and professional education. The third section talks about the present situation of schools and education run by the Vijayawada Municipal Corporation to draw a comparative social class analysis of municipal and private (both aided and unaided)

Table 23.1 Demographic details and the decadal growth rate of Vijayawada City

Year	Population (in lakhs)	Growth rate
1961	230,397	42.93
1971	317,258	37.70
1981	461,772	46.95
1991	701,827	51.99
2001	845,217	20.43
2011	1,048,000	23.99

schools and colleges. The fourth and final section analyses the findings and raises questions on differential access to education, educational aspiration and mobility of different social groups, and the role of the state and market in transforming the city spaces in India.

23.2 City Growth and Educational Governance

Vijayawada city is located on the banks of river Krishna. It is considered as the agricultural and commercial capital of Andhra Pradesh. The Vijayawada urban agglomeration consists of Vijayawada municipal corporation (VMC), Mangalagiri municipality and four Panchayats and has a population of 1.04 million as per 2011 census (see Table 23.1). Vijayawada became a municipality⁴ in 1888 with an area of 30 sq kms which was upgraded as a selection grade municipality in 1960 and further to a municipal corporation in 1981. In 2011, VMC has an area of 61.88 sq kms and Vijayawada Urban agglomeration has 110.44 sq kms. An important feature is that areas around the VMC experienced higher growth indicating the dynamic growth of the city. The city development plan prepared by VMC predicts a two million population in less than a decade (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2010a). Vijayawada is a major railway junction and has good road connectivity between north and south India, linking Chennai, Delhi, Kolkata and Hyderabad. As a commercial centre, Vijayawada has specialized in agricultural produce, edible oils, machinery & metal goods, transport, automobile spare parts, and numerous small scale industries, employing a large proportion of labourers (Baken 2003).

The city has witnessed a rapid growth over the past six decades with an average decennial growth rate of 40%. During the period 1981–1991 the net growth has been about 52% attributed to a large influx of the rural population to the city. However, during the past two decades 1991–2011, the growth has stabilized with a

⁴ Vijayawada's locational advantages can be traced back to the construction of railway bridge across the river Krishna in 1892. The bridge effectively made Vijayawada the 'gateway to the south'. All the south-bound trains from the north and north-west India pass through Vijayawada. Later on, road and railway networks were substantially expanded and improved.

decennial population growth of 22 %. The population growth can be attributed to the in-migration from the surrounding villages and towns in the region due to the growth of commercial activities. It includes: agricultural market centre, a host of wholesale and retail activities dealing in consumer goods, textiles, automobiles, industrial products etc. It is also a major trade centre for processed Virginia Tobacco, Cotton, and Turmeric. The agricultural commodities produced in this part of Andhra finds its market in Vijayawada both for local consumption and export. Vijayawada is also known for its Mango exports generating millions of rupees annually. Steady growth in the education sector (e.g., a large number of private schools, colleges, coaching institutes, professional colleges) also significantly contributed to the migration of students and their families into the city.

The Municipal Corporation's administrative area is divided into 59 wards⁵ for the purpose of governance. The slum⁶ population has grown from 169,043 in 2001 to 287,983⁷ in 2011, constituting about 28 % of the entire city population (Vijayawada Municipal Corporation 2013). If one looks at the city's land use pattern, it indicates that about 26 % is residential, with a significant part of the city's land use, i.e. 21 %, assigned towards the transport activities, about 10 % towards commercial activities, about 11 % is towards the public use, 15 % towards the slums (9.27 sq kms), and the rest, 17 %, of city land use which is not clearly demarcated (ibid:7). However, the city is facing severe land use problems like scarcity of disposal sites for garbage whose daily production is around 600 metric tonnes.

As a city's development and welfare is directly linked to the functioning of urban local bodies, it is important to understand how different development projects influenced the urban governance mechanism in Andhra Pradesh. The major urban governance reforms, programmes, and projects initiated in Andhra Pradesh since the early-1990s include urban poverty programmes, such as the Urban Basic Services programme (UBSP), Swarna Jayanti Sahari Rojgar Yojana (SJSRY), and UK's Department for International Development (DFID) supported Andhra Pradesh Urban Services for Poor (APUSP) and urban reform and restructuring such as the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM),⁸ Mission for Elimination of Poverty in Municipal Areas (MEPMA),⁹ and the World

⁵Every municipal corporation in India classifies a particular size of population into wards for administrative and political purposes. Each ward will have an elected representative (corporator), who in turn elects a mayor to govern the city. In Vijayawada, each of these 59 wards has about 18,000 people.

⁶A slum is heavily populated urban informal settlement where a large number of below poverty line (BPL) people live in substandard housing with inadequate facilities.

⁷This figure includes only the population from the notified slums. If one includes the estimates of non-notified slums, the slum population constitutes about 35 % of the city population.

⁸The Indian government launched its largest post-independence urban planning initiative JNNURM in December 2005. Four cities – Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada and Tirupati have been identified in A.P. In order to access JNNURM funds, these ULBs will have to commit themselves to several mandatory and optional reforms.

⁹MEPMA has been initiated in A.P. in the year 2008

Bank-sponsored AP Municipality Development Project (APMDP).¹⁰ Starting from 2005, the Indian state justified urban reforms through JNNURM that it wants to make select cities as “world class”, “smart¹¹” & “slum-free”. The assumption is that all the above reforms initiated in post-1990s will enable the cities to emerge as more livable, secure and of course, global in character.

The JNNURM and APMDP Programmes come under particular scrutiny, the former being referred to as the “official carrier of neo-liberal urbanism,” (Banerjee-Guha 2009:96–7), which conceptualizes cities primarily in economic terms, as engines of economic growth, while also creating a “modern” homogenized society. JNNURM also comes in for a great deal of criticism for the manner in which it advocates the aggressive pursuit of outsourcing, privatization, and public-private partnership, thus reducing the state to the status of a mere facilitator rather than an actual delivery agency when it comes to social necessities and essential urban services. Andhra Pradesh First Referral Health Project (APFRHP) supported by the World Bank, and the District Primary Education Project (DPEP), supported by the Department for International Development (DFID) and the World Bank, have been the flagship programmes in the health and education sectors in Andhra Pradesh, which became integral to urban governance. As part of this neo-liberal governance framework, Vijayawada municipal corporation was also compelled to implement several measures such as mortgaging vacant land, buildings, generating revenue through a hike in property taxes, casualization of work force,¹² outsourcing day-to-day running of parks, and street lights through public-private partnerships etc. Urban local bodies such as Vijayawada, Visakhapatnam and Tirupati in A.P visualized a huge opportunity in JNNURM and other reformist agenda to overcome their financial crisis and improved governance, but the studies indicated the contrary to it (see Prasad 2014).

The school witnessed a paradigm shift in the education policies of the last decade due to a new governance framework adopted by the state. Several studies indicated that the urban mission agenda under JNNURM is to privatise/commercialise basic services, including education through public private partnerships (PPPs). Vijayawada, one of the 63 cities identified under JNNURM indicates this trend clearly. Apart from running the municipal schools through contract teachers, *vidya*

¹⁰This project is for a period of 5 years starting from 2010 with a grant of Rs 1800 crores (\$405 million) and is aimed at improving basic services for people by strengthening ULBs (News Reporter 2009).

¹¹The union government is planning to develop 100 ‘smart’ cities. Under the city challenge method, the centre will contribute 50 % of the funds needed to develop a smart city and the state will chip in with 20 % and the selected city the remaining 30 %. The selected city should be levying user charge or ready to impose them on its residents. State governments will have to give an undertaking that they will float municipal bonds and to make up for the shortfall funds, the selected municipalities will have to contribute their share. State governments can go for public issue as well.

¹²Casualization of workforce occurs whenever workers are employed in a casual, temporary, contract or otherwise non-permanent and non-full time capacity.

(education) volunteers, the private entrepreneurs have been invited by the urban local bodies to participate in school development, thus opening the window to use prime government land for commercial purposes (*ibid*:89).

23.3 Education Through Coaching Institution

During the pre-Independence period the coastal Andhra region, particularly Guntur and Vijayawada cities, witnessed a lot of charity and philanthropic work in the education sector. Credible private (not for profit) educational institutions such as Loyala, Stella Mary, Satavahana colleges located in these cities attracted talented and meritorious students from different urban centres across south India. The education was highly valued in the region due to the schools and colleges established by the British as well as Christian Missionary efforts, and of course the intense literary reform movement¹³ in Rajamundry and other towns (Ramakrishna 1983). In supplementing some of these efforts, an educational entrepreneur named CVN Dhan started a 'coaching centre' in 1957 in Guntur. The purpose was primarily to help those students unable to academically cope with school education. The fee structure of this coaching centre was modest, and hence also affordable for the lower middle classes. He continued this initiative for about two decades resulting in reasonable profits. This coaching centre model became popular from then onwards and was considered as a successful experiment in the region. Subsequently several entrepreneurs explored different business models in the education sector building on the idea of coaching centres.

By the 1980s the rich peasant class in the region consolidated its social and political power, by diversifying its portfolio from agriculture to non-agricultural enterprising sectors, particularly the entertainment industry, education, and health sectors. As the regional economy flourished and diversified, provincial towns such as Guntur and Vijayawada became centres not only of trade and finance but also for education, drawing many students from rural areas. The emergence of this rich peasant class, the Telugu Desam Party, and the political and social consolidation of upper caste Kammas in the region, provided a basis for this entrepreneurship in several sectors, including education. The region also had a long history of caste associations which started hostels for lower classes within each caste group. For example, Vasihya, Kamma, Reddy, Kapu communities established hostels, community halls in several towns and cities, largely reflecting educational priorities.

¹³Reforms include: spread of western education through the medium of English, establishment of schools and colleges by the British government and Christian missionaries; rise and growth of journalism, the first Telugu journal Satyadoota appeared in 1833; rise of socio-political associations particularly literary associations like Vijnanachandrika, Andhra Bhashabhi vardhani Samajam of Masulipatnam, Saraswatigrantha Mandali of Rajahmundry etc awakened people through numerous publications and activities.

These caste associations were not formed by rural farmers but by educated caste members or lawyers living in towns (Washbrook 1975). These educational initiatives by the caste groups helped the mobility of lower classes over a period of time.

In the education sector, the entry of private capital went initially into the 10+2 educational coaching but later expanded to 10+2 (intermediate) colleges and subsequently to engineering and medical colleges. Thus the flight from government to the privatisation of education happened by the 1980s, when professional education became highly valued. Moreover, when this professional education fulfilled the aspirations of the rich peasant classes from coastal Andhra to migrate to North America, then the significance of coaching centres increased enormously. Now a different class of students became eager to get into these coaching centres to access the limited seats in government engineering and medical colleges. While the Dhan coaching centre was the first, the next generation of coaching centres that emerged in 1980s (Vignan, Vikas, etc) were of a different kind altogether. Coaching centres were seen as a big business from then on.

The privatisation of education became intensified with the rising demand for professional education from late 1970s onwards. With the growing number of jobs in the Information Technology (IT) sector, the coaching centre managements were able to market themselves as the most viable option for affordable and aspiring students. This process further proliferated when the educational entrepreneurs from the region lobbied successfully with the TDP government to receive grant aid money and other incentives for private educational institutions. It was only after this government intervention that both college and school education got commercialised, and subsequently the coaching centre business got concentrated in Vijayawada. This was later expanded to Nellore, an adjoining urban centre. With the shift from Guntur to Vijayawada, large entrepreneurs entered into the field. As a result several coaching institutions and schools such as Chaitanya, Narayana, Ravindra Bharati, Bhashyam, Keshava Reddy, Gautam, Krishnaveni Schools emerged and later acquired a particular brand for themselves. These institutions have scaled up the cost of education several times higher, and also accelerated the privatisation of education. The coaching institutions have become attractive for upper and middle classes to receive individualised tutoring while it restricted access to the lower classes further.

Similarly, the private capital also went into establishment of several engineering colleges. Sidhartha, an engineering college, was established in 1977, and was the first private technical institution in Andhra Pradesh. Then came V.R College of engineering, Vignan, KL University etc. Vignan foundation for science, technology and research transformed coaching centres into intermediate colleges and later expanded his enterprise into a diversified educational group. KL engineering college and Vignan college have all now become deemed universities. Similarly, NTR health university, 'pinnamaneni' Siddhartha institute of medical college, Gannavaram, Gudlavalleru college, NRI Institute of technology, Bapatla engineering college, Tenali engineering college etc all came up. Majority of engineering colleges are owned by kamma regional elite.

By 1990s, the entrepreneurs focused their investments on aqua-culture, arrack,¹⁴ sericulture, and also on education. The education sector came to be seen as one of the best investment options to get higher returns. Over a period of time, the 'provincial propertied classes' to use Balagopal's (1987) phrase controlled education through these coaching centres. These classes lobbied tax concessions, recognition, financial aid, and other incentives from the state for private colleges and schools. Along with these entrepreneurs, the growing Non-Resident Indians (NRIs), who are highly educated migrants from the region, also played a major role in investing and promoting professional education.

By 2000s these coaching centres focused not only on professional engineering and medical education but also usurped school education. This was achieved by re-conceptualizing school education in a more 'technical' and 'innovative' way, i.e. through concept schools, techno- schools, and foundational schools etc. These 'new' schools were packaged as early stepping stones to successfully crack the entrance examinations of Indian Institute of Technology (IITs) and Engineering, Agriculture, Medicine Common Entrance Test (EAMCET) after 10+2 education. This is one process by which the coaching centres adopted the 'backward integrative strategy' by including the school education into their fold. It was emphasized that in order for competitive examination coaching to be effective, students should enrol themselves from sixth grade onwards so that their basics will be strong particularly in the science stream. On the other hand, they adopted the 'forward integrative strategy' by including the NRIs, educational consultants to help students get admissions in foreign universities. This is how coaching centres attracted students from secondary school onwards to engineering education. As Carol Upadhyia (2014) points out with the movement of many young people to the US and other countries via the IT route, the 'IT craze' swept the region, enhancing the choice for engineering degrees and spurring the restructuring of education all the way down to the primary school level.

By 2010 the competition among the coaching centres reached its peak. This is when Narayana and Sri Chaitanya went into the mode of typical business mergers, out-right buying up the smaller or medium units.¹⁵ This also involved weaning away the good teachers from other institutions in order to establish their monopoly. This is evident with the fact that the two institutions – Narayana and Sri Chaitanya emerged as the top two and have been dominating the school, college, and professional education sectors. These two institutions have opened several branches not just in Hyderabad and Vijayawada but in every possible urban centre across 13 districts in Andhra Pradesh, and 10 districts in Telangana. They have also opened branches in urban centres in the states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Maharashtra and Delhi in the last 5 years. In order to avoid competition and retain

¹⁴ It is a local alcoholic beverage that is distilled from a fermented mash of malted rice with toddy or molasses. Arrack contracts provide an important economic avenue for upper castes to earn profits.

¹⁵ Kesavareddy, an established chain of schools in Rayalaseema region in Andhra Pradesh have been bought by Sri Chaitanya educational institutions in the year 2015.

their monopoly in the education sector, these two institutions, partially merged into one entity called 'Chaina' (meaning both Chaitanya and Narayana) batch¹⁶ for the 'most talented students in accordance with capitalistic accumulation strategies. This of course led to a significant branding activity, and pricing the 'Chaina' batch to attract the students to the many coaching centres situated in all the urban centres. When the student enrolment increases in the coaching centres, then students are graded every week to classify them into different batches creating a hierarchy among students in terms of merit. The most talented are kept in top batches and are treated differently. The top few batches of students become privileged with the best infrastructure, air-conditioned class rooms, efficient teachers, and comfortable hostel accommodations, etc. These identified students in the top batches potentially become the top rankers in subsequent testing, thus giving credibility to the coaching centres. This success further contributed to the business model. Students in the Chaina batch are charged about Rs 300,000 (\$4384) each. The turnover of these two colleges today is estimated to be more than 50 million rupees (\$730,606).

The significance of these coaching institutes has been to prepare the ground for gaining entry into the software (Information Technology) industry in India. As the IT industry provided increasing job opportunities to a large number of people, coaching centres and professional education institutions also multiplied. At present, there are about 275,000 students in Sri Chaitanya, 140,000 students in Narayana, and another 250,000 students in all the other similar coaching institutions. From a mere 27 engineering colleges in 1996, the number grew to 540 colleges in 2009 in Andhra Pradesh. According to the economic survey 2004–2005, information technology (IT) and IT enabled Services (ITeS) make up the single largest contributor to India's service exports. IT, ITeS including Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) continues to be one of the largest employers in the country directly employing nearly 3.5 million people. Indians constituted 74 % of all computer related H1B visa holders in 1998–1999 in the united states of America (USA) and 78 % of all the foreign information technology (IT) professionals entering the UK in 2002 (cit in Xiang 2007). In 2011–2012, the sector employed 2.8 million IT professionals and contributed 7.5 % to India's GDP (Nasscom 2012). A.P accounts for about 23 % of software professionals from India in the U.S as per Nasscom survey in 1998. Also the way software technology parks (STPs) of India, set up in 1991–1992 in Hyderabad grew from 7 to 112 in 1997–1998 to that of 1300 in 2001–2012 (Ramachandraiah 2003), and about 4000 in 2012. A significant fact concerning the software engineers in USA and other European countries is that a large proportion of them are from the coastal Andhra region, indicating the impact of these coaching centres and professional education institutions. The ultimate markers of success of the coastal Andhra people is to have 'land in Andhra, a house in Hyderabad, and a job in America (Xiang 2007: 30)

The tangential growth of engineering colleges is evident from the way colleges rose from 107 in 2001 to 238 in 2004, and to 700 colleges by 2013. The four districts of south coastal Andhra alone have nearly 200 engineering colleges offering

¹⁶ A number of students grouped together is called a batch.

100,000 admissions. While the first generation of IT migrants were from the dominant castes and classes, the next generation of migrants in the last two decades are much more diverse. With the explosion of engineering colleges, the owners of these colleges lobbied the state government to provide fee reimbursement to the lower classes. The fee reimbursement scheme was introduced in 2008 by the A.P government, which covered the fees of students belonging to the backward castes (OBCs, SCs & STs). In 2009, the scheme was extended to below poverty line (BPL¹⁷) families, defined as those who have ‘white cards’. A critical scrutiny of the ‘fee reimbursement’ in education sector and ‘Arogyasri community health insurance scheme’ in health sector started in the year 2007, indicates how state resources have been effectively allocated to private engineering colleges and hospitals in Andhra Pradesh (Prasad 2015a).

23.4 Education Through Government Institutions

Government schools and colleges were highly valued until the 1970s due to the talented teachers, reasonably good infrastructure, and pedagogy. From 1980 onwards, however, coaching centres started attracting the talented teachers from government schools and colleges by paying higher remuneration. This is one process through which government educational institutions have been affected, thus leading to falling standards and ethics. Key respondents revealed that teachers who received a salary of Rs 240,000 (\$3506) per annum were offered Rs 500,000 (\$7306). In exceptional cases, such as KKR, a private residential School in Vijayawada pays 3.5 million rupees (\$51,143) per annum for a math teacher. Thus, several talented teachers have left their jobs and joined the private coaching cum residential schools and colleges across Indian states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, thus affecting quality education in government schools.

Similarly, the concept of ‘residential school’ and ‘residential college’ was a successful attempt by the state not only to attract talented rural students from different social backgrounds, but these schools also gained a reputation for providing high quality education. In 1971–1972, three residential schools¹⁸ were established by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. These schools achieved top ten ranks in secondary school certificate (SSC) board exams for several years, acquiring reputation for its high quality. Similarly, in 1972, on the eve of 25 years of Indian Independence, a silver jubilee residential degree (undergraduate) college was established in Kurnool, and later in 1982, Nagarjunasagar a residential college in Nalgonda was opened in

¹⁷ Below Poverty Line is an economic benchmark and poverty threshold used by the government of India to indicate economic disadvantage and to identify individuals and households in need of government assistance and aid.

¹⁸ The three residential schools established during 1971–1972 are: Sarvail in Nalgonda district, Tadikonda in Guntur District and Kodegenhalli in Anantapur district. In 1998, Gurukulams were established to enroll and retain tribal children and improve the quality of education.

the district. These two colleges' recruited teachers and students¹⁹ based on merit, making these colleges highly credible. In fact these colleges were credited for producing IITians, civil servants, and high ranking professionals. The private coaching centres effectively used this same concept in 1990s to start the residential schools and colleges. The only difference is that government residential schools and colleges were for the rural poor, provided education free or at highly subsidized rates, while the private residential colleges charged heavily ranging from Rs 60,000 to 300,000 (\$ 877 to 4384) per child.

During the early 1990s, the software industry was in a boom. The most typical educational route students took in Andhra Pradesh was to go through the private residential colleges cum coaching centres, pursue engineering education, join the Software Industry, and then look for opportunities to go to US. These coaching centres offered comprehensive tailor made packages to the students: this provided an engineering degree and support for them to migrate to US. In this manner, they have successfully captured the whole 10+2 and under-graduation college system. Prior to the private residential colleges, there were several government aided residential colleges in the form of Loyola, Stella and Satavahana in Vijayawada. In these government and government aided colleges, regular teachers constitute 20%, while the remaining 80% of them are on contract. The contract teachers were paid Rs 10,000 per month (\$146) till 2014 but for the series of struggles and negotiations by the teachers' associations, they are now paid Rs 21,000 (367) per month.

These aided colleges, once reputed for attracting the best talent from all over the state, today have to contend only with the socially and economically poor students. Discussion with the aided college teachers in Vijayawada revealed that about 30% of the students do part-time jobs to pay up annual tuition fees of Rs 20,000 (\$292). Most of these students are enrolled in social science and humanities courses. The teachers commented that it is the lower classes who sustain social science and humanities streams through government and government aided colleges. On the other hand, the private coaching colleges have focused only on the professional courses like engineering, medicine, bio-technology, pharmacology etc.

The coaching cum residential colleges and schools' have increased their enrolment by using a range of different marketing strategies. For instance, these colleges employed public relations officers (PROs), whose job is to persuade parents to enrol their children in the institution. In this process of persuasion, they have promoted technical courses only. This entire process has supplanted the government schools, government aided²⁰ and municipal schools.

The entry of private capital into the school and college education has been substantial in the last two decades. Although the private bodies are dominating the collegiate education, in terms of schools in the Krishna and Guntur districts, 59% of students are still in the government schools. The rest, 41%, are in the private schools.

¹⁹Students are recruited with due reservation to scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and backward region. Accommodation, food and tuition fees is highly subsidized.

²⁰Despite the huge impact of coaching centres, a few government and aided schools such as Nirmala, MSM, Siddartha, Montessori in Vijayawada are still running a credible school system.

Table 23.2 Schools under the Vijayawada Municipal Corporation

Type of school	No of schools	No. of students (boys)	No. of students (girls)	Total no. of students	No. of teachers	Teacher-student ratio
Primary (1–5)	75	4905	5539	10,444	311	1:34
Secondary (1–7)	2	120	114	234	11	1:21
High School (6–10)	28	6109	7012	13,121	460	1:29
	105	Total students 23,799	782	1:31		

Source: Vijayawada Municipal Corporation community development office (2015)

Students in government schools are mostly from the scheduled caste, backward caste and minorities. The upper castes Kammas, Reddys, and Kapus do not send their children to the government schools any longer. In contrast, a small proportion of students belonging to the lower classes from the slums go to the private schools. Field data indicated that government high schools are faring much better than the primary and secondary schools. There are 360 schools in Guntur and 350 schools in Krishna district. Among them, 28 high schools each are under the purview of municipal corporations. Due to state intervention, especially through the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan²¹ (SSA), municipal elementary and high schools became much more accessible. However, due to widespread private education, a ‘cultural value’ has been set in the minds of parents that school going children should wear a dress code. In order to make education more accessible to the lower classes, the SSA has removed the dress code and other accessories, which in fact had negative repercussions on the student’s enrolment. This aspect became an advantage for the private schools to attract students. In the last decade or so, there has been a consistent increase in enrolment in private schools. While this was always high for urban areas, it has now been estimated to have grown to 29% in rural areas as well (Karopady. 2014).

A close scrutiny of the Municipal schools in Vijayawada city is undertaken here as these schools are the key sites for the lower classes of students who are increasingly neglected by the local state. The discussion with key respondents in Vijayawada city revealed that private schools have made significant inroads into primary and secondary level, while high schools in the government sector are still able to retain a reasonable student strength. This is quite evident if one looks at the 105 municipal schools in Vijayawada city. At the primary level: on average there are 139 students per school, at the secondary school level about 60 students, while at the high school level, there are 469 students per school (see Table 23.2). The teacher student ratio in

²¹ Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) is Government of India’s flagship programme is implemented in partnership with state governments. SSA is aimed at achievement of universalization of Elementary Education in a time-bound manner as mandated by 86th amendment to the constitution of India making free and compulsory education to the children of 6–14 years age group, a fundamental right.

Table 23.3 Students intake based on medium under the VMC

Type of school	Telugu medium		English medium		Urdu medium		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Primary	3836	4342	677	694	392	503	10,444
Secondary	28	19	No school	No school	92	95	234
High School	5083	5812	828	758	198	442	13,121
Grand Total	8947	10,173	1505	1452	682	1040	23,799

Source: Vijayawada Municipal Corporation community development office (2015)

Table 23.4 Caste wise distribution of students going to English medium high schools

S No	Caste	Boys	Girls	Total
1	Upper castes	221 (27 %)	198 (26 %)	409
2	Backward castes	404 (49 %)	376 (49 %)	780
3	Scheduled castes	92 (11 %)	70 (9 %)	162
4	Scheduled tribes	10 (0.01 %)	9 ((1.2 %)	19
5	Minorities	105 (12.7 %)	115 (15 %)	220
Grand total		832 (100 %)	768 (100 %)	1590

Source: Vijayawada Municipal Corporation community development office (2015)

municipal schools is 1:31 while it is 1:50 or more in most of the private schools. This ratio was in the reverse direction until the 1980s but today the enrolment in the government sector is falling whereas the private sector is increasing. Of course, the lower classes and caste enrolment is higher in government schools while it is marginal in private schools.

One of the main reasons for the increasing enrolment in private schools is because of the medium of instruction. In private schools, English is the only medium of instruction, whereas in the Municipal schools students are taught in Telugu (81 %), Urdu (7 %) and English (12 %), (see Table 23.3). As the English medium provides greater access to educational and employment opportunities, private schools have an advantage over the municipal schools. Even if the lower classes aspire to send their children to private schools, because of high opportunity costs (school fees, hostel expenses etc), they are able to send them only to municipal schools.

If one looks at the disaggregated data of English medium students in terms of caste, three fourths of them are from upper castes and OBCs while the remaining one fourth are from Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes and minorities (see Table 23.4). It is true, however, that even the upper castes and OBCs are from the lower classes and those who could not afford private schools joined the municipal schools. Upper castes and OBCs are able to pursue English medium schools as they have social and cultural capital compared to SCs, STs and minorities.

Caste-wise enrolment of students under VMC indicates that 81 % of them are OBCs, SCs and STs, while only 19 % from upper castes (see Table 23.5). Even among the non-upper castes, it is OBCs who are predominant indicating the lower enrolment of STs (3 %), minorities (9 %) and SCs (17 %).

Table 23.5 Caste wise distribution of students in high schools under VMC

S No	Caste	Boys	Girls	Total
1	Upper castes	1158	1331	2489 (18.9%)
2	OBCs	3153	3769	6922 (52.8%)
3	SCs	1109	1077	2186 (16.7%)
4	STs	192	158	350 (2.7%)
5	Minorities	497	677	1174 (8.9%)
Grand total	6109	7012	13,121	(100%)

Discussions with the Vijayawada municipal school teachers indicated that the municipal schools located in the prime area of the city are facing stiff competition with the private schools. As private schools offer English medium instruction, there follows a lower enrolment in the municipal schools. There is tremendous pressure on these municipal schools to switch over to the English medium in order to retain the students, and also to justify the student-teacher ratio. Beginning in 2011, two municipal schools (Darsipet corporation school, and the AKTPM school) did start teaching only in English. However, there continues to be a decline in the enrolment of students in these schools due to eviction of the slum population in the prime area: their housing, it is claimed, is located on ‘illegal’ sites. On the other hand, municipal schools located in the periphery of the city are oversubscribed in terms of student enrolment.

There is a tendency for parents to put their wards in the private schools at the primary school level while at the secondary and high school levels, students are admitted into municipal schools because of the high fee structure. There is wide range of choice at the primary school level for all classes of people as low-budget private schools are available in every urban centre in India. In terms of teachers, government schools recruit only qualified teachers, while private schools do not follow this norm. Discussion with the teachers indicated that it is quite demotivating for them to work in municipal schools because of the decline in students’ enrolment, irregular attendance, and lack of social diversity etc. They also pointed out paradoxically that the teacher quality is very poor in most of the private schools at the primary level, despite the high enrolment and popularity of these English medium schools.

There is thus a combination of educational, economic and social issues involved in the decision of parents to send their children to private schools. Parents preferred private schools because they want the school to fulfil their expectation of quality. The underlying premise was that government schools do not offer quality education and private schools were therefore a better choice (Mehendale et al. 2015). In Vijayawada, a few municipal schools such as Darsipet school are in high demand for admissions while few other schools in the periphery of the city have very few students. There is no uniform quality across municipal or private schools in Vijayawada. The discussion with the municipal school teachers indicated that about 20% of the children from private schools seek admission in the ‘select’ municipal

high schools because few of these high schools are rated by parents as efficient schools. The effectiveness of private schools, however, appears somewhat exaggerated. Chudgar and Quin (2012) pointed out that though private schools on the surface seem to perform better than government schools after more detailed analysis their benefits seem to become statistically insignificant. Emphasising the impact of lower standards in both private and government schools, Romila Thapar (2015) argues that students with substandard schooling cannot cope with higher education. Without good quality schooling, the institutes of higher learning are handicapped. Schools whether municipal or private, play a very important role in shaping up the children for higher education and hence they should maintain diverse student ratio.

There is a shift in the education policies recently due to a new governance framework adopted by the state. Two things became apparent with the new policy. One, government is in the process of rationalising the schools, implying closure of schools which are unviable (1 teacher: 20 or less students). Second, the government is planning to privatise the schooling system in the same way it has privatised the street lights, parks, sanitation etc. The A.P government has formulated policy that does not differentiate between public and private institutions. This is evident in the way the Government of Andhra Pradesh (GoAP) recently announced the setting up of international schools through public-private partnership (PPP). The GoAP will provide land while the private partners will be asked to operate the schools (Times of India 2015).

The AP government's policy of reimbursing the tuition fees for the students in private engineering colleges supplants the severely underfunded government educational system. As a result, private colleges gained from the state's allocation of resources. For example, the fee reimbursement scheme for OBCs, Dalits and economically backward students was a boon for the growth of private engineering colleges who effectively reaped the benefits from the government's educational resources. The network of private engineering colleges and coaching institutes, have lobbied successfully in making the government recognize a legitimate share for private sector in the state's resources. This has been possible mainly due to the neo-liberal framework that Indian state is pursuing, thus promoting the interests of the private over the public good.

23.5 Discussion

This paper traces the socio-historical trajectory of the coastal Andhra region, particularly the way surplus generated from agriculture was reinvested in enterprising sectors which significantly shaped Vijayawada city as a commercial and educational hub. It is quite evident that the commercialisation of education has pre-dated globalisation and has emerged from the changing economy, peculiar interfaces between class-caste, economic and social interests, and state policy. The city itself, over time, has been re-imagined around professional education, coaching, and its business interests – creating a new aspirational culture.

The large-scale accumulation of capital from the education sector in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana established a new corporate model of education for the country. The ramifications of this model have been huge for the re-imagining of education within the city space. In the education sector, drastic changes in pedagogy through coaching institutes actually redefined the student learning methods, outcomes, and of course parental desires. Technical education, through self-financing, became the norm while other courses in humanities, social science, and the liberal arts got completely undermined. As education is available only for the affordable groups, the middle and lower classes are forced to sell land and other assets to get access to education. Educational entrepreneurs have now entered into the political domain²²: and have become key players in influencing the policies and governance of education in the state.

This emerging corporate model of education promoted by both the market and state effectively created ‘closed spaces’ in the cities, denying access to diverse learning environments and socialization in the educational system. The credible government colleges and not-for-profit private educational institutions which attracted students and teachers from diverse social backgrounds and economic classes until the 1980s have now given way to corporate colleges. The state has not only reduced the resources for the government and aided colleges but diverted substantial finances to private and corporate colleges through the ‘fee reimbursement scheme’. At the same time the municipal schools have been facing significant challenges in terms of student enrolment, irregular attendance due to displacement of slum population, migration etc. Education, then, has witnessed a paradigm shift in the last decade due to this new urban governance framework adopted by the neo-liberal state. The state led ‘smart cities’ are on an urban renewal mission basically to privatize the public goods, including education, through public-private partnerships, rationalisation of schools, which work to create further inequalities and exclusions.

In sum, it is clear that from 1980 onwards the state has played a crucial role in accelerating the entry of private capital into education sector, consequently restructuring the ‘social space’: while this has facilitated the global mobility of students belonging to certain social groups, it has also restricted the accessibility to higher education for other social groups.

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²²Narayana, the proprietor of the Narayana educational institutions has become a Cabinet rank minister in the present Andhra Pradesh government, who exerts a huge political clout in the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) government.

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Chapter 24

Production of an ‘Educational’ City: Shadow Education Economy and Re-structuring of Kota in India

S. Srinivasa Rao

24.1 Introduction

Kota, a provincial city in the western state of Rajasthan in India, located approximately 250 km south of Jaipur, traditionally known for its royal princely culture, typical Kota stone, textiles and other manufacturing industries, shot into prominence in the first decade of the twenty-first century, due to its evolution as a hub for shadow education,¹ which trains students to succeed in the admission tests to elite higher education institutions such as Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), National Institutes of Technology (NITs), and the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS). About one third of the selections for undergraduate courses in IITs in particular are said to be from those who went to these cram schools in Kota, designating the city as the ‘cram school capital’, ‘coaching capital’, ‘Kota factory’, ‘Kota System’, ‘mecca of private coaching’ by many commentators.

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¹According to Bray and Lykins (2012), the metaphor of the shadow is used because much of the private supplementary tutoring mimics the mainstream. They argue that, as the curriculum of the mainstream changes, so does the curriculum in the shadow. ‘And as the mainstream expands, so does the shadow. Shadows may of course be both useful and problematic. The shadow cast by a sundial can tell observers about the time of day, and the shadow of an education system may tell observers about the features of mainstream school systems’ (Bray and Lykins 2012: 1).

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Thousands of students² (rough estimates suggest that more than 100,000 students³) migrate to this city every year, sometimes alone and sometimes along with their parents and siblings, to prepare for highly competitive entrance examinations, with an intent and dream of making it through the portals of higher education. For these students and their families, the city of Kota represents an aspiration, a pathway to success, and a necessary stop-over in reaching their career destiny or life goal.

The transformation of Kota from being a traditional provincial small town to an industrial and commercial city to an educational city is unprecedented in the history of urban growth in India. Evidences of towns and cities shaping up as centers of education are all well documented by many historians in the past. However, instances of production⁴ of a city space that is wholly built around a particular ‘non-industrial’ – rather post-industrial vocation of training of young minds for higher social mobility through a provision of what is known as ‘parallel’ or ‘shadow’ education is refreshingly rare and new. This new phenomenon is yet to catch the attention of geographers, sociologists, educationists and other social scientists and thus makes it a curious case to explore the factors that made the city a household name among the aspiring middle class families in the entire country in general, and in the Northern parts of India, in particular.

What is even striking is that the city of Kota never had a culture of coaching institutions prior to the 1990s, except for a few home tutors that were available for local children who wanted an additional academic support, along with their regular classroom learning in the mainstream schools. The evolution of shadow education occurred at a time when the city was struggling to find ways to sustain the de-industrialization as a result of industrial sickness and closure of a large number of manufacturing units which threw a significant chunk of labor (manual, scientific, technical and managerial) out of jobs making their life difficult to lead. It is at this juncture in the late 1980s and the early 1990s that the city innovated itself with the help of some successes in private tutorials offered by some such retrenched workforce of the sick industries of Kota town. The successes of small town children in

²There is no authentic enumeration of total number of students arriving in the city. However, there are various estimates. The figure of 100,000 is also a conservative figure to me. In reality the number of students in the city Kota at any point in the year could be more than this number as there is no count of students attending many smaller institutes as well as individual subject based tutors who handle a large chunk of students. Further, there could also be under or over reporting of these numbers by the coaching institutes themselves for various reasons.

³<http://www.openthemagazine.com/article/nation/the-kota-system-rs-600-crore-coaching-industry>, July 17, 2,015.

⁴We use the term ‘production’ in the sense that Lefebvre used in his seminal work on ‘Production of Space’ (1991). To him, ‘production’ or ‘producing’ space have both the elements of real as well as abstract universality. He argues that there are both the dimensions of ‘logico-mathematical space’ (Abstract) on the one hand and ‘practico-sensory’ (Absolute) realm of the space, which are important to understand how and why an empty space gets filled up the way it does. The paper aims to consider primarily the latter aspect of the production of urban space in Kota city by engaging with the particular (case) descriptions or what Lefebvre calls as ‘cross sections of social space’.

gaining admission into the dream institutions such as IITs soon travelled to other small towns and cities around Kota in the state of Rajasthan, and in the neighboring state of Madhya Pradesh. In no time, coaching institutions sprung up in the city of Kota as the demand for shadow education and private tuitions grew and the city thus became an aspirational hub for middle class families from small towns of not just Rajasthan, but from a large number of Northern states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, the Eastern states of Orissa and West Bengal, Jharkhand, and the North Eastern states as well.

In addition, the potential market for shadow education caught the imagination of potential investors from across the country and from abroad to invest in the burgeoning education economy of Kota city. There have been mergers and acquisitions, joint ventures, venture capital investments and investments by the multinational companies, which made the transformation of the city which was previously thriving only on the tuitions by individual teachers or groups of teachers who then turned into local education capitalists, bringing Kota onto the global education economy map. Investments by Milestone Religare Investment Pvt. Ltd (MRIA), Franklin Templeton, Nadathur Group, CLSA Capital Partners⁵ and more recently, by the Korean company called Etoos Academy (of Korea's S K Group, which is one of the top four conglomerates), are some of the examples of interest displayed by the economic capital in the investment in shadow education economy of Kota. As per one estimate, India's market potential of shadow education is to the tune of USD 2308 millions⁶ (roughly Rs. 150,000 millions).⁷ Others like CRISIL, the credit rating body in India, pegged it at even much higher figure of USD 6179 millions (roughly Rs. 401,870 millions) as per their 2010–2011 study and expect this to grow to USD 11,640 millions (roughly Rs 756,629 millions) by 2014–2015.⁸ Thus, as a report by Bray and Lykins (2012) rightly claim, the issue of 'shadow education can no longer be ignored' (p.67) as it shows signs of growth throughout, and also the promise of further growth in the years to come. The city of Kota is a nerve centre of this shadow education economy in India, and thus it is an interesting case of urban transformation in recent times.

The transitory migrations of students and their families to Kota, on the other hand, transformed the city geography, economy and social life. This chapter thus seeks to examine how this transformation had occurred in Kota and what are the contexts, causes and consequences of such urban innovation that places post-

⁵CLSA Capital Partners, an independent brokerage and investment group with \$2.7 billion in funds under management is said to be the lead partner with an investment of almost Rs. 1 Billion into Kota based Resonance Eduventures Pvt. Ltd. (<http://www.vccircle.com/news/general/2011/06/17/clsa-capital-close-putting-rs-100cr-resonance-coaching>).

⁶Conversions from Indian Rupee to US Dollar is done at the rate of Rs. 65 to one USD. This value keeps varying on day to day basis.

⁷<http://forbesindia.com/article/cross-border/new-coaching-class-in-kota/33050/1#ixzz3iNcmKH8f>

⁸http://zeenews.india.com/news/education/coaching-classes-serve-as-a-parallel-education-system_1555624.html

industrial ‘educational’ service in the centre of capital accumulation and circulation. The chapter explores in-depth the city-state-market-shadow education dynamics that are at play to make Kota a brand,⁹ and give it a unique identity.

24.2 Urban Growth, Transformations, and the Rise of Small Cities

All over the world, the twentieth-century has been the ‘century of urbanization’, declared David Harvey (1996), though it does not mean that urbanization is a phenomenon of only the twentieth-century. What it does mean is that the nature, extent and scale of the process of urbanization had been widespread and different from the urbanization of the past centuries. In the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the urbanization process was restricted to a few newly industrializing countries of Europe, but as Harvey suggests, ‘the latter half of the twentieth century has seen that the localized breach (*of urbanization in Europe*) turned into a universal flood of massive urbanization’ (Harvey 1996: 403) (emphasis added). As Harvey rightly points out, ‘the future of most humanity now lies fundamentally in urbanizing areas’ (ibid). Some countries have more than 50% of their populations living in urban centers and many more are racing towards higher proportions of their populations living in towns, cities and metropolitan areas. Undoubtedly, the world today is ‘experiencing an unprecedented level of urbanization’ (Lipman 2010: 242). The root of this lies, as many had pointed out, in the way financial capital is generated, accumulated, and transferred as a principal driver of capitalist society.

Though there is no consensus or one explanation to understand how capital operates over space and how it affects urban development (Savage et al. 2003), David Harvey (1985a, b, 1996), Henry Lefebvre (1991) provide a useful political economic explanation as to how urban spaces are produced and transformed under capitalism.¹⁰ This framework may help us in understanding what has been happening in the city of Kota, and how it transformed within a period of the past two to three decades. While there may be certain limitations of applying in toto¹¹ the arguments of Harvey and Lefebvre to the case of Kota, they indeed give us a handle to understand, first the process of industrialization in the 1960s, later de-industrialization in the 1980s and 1990s and then the innovation towards the post-industrialized

⁹Some scholars from management may prefer to use the term ‘branding’ to describe particular identities cities acquire over time. An interesting work by Popescu (2012) discusses how cities are branded as educational cities, primarily by taking the growth and location of higher education institutions as part of the branding strategies.

¹⁰The non-Marxist perspectives stress on the temporal explanations, which believe that cities are related to particular stages of historical development. On the other hand, the Marxian perspectives focus on time, money, space and this therefore provides a comprehensive framework to look at the contexts of urban growth.

¹¹Economic reductionism is one such possible limit to the Marxist framework of understanding urban process.

condition in which provision of educational services has been the trigger for accumulation and circulation of capital in the city. Lefebvre (1991) calls this as the process of 'production of urban space'. Cities, including Kota, are thus 'molded by the social and economic processes that occurred in the course of industrialization and the subsequent transition to post-industrial economic activity' (Emden et al. 2006: 11). Education is one such post-industrial and post-manufacturing economic activity that Kota had made as a mark of its identity, which in turn is a result of the onset of neo-liberalism and the globalization of financial capital that pervaded all walks of life, besides the economic systems.

Harvey and Lefebvre seek to understand the urban process essentially as a process of capital accumulation, and class struggles. For Harvey, 'the very existence of money as a mediator of commodity exchange radically transforms and fixes the meanings of space and time in social life and defines limits and imposes necessities upon the shape and form of urbanization' (Harvey 1985a: 1). This is the reason why capitalism, as a system of 'economic order' in which 'production is organized around the search for profit' (Savage et al. 2003: 4), had survived. For Harvey, the urban process is fundamental to both the perpetuation of capital and also to the expression of its inner contradictions. In the case of Kota, it is the capital – state owned or privately owned – that had made it an industrial city and assisted it to grow demographically and spatially. However, the internal contradictions of struggles of labor and the responses of the managements and the state, besides other reasons, led the city towards the path of de-industrialization in the subsequent decades. The production of Kota into an educational city is thus a consequence of what Harvey calls 'urban structuration' (1985a: 273), which occurs at different moments in history of the urban transformations.

In India, the level of urbanization had increased from just 10% in 1901 (Sandhu and Sandhu 2013: 177) to 27.8% in 2001 to 31.1% in 2011 – an increase of 3.3 percentage points during 2001–2011 (Kundu 2013: 154). This proportion is expected to reach 70–75% by 2030, as per the Eleventh Five Year Plan of the Planning Commission (now changed to Niti Ayog) of the Government of India. In 2011, some scholars pointed out that the process of urbanization, measured in terms of the rise of urban agglomerations, has been sluggish, at a rate much lower than the growth of the urban population (Kundu 2013, 2011). The process of urbanization in India is, however, not uniform throughout the country. Some states are ahead of others in the urban growth trajectory. For instance, as Debolina Kundu points out, '.....the economically advanced states more or less show higher levels of urbanization. The states of Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, Maharashtra, West Bengal and the Southern states of Kerala, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh have higher urbanization levels than the national average. States like Himachal Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand, exhibit lower level of urbanization than the national average. These are essentially backward states' (2013: 154–55). Further, Sandhu and Sandhu (2013) suggest that this process of urbanization is oriented towards metropolitan and Class I cities. According to them, the metros constituted 26.41% of the total urban population

in 1981, which increased to 37.81 in 2001 (p. 177). Kundu (2007) also supports this argument that the urbanization in India has been large city oriented.

However, the period between 2001 and 2011 witnessed a huge change in terms of the rise of the small towns and urban areas. Scholars examining patterns of urbanization do concede to the point that the number of census towns¹² have increased tremendously (Premi and Das 2011; Kundu 2013; Guin and Das 2015). Guin and Das (2015) call this growth of new census towns as 'startling' and it is indeed so as the number of census towns had increased from mere 1362 in 2001 to 3894 in 2011 (Premi and Das 2011: 93). Further, there has been an expansion and growth of the small cities in India during the past decade or so. And the rise of Kota city from being a small town to a Class I city with a Municipal Corporation or a small city represents one such example.

Annapura Shaw (2007) attributes this growth of urban India since the last decade of the twentieth century to the opening up of the national economy to international trade and competition, which according to her had accelerated the economic growth. In such a context, cities have become especially important as most of the economic reforms such as industrial deregulation and financial and capital markets reforms were focused on the urban sectors of the economy. Shaw notes that 'From the slow changes that characterized the pre-colonial and colonial periods, to the quickening of change that followed independence and gradual modernization, we are now witnessing profound change, particularly in those urban regions of the country that have experienced rapid economic growth. ... Moreover, this change is of a qualitatively different order from that of the past' (Shaw 2007: xxiii).

Nigel Harris (2007) explains the features of this qualitative difference in the way cities have transformed. According to him, globalization has created new city economies and a new agenda of urban management. He argues, cities emerged as 'management or logistic centers for the world economy' (p. 14), and the emerging economy is of course rooted in the spread of service economies all over the world, and in India in particular. Harris enumerates a number of processes that pervaded the Indian cities, which transformed their economies and the societies (2007: 14–16):

1. Opening cities to world economy has restored the idea of cities in continual change.
2. Liberalization, macro-economic reform has not merely opened the city to external competition, it has led to the privatization and restructuring of urban public sector enterprises, and in some cases, the privatization and reorganization of city public services.

¹²According to 2011 Census, areas with a minimum population of 5000; at least 75% of the male main working population of that area is engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and has a density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km are designated as Census Towns. Another category is known as statutory towns, which include all places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc. These towns are notified under law by the concerned State/Union Territory Government, irrespective of their demographic characteristics.

3. The long term process of de-industrialization – whether the closure or relocation of city based manufacturing – has been accomplished to different degrees in different cities.
4. The information revolution is transforming many city activities in ways which are not easy to anticipate, in some cases, changing non-tradable services (for the local population) into the tradable (for export) ones – for example, health, cultural, higher education services – as well as creating new sectors of activity (for example, information loading and processing, software processing, etc.).

As Harris notes, the above processes do overlap and at times exaggerate their effects as well. It is the fourth point in the list that merits our attention in order to place the context of Kota. As mentioned earlier, Kota had innovated itself into a city that began to rely on the provision of educational services, which help generate economic capital and restructure the city space, that becomes emblematic of the global economic as well as cultural influences. The competition between the cities to make themselves the hubs of some service makes the process much more interesting and produces the urban space as a perfect representation and site of neoliberal function and ideology. Kamat (2011) for example, examines the emergence of Hyderabad as a hub of the global information technology revolution. She in particular makes connections between the growing service industry, education economy, and the production of what she calls a 'new geography and sociality of the city' (Kamat 2011: 188).

Further, neo-liberal capitalism and modernity had also demolished the erstwhile ideas of the colonial town and city as also the post-colonial urban processes. Bhat and Joshi (2013) argue, in the case of Allahabad – a centre of higher learning in the Northern state of Uttar Pradesh - that 'the systematic liquidation of the colonial town and the gradual demise of its cultural elite may not itself constitute sufficient ground for loss and mourning, but...provide us with a vantage point to examine the claims made by the post-colonial state about the planned development of urban India' (p. 219). They further state that, 'it also gives us an opportunity to understand the ways in which contemporary capitalism, driven by ruthless greed and competition, has forced to the brink of extinction forms of colonial modernity' (ibid). It may, however, also be noted that the colonial modernity itself was a product of such ruthless greed which destroyed the rich cultural and traditional identity of the native cityscapes. Thus, this chapter examines the production of Kota as an educational city within this broad theoretical framework and social context. As I will argue in the next section, Kota provides a prime example of the destruction of the rich cultural legacy of the native by the colonial and the post-colonial industrialization, modernity, and urban development.¹³

¹³The colonial urban development in India, Sandhu and Sandhu (2013) note, was mainly in the form of the Presidency or chief provincial cities which emerged along the main railway systems or hill stations.

24.3 Kota City: History, Transformation, Demographic and Spatial Development

24.3.1 *Historical Antecedents of Kota City*

Kota, historically, had been a seat of Royal House and an old kingdom of Kotah in the South Eastern part of Rajasthan, originating from the integration of 22 big and small princely kingdoms at the time of the Independence of India. As Metzger and Singh detail, 'This part of eastern Rajasthan, comprising the old kingdoms of Bundi and Kota, is known as Hadaoti, i.e. the land of Hadas' (Metzger and Singh [undated](#): p. 13). In 1948, the kingdom of Kota covered an area of 5688 miles. Metzger and Singh write, 'though Kota had started as an off-shoot of Bundi in AD 1624, it ultimately superseded its parent in power, economy, and cultural grandeur' (*ibid*). And at the time of the integration of the Indian princely states with the Union of India in 1948, Kota was the fifth largest state of Rajasthan.

Numerous accounts of Kota's history suggest that the city, lying on the banks of the river Chambal, one of the most ancient and non-snow fed perennial rivers of India flowing into Yamuna, had been the main granary of Rajasthan. The climate of Kota is much like the rest of the Northern parts of India, 'with scorching hot summers, delightful cool summers and crispy cold winters' (Metzger and Singh [undated](#): p. 13). There were large tracts of deciduous forests around Kota and the wildlife too was plentiful. This, according to Metzger and Singh, was the case until the early 1950s, till the point that Kota was a princely state and the city was still a royal city. But after 1950s, the habitat of the city of Kota underwent a sea change and it became a centre of cultural, administrative and commercial significance for the villages and small towns in the South-Eastern part of the newly formed state of Rajasthan.

It is important to note that the erstwhile Kota state had an income of USD 0.19 million (roughly Rs. 12.5 million) in 1948 and had left around USD 0.38 million (approximately Rs 25 millions) in cash for the successor Government of Rajasthan in 1950 (Metzger and Singh [undated](#): p. 24). This suggests that the city of Kota had a surplus of revenues, and was in a sound financial condition. The last of the heirs of the Kotah princely states, Sir Bhim Singh II, who was at the helm at the time of the merger of Kota, was made the Deputy Governor of Rajasthan, which he served till 1956. During this tenure, the city of Kota witnessed some developments such as creation of an aerodrome which gave impetus to the modernization, and initiated and explored hydro electric possibilities of the river Chambal, which was subsequently completed and inaugurated in 1960.

24.3.2 *Structuration of Kota as an Industrial Town and Its Decline*

Subsequent to the onset of modernization of the city of Kota in the 1950s and early 1960s, the city underwent a massive process of structuration. Urban structuration, according to Harvey (1985b), occurs mainly along the twin aspects of accumulation and class struggle. This was the case with Kota since the roots of industrialization began to take shape. The infrastructure, water and energy resources, already functioning commercial hub (mainly of Kota Doria sarees and the unique Kota stone¹⁴), and the rail and road connectivity, along with an aerodrome facility, made the city a natural choice for private capital investment and for furthering the interest of capital accumulation. In Marxian terms (Harvey 1985a, b), accumulation is the means whereby the capitalist class, which includes the private entities and the state as a partner and as a representative of the capitalist class, reproduces itself and its domination over labor.

The actual process of industrialization of Kota began in 1961 when several large-scale industrial units were established by private capitalists, and also by the State. In the entire state of Rajasthan, the average size of industrial units measured in terms of fixed capital was significantly higher in Kota than in any other district of the state (Government of India 2006: 95). Prior to 1961, and when the state of Rajasthan was formed in 1950, it may be mentioned, industries such as textile units, existed only at two places, namely, Ajmer (at Beawer) and Kota. The notable large industrial units set up after 1961 were J K Synthetics by private capital, and the Instrumentation Limited (IL) by the Federal State. As of March 31 2000, there were 7560 Small Scale Industrial (SSI) units and 88 non-SSI units in Kota (Government of India 2006: 99). Out of the large industrial units, J K Synthetics (in the private sector) and Instrumentation Limited (IL) (in the public sector) became sick (in the sense that it became a non-performing unit) in the 1980s and subsequently the former was closed down and the latter reduced its operations and closed down major portion of its industrial production.

Despite the collapse of industries that were set up in the initial phase of industrialization of Kota, the city still has some traces of big industries, which are doing fairly well. Instrumentation Limited continues to manufacture pipes though in a limited way, DCM Group has a fertilizer unit (mainly of urea) and a textile plant running successfully, SIMCORE has its glass manufacturing unit, and Chambal Fertilizers and Petrochemicals has its unit in and around the city of Kota. Some of these industries also necessitated production of power and energy, by way of thermal as well as nuclear energy. As mentioned earlier, Kota has been known for its unique stone that is used in house constructions, and the polishing of Kota stone is

¹⁴Kota Doria saree is a textile variety made of hand weaving, a product unique to Kota city, worn by the Indian women. Kota stone is a stone that is found in the surroundings of Kota, mainly used in the housing construction all over the country.

another major industry which is in the category of Small and Medium Scale (SMS) Industries. However, by 1990s, most of these SMS industries, like some of the big firms like JK Synthetics and Instrumentation Limited, went sick or were closed down.

The Rajasthan Development Report explains the Kota situation of the 1980s and 1990s: 'Most of the sick industrial units are mini-cement plants, granite cutting and polishing plants, yarn spinning mills, etc. Their sickness can be attributed to the non-availability or shortage of raw materials and power, though overstaffing and related high establishment costs as well as financial management and labor problems are also factors in some cases' (Government of India 2006: 99). Asghar Ali Engineer (1989) provides another angle to the labor unrest by drawing attention to the communal divide of the labor and the management. He suggests that the emergence of CPM (*Communist Party of India, Marxist*) controlled trade union on the trade union scene had increased the number of strikes and militant trade union actions in Kota, which then brought a hiatus between the capitalist and the working classes. This in turn had altered communal relations within the city due to the fact that Muslims who constituted around 9% of Kota city in 1989 were mostly workers while the employers on the other hand were mostly Hindus. These factors in the context of a town which is largely shaped out of the industrial workforce in the post 1960s era, contributed to the exacerbation of communal as well as industrial relations, thereby creating both social and political fissures within the city society.¹⁵

A senior Director of the State owned Instrumentation Limited, in an interview I conducted, suggested that the politics around the labor unrest were the reasons for the decline of Kota as an industrial city in the 1980s and 1990s, but he had other reasons to suggest for the decline of work culture among the workforce which, according to him, led to a further deterioration of the industrialization process. According to him, the state sided with the political class, which was interested in raising slogans like 'insider – outsider', to invoke and appropriate local and native sentiments into their electoral fortunes. From the workers perspective, by contrast, they blame the state and the firm for not redressing their genuine demands and concerns. The Rajasthan Development Report also makes the observation explicit namely that the state and the central governments have not made any attempts to diagnose the problems of this industrial sickness or work out solutions to improve the subsequent competitiveness of these sick industries.

To elaborate further, the declining work culture among the industrial workforce was, in part, also due to the increasing withdrawal of the state, either through withdrawal from further investments or by way of disinvestments, at the time of the onset of the neoliberal era of the early 1990s. According to some, though the post liberalization era had opened up some opportunities for private capitalists to set up

¹⁵ Kota witnessed communal tensions in 1943, 1953 and 1956 as well. After 1956, it was only in 1989 that the city witnessed communal carnage. Engineer (1989) argues that a large number of Muslim families in Kota had sent at least one of their family members to West Asia and therefore acquired some measure of prosperity, which in turn had deepened the divisions between contending religious communities and their economic and social relations within the city.

new units and firms, the poor work culture of Kota together with the series of lock-outs deterred them from pursuing those goals and promoting Kota as destination for investments. Thus, in a way, the city underwent contradictions of its renewal in the face of a strange social and economic situation, and had to innovate its spatial and economic expansion.¹⁶

The rise of the neoliberal city and the astonishing reproduction of neoliberalism as an ideology all over the world is most vividly and aggressively witnessed after the year 2000. The new ideology has now become a *mantra* of urban development, and the state became a partner in believing in and practicing this *mantra*. Hackworth writes, 'Neoliberalism increasingly came to be seen as a salve for the economic crisis that had emerged with this unraveling' (2007: 9). He defines neoliberalism as an 'ideological rejection of egalitarian liberalism in general and the Keynesian welfare state in particular, combined with a selective return to the ideas of classical liberalism' (ibid). These trends of neoliberal belief systems became naturalized in countries like the United States by the 1990s, as Hackworth argues; but they have also begun to take roots in countries like India, as a popular mode of governance for a variety of geo-institutional contexts. More specifically, the boundaries and policies of urban governance have shifted dramatically due to this shift towards neoliberal governing practices (Hackworth 2007).

24.3.3 Demographic and Spatial Development of Kota

The urban growth trajectory of Kota can be understood better with the help of the demographic change the city had experienced over a period of a century. Table 24.1 provides data from the first census India had enunciated in 1901 till the most recent one, namely, 2011. We find that the population of Kota has grown in almost all the decades except in the first two decades of the twentieth century, namely 1901–1921. The population growth had been steady till the point when the city was under the rule by the Princely State of *Kotah*, and suddenly and steeply increased after it was integrated into the state of Rajasthan, becoming an important centre for commercial and administrative purposes.

¹⁶In spite of this situation, it may however be said that while many cities including Kota have de-industrialized or are in the process of doing so, it does not at all end the significance of manufacturing for cities (Harris 2007). As Harris observes, 'urban areas may lose industry, but often the factories are located in a string of smaller settlements or Greenfield sites up to 100 miles from the city' (2007: 18). Now we have what is called industrial corridors and zones or parks that are designated sometimes too far from any particular cities. These industrial corridors/zones/parks subsequently develop into new townships and urban centers in due course of time. In the case of the state of Rajasthan, an agency called Rajasthan Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (RIICO) oversees such industrial development in the state and marks areas and zones that are called RIICO Industrial Estate, where numerous industries are pooled together and allotted land to start their production and manufacturing units. Kota also has large tracts of land under RIICO that from time to time is allotted and distributed among the investors in the manufacturing sector.

Table 24.1 Population growth, Kota city (1901–2011)

Year	Total population	Rate of growth
1901	33,657	0
1911	32,753	-2.686
1921	31,707	-3.194
1931	37,876	19.456
1941	47,339	24.984
1951	65,107	37.534
1961	120,345	84.842
1971	212,991	76.984
1981	358,241	68.195
1991	537,371	50.003
2001	694,316	29.206
2011	1,001,694	44.271

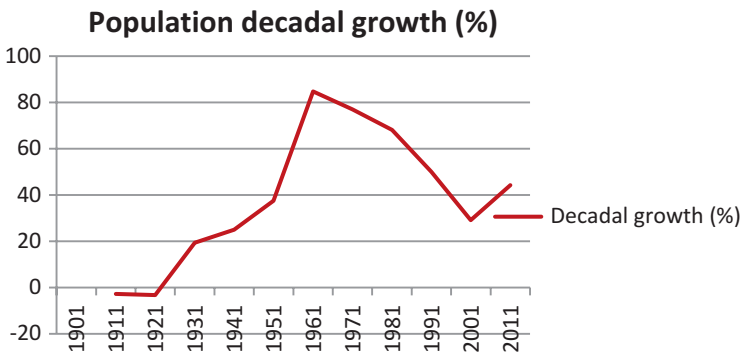


Fig. 24.1 Decadal growth rate (in %) – 1901–2011

The total population increase almost double in the decades of 1951–1961, and 1961–1971, the period when the modernization and industrialization of Kota began. The population increase was sustained until 1981, after which sharp declines in the real numbers and also the rate of growth are witnessed. The decade of 1991–2001 has been the worst as it saw the culmination of what I have discussed as the de-industrialization of Kota. The decade of 2001–2011, however, reversed the declining rate of growth of population of the city. The Fig. 24.1 shows that the population growth rate had taken an up-turn post 2001 and it is this first decade of the new century that marked a distinct phase of restructuring of the city.

What is peculiar about Kota’s urban spatial restructuring is that within one decade (2001–2011), the city’s area had more than doubled (from 221.36 to 527.03 km²), registering a growth of about 138 % (Table 24.2). The total number of households and population had also witnessed a significant jump. However, the population density has fallen significantly (from 3137 to 1901). This suggests

Table 24.2 Physical and demographic expansion of the city (2001–2011)

Year	Area (km ²)	%Growth (area ²)	Total households	Total population of the city	Population density per km ²
2001	221.36		130,266	694,316	3137
2011	527.03	138.46	210,135	1,001,694	1901

clearly the urban sprawl during the period 2001–2011 and the reshaping of the city from being a thickly concentrated habitation to unevenly spread urban geography. It also means that the city has been undergoing 'poly-centric urbanization',¹⁷ but not a random development of the city (Hackworth 2007: 85). Garnett (2010) suggests that this happens when, what he calls 'successful cities' become home to a 'growing upper class and a large, although slightly declining lower class' (p. 211). These conurbations are developed by the city in order to diversify its economic activities as well as the residential concentrations. This phenomenon, as Hackworth (2007) notes, is the hallmark of a neoliberal city.

The expansion of the urban sprawl of Kota city and its declining population density during 2001–2011 suggests that the city has begun to acquire the characteristics of a 'neoliberal city' during this period. The development of the city has now moved from what was regarded as 'core' or 'old' or 'quintessential' or 'traditional' a couple of decades ago to what is regarded today as 'industrial' or the 'happening' or the 'modern' city. This transition cannot, however, be solely attributed to the onset of the neoliberal era, but its origins can be attributed to the phase of industrialization of the city in the past. What is new in the development of the city in the neoliberal era is that it had redrawn the cityscape beyond the original boundaries of the industrial township areas of Kota.

It may be pointed out that the old city of Kota was built within the walled areas around the Royal Fort, along the banks of Chambal, which even today is inhabited by generations of native inhabitants of Kota. The population grew with the modernization of the city, increasing rail and road connectivity with the major cities of the country like Delhi, Mumbai, and Jaipur, establishment of electricity generating power stations, etc., and the accompanying employment opportunities, which required the city to expand and extend beyond the old walled city of Kota. The initial areas that were developed in Kota, as it moved out of the walled spaces, are Bhim Ganj, Gumanpura, Jheel ki Nagri, Burj Vilas, Nayapura and Kheriwal. The building of a barrage on Chambal, called the Gandhisagar bridge, in 1961, was a watershed in the urban growth story of Kota. In the North West part of the city, for the first time, an industrial zone was created, and later on the Southern parts, along the Jhalawar road, another zone of industrial development was marked with the setting up of Instrumentation Limited (IL). IL developed its own township alongside the industrial plant and this area then became the growth engine for the city of Kota

¹⁷ It means that the centre does not rely on one core centre, but on many such areas as the city moves outward from the centre.

Table 24.3 School infrastructure in Kota city (Census 2011)

Primary schools (numbers)		Middle schools (numbers)		Secondary (numbers)		Sr. secondary (numbers)	
Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private
87	221	87	221	78	221	42	157

in years to come. The Master Plan¹⁸ of Kota city (2001–2023) suggests that the city could not expand in the West due to the prevalence of the river Chambal.

The tremendous growth in population of the city during 1961–1991 required the city planners to make more serious attempts to plan a more structured approach to the development of its urban regions. The growth has also made planners to develop Kota as, what the Master Plan (2001–2013) calls, a ‘counter magnet city’ to the national capital of Delhi. As a first step, the Urban Improvement Trust (UIT)¹⁹ of Kota acquired around 2500 acres of land from the Forest Department and along with the areas that were converged as part of the Master Plan of 1971–1991, in order to expand and delimit the urban areas of the city (Government of Rajasthan, undated: 3).

Residential, industrial, and institutional areas were then marked in the zone of Jhalawar Road and the Rawatbhata Road, where already the major industrial establishment of Kota, namely, Instrumentation Limited and its township are located. In the same zone, a medical college and an Open University were opened making that part of the city ‘educational’. However, this connotation is applied to the entire city subsequently as a result of the coaching and shadow education industry boom in the post 2000s, which is discussed in detail in the next section. But, at that stage of development in the 1980s and 1990s, in the newer areas of urban sprawl, numerous schools at the primary, middle and secondary stage were also set up.

Table 24.3 provides a glimpse of the schooling infrastructure in the Kota city. As per the 2011 Census, there were 87 schools each run by the government, and another 221 each run by the private sector at the primary and middle levels of schooling respectively. There were 78 government and 221 private schools respectively in secondary education, and about 42 government and 157 private schools offered education at the senior secondary level.

However, it is argued by many in the city that most of the senior secondary schools that came up in Kota are in fact serving as what they call as ‘dummy’ or ‘shadow’ to the shadow education institutions. In other words, ‘regular’ or ‘mainstream’ schooling has now become ‘dummy’ to the ‘coaching’ or ‘tuition’ or ‘shadow’ industry in Kota. These schools are used as ‘shadow’ to the shadow education to make it possible for students to enroll and appear in the qualifying school

¹⁸This was the second Master Plan of the City. The first one was prepared in the year 1971 and it converged 50 Revenue Villages to expand the city limits. The urban planning of Kota was based on the population estimates for the period 1971–1991.

¹⁹UIT is the agency responsible for town planning in Kota.

leaving examination²⁰ for any entrance test to engineering or medicine courses in higher education. The next section discusses the evolution of 'New' Kota as a shadow education hub, and how coaching and shadow education industry had indeed shaped spatial dynamics of the city.

24.4 Emergence of 'New' Kota as a Shadow Education Hub

The shape, form and structure of the city changed drastically towards the close of the century and in the first few years of the new century. This change, interestingly, began with the success story of an engineer-turned-teacher-turned-education capitalist, called V K Bansal, who had to leave his job at J K Synthetics, a chemical firm producing nylon, which became a sick unit and subsequently closed down in 1983. Bansal's problem was not with the closure of his firm, but with the Muscular Dystrophy that hit him in the early years of his joining J K Synthetics: he had earned a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering from Benares Hindu University. Bansal, a native of Jhansi in Uttar Pradesh, had to look for new ways to fend for his livelihood and found teaching as the most convenient vocation for himself. One account suggests that he was advised by the doctor examining him to make teaching an occupation as he was wheel chair bound due to Muscular Dystrophy. It is an undisputed fact that Bansal's venture into private tuition was the corner stone of the revival of Kota – from the slumber industrial sickness, closures and lock-outs, and social and communal tensions brought upon the city in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Bansal recounts in one of the interviews he gave to an educational network called PaGaLGuY²¹: 'I wasted no time in taking the teaching suggestion seriously and hunted for students.I used to go to the play grounds in the J K Synthetics housing colony where I stayed and found children to tutor. Those days, tuitions were still a novel thing'.²² He stated further in that interview that he did not start tuition classes for making money at that point in time, but had seen it as a route to survival. It is interesting to note his humble beginnings. In his own words: 'I always loved teaching and loved learning too. I have studied under street lamps because my family could not afford electricity back home in Jhansi.I know the value of education and what it takes to get a good education'.

Mathematics was the subject which Bansal taught to a small group of students in the neighborhood initially. Punit Pandey, a 48 year old Executive Vice-President of a firm today, a child next door in the J K Synthetics colony then, was said to be

²⁰Namely, 10+2/Intermediate Board Examinations of either the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) of Government of India or the Board of School Education of Government of Rajasthan.

²¹PaGaLGuY is a pioneer in producing massive online educational communities to cater to the coaching needs of various aspirants – management, engineering, medicine and other competitive examinations.

²²www.pagalguys.com, accessed on 15/8/2015, at 11.55 am.

Bansal's first student as a child of 12 years. Bansal is said to have tutored first at Punit's residence but as the Muscular Dystrophy progressed and became severe, the classes were shifted to Bansal's residence. Punit recalls, 'It was an informal atmosphere..... But uncle Bansal was strict when it came to teaching us'.²³ Slowly, the strength of the students increased and more and more students sought private tuition from Bansal to supplement their everyday learning in the regular school these students attended. Most of the students were from the same residential colony where Bansal lived in Kota, namely, J K Synthetics housing colony.

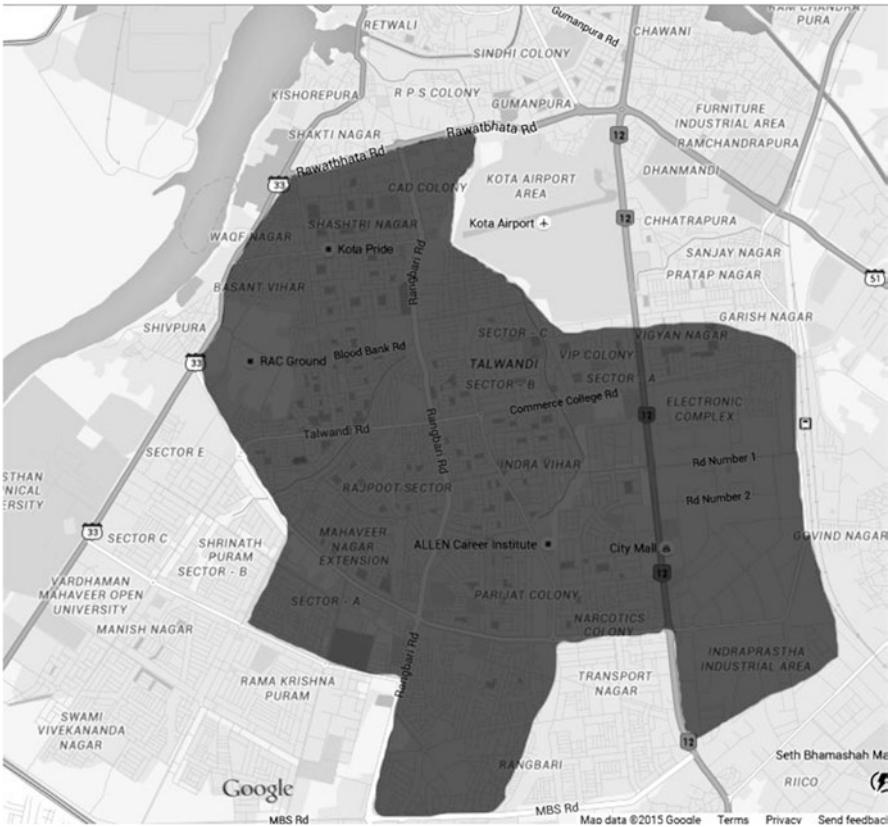
Once the industrial unit of J K Synthetics was closed due to what was said to be disruptions by the labor unions and loss making, Bansal, along with two of his colleagues, who were engineers and scientists like him and who had lost their jobs to the lock-out, started full-fledged tuition and coaching classes. This culminated in the setting up of M/S Bansal Classes as a private limited company.²⁴ What began as an informal tuition centre has now become a full-fledged business and commercial venture. As the numbers of students seeking coaching and the aspirations of the founders of Bansal Classes grew, the parent institute Bansal Classes split and both the partners who joined Bansal initially went their ways and set up their own coaching institutes as companies or partnership firms.

Today, as per the records of the District Administration, there are around 130 registered coaching institutes in Kota. This number is a gross understatement as many more hundreds of coaching institutes thrive without any sort of registration or formal licensing. They function as unorganized business entities (in other words as teaching shops) in the city. If we take into account the individual teachers who independently provide tuitions in their area of expertise in a particular subject, then the number of such entities is enormous.

Most of these institutes and tuition centers are located in the length and breadth of the city of Kota, but heavily concentrated in what is now, in popular parlance, called 'New' Kota, namely the areas in the South of the city, along the Rawatbhata and Jhalawar Roads and around the industrial township of IL (Map 24.1). Some of the popular and densely situated areas for shadow education, to list a few, are Talwandi, Indra Vihar, Vigyan Nagar, Jawan Nagar, Jawahar Nagar, Mahavir Nagar Phases I, II and III, Indira Nagar, Rajiv Gandhi Nagar, Ladpura, Dadabari, Vallabhbari, Dadwara, Gulabbari, Shastri Nagar, Teachers' Colony, Nayapura, Jhalawar Road, Garden Road, New Post office Road, etc. Most of these areas developed in response to and with the demand from the growing shadow education boom which began to shape the urban land use and town planning policies, and measures which are discussed in the next section. However, it is important to stress that this expansion of shadow education areas in the new city of Kota made it characterized as an 'educational city'. The State agencies, the media, the public at-large in Kota designate their city today as 'educational' (a reflection of this can be seen in Plate 24.1)

²³ www.pagalgu.com, accessed on 15/8/2015, at 10 am.

²⁴ M/S Bansal Classes was registered subsequently with the Sales and Commercial Tax Department of Kota with the registration number 102/Kota/ST/CTC/2003.



Map 24.1 Map of Kota city (Shaded part is the ‘New’ Kota Area – the Shadow education Hub) (Source: <https://www.google.co.in/maps/>, downloaded on 22.08.2015, at 12 pm)



Plate 24.1 Welcome board on the road highway at an entrance to the city

24.5 City Re-structuring Through Shadow Education Economy

It is important to see how Kota became a hub for shadow education, and how the creation of infrastructure for this shadow education facilitated this development. First, when the successes in coaching centers occurred in the mid 1980s onwards, beginning at Bansal's tuition, and the first success stories reported the cracking of the toughest entrance examinations in the world by any means, namely, Indian Institute of Technology – Joint Entrance Examination, popularly known as IIT-JEE²⁵ - it caught the imagination of the middle classes of Kota. Subsequently, the number of students began to increase at his tuition center. Initially, Bansal Classes catered to local Kota students, but from 1994 the doors of Bansal Classes were opened for those coming from outside the city as well: students came mainly from the neighboring small towns such as Ganga Nagar, Sawai Madhopur, and little distant Jaipur, Indore, etc.

The shadow education hub in Kota began with the coaching of students for IITs first, but soon it incorporated the coaching for entrance examinations for prestigious institutes in the medical field, such as the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, etc. The Allen Coaching Institute, which currently is said to be the largest institute in Kota with around 80,000 students, started coaching not just for IIT-JEE, but for the medical entrance examinations as well. This shift made it a pioneer in producing largest number of successful candidates in medical admission tests across the country.

To give a sense of the successes in the IIT entrance examination, Table 24.4, details the increasing numbers of students enrolled and the successes achieved in one institute, namely Bansal Classes. The numbers are given for the entire period from the beginning of the individual and unorganized coaching by Mr. Bansal, through the establishment of the organized firm, Bansal Classes Private Limited, and beyond.

What we see from Table 24.4 is that the institute had not just grabbed a number of selections year after year, but it did claim top positions in the entrance examination. The performance of the institutions in Kota in IIT – JEE in the year 2015 reveals that the Kota story, not just that of the Bansal Classes is outstanding (see Table. 24.5²⁶).

²⁵ It must be mentioned that IIT-JEE facilitates entry of students into globally reputed brand of IITs, which became more popular in the aftermath of the era of neoliberal reforms and globalization as this most talented pool of skilled workforce made Silicon Valley in the United States what it is today.

²⁶ The data is culled out from the claims made by the Institutes in their Media advertisements and the number may include those who underwent regular classroom as well as distance learning modules. Therefore, there can be repetitions of names in more than one institute. For instance, a candidate may attend regular class coaching in one institute and may get enrolled for distance mode in another. These are common practices in Kota and also other parts of the country. So, it is difficult to ascertain which selection is to be counted from which institute.

Table 24.4 Total enrolled and selected for IIT – JEE (1997–2012), at Bansal Classes

Year	Number of students enrolled (approximately)	Total selections	Ranks in top 100
1997	200	101	4th, 6th, 23rd
1998	300	156	5th, 42nd, 48th
1999	400	209	10th, 14th, 17th
2000	600	279	1st, 2nd, 7th
2001	700	342	2nd, 3rd, 12th
2002	950	479	1st, 2nd, 8th
2003	1200	611	3rd, 5th, 10th
2004	1800	827	3rd, 7th, 9th
2005	1960	784	3rd, 4th, 7th
2006	2400	955	2nd, 3rd, 11th
2007	6100	1538	1st, 2nd, 5th
2008	7350	1609	1st, 3rd, 7th
2009	9000	2175	2nd, 7th, 10th
2010	9800	2204	23rd, 28th, 35th
2011	8600	2122	16th, 40th, 41st
2012	6600	1657	17th, 29th, 37th

Source: www.itbhuglobal.org/chronicle/VKB-PROFILE.pdf; accessed on 22/8/2015

Table 24.5 Total number of those eligible for admission in IITs after clearing IIT – JEE (Advanced) from six major shadow education centers of Kota in the year 2015

Institute	Total number of those eligible for admission into an IIT	Total number of ranks in the top 100
Bansal	930	4
Resonance Edu Ventures Pvt. Ltd	3955	3
Allen Career Coaching Institute	2361	14
Vibrant Academy	1250	10
Career Point Coaching Institute	937	2
Motion Education Pvt. Ltd.	578	3
Total	10,011	36

It is important to note that the total selections of 10,011 from just six institutes in Kota make up around 35% of the total number (26,456) of those eligible for admission in IITs from across the country, for 2015. If we take other institutes in Kota and their number of candidates who were successful, the proportion make up close to 50%. This is what makes Kota the hub for shadow education first and foremost in India.

Second, in the mid 1990s, Delhi was the destination for aspirants of IIT-JEE and medical entrance examinations in North India. Living in the city of Delhi, however,

was very costly and was out of reach for the middle and the lower middle classes from small towns and cities in the Northern states of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. The increasing number of those who cracked the IIT-JEE at Kota offered middle and lower middle class parents another option for their children to enter into the prestigious institutions of higher education. By the year 2000, the numbers seeking entry into IITs all over India grew, and it became increasingly necessary for these aspirants to undergo tuition and coaching, without which it was believed that cracking a tough and highly competitive examination like IIT-JEE was next to impossible. That means, by the year 2000 or so, coaching or shadow education became a necessary and even essential activity for the regular students if they wished to make it big in their higher education aspirations and occupational life.

Third, Kota, except for the year 1989, was a largely peaceful and affordable city for the small town parents seeking a better future for their children. Moreover, the Kota town of the 1990s was so much cheaper in terms of accommodation and rentals, and was well connected to the main cities of India through a very busy network of railways and road highways. Added to this was the prospect of the town being a 'sleepy' small town, which had many facilities, and yet not affected by the changing cultures, life-styles, values and distractions that may divert the academic attention of the aspiring young minds.

Fourth, Kota provided an alternative to the shadow education model of Andhra Pradesh, from where even today a large number of students get selected to the elite institutions. The coaching at towns and cities in Andhra Pradesh, such as Guntur, Nellore, Vijayawada, Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad, was far from the homes for the 15–18 year old students. Furthermore, these places in Andhra Pradesh were culturally, particularly in terms of food habits, very different, making life of those children who went there difficult to survive: many found this a difficult transition and were forced to leave their courses midway. Such dislocations had led some parents to seriously think and avoid further problems or disruption in the education of their ward. For all such parents, the emergence of Kota as a shadow education hub was a 'blessing', as some parents put it, and it is this that made them to opt for the city. Now their children need not undergo cultural shocks as they know the language of the town of Kota, they can eat what they normally eat at their homes, and most importantly they are not too far from their home towns. In other words, the 'ambience' in Kota was just right for children and their parents from the North of India, making it the ultimate 'destination' or 'hub' for shadow education.

The shadow education boom in the city brought with it a huge demand for a new build environment, which in turn changed the nature of the urban infrastructure and economic activity in Kota. Every year, thousands of students arrive in Kota and the city is required to accommodate them at least for 2 years, if not more.²⁷ The statistics are astounding: Every year, something like 70,000–100,000 students arrive in

²⁷A student arrives in Kota after completing his/her Class X and lives in the city for next 2 years to undergo coaching. Student stays for more than 2 years, if he/she does not make it within those 2 years.

Table 24.6 List of major ancillary facilities/services

Classroom spaces for coaching	Mess and boarding facilities
Schools for taking formal registration for Class XI–XII	Street food avenues
Hostels	Washing machine centres
Stationary shops	Cycle shops
Entertainment zones/theatres/video parlours	Cyber cafes
Application form fill up centres	Local transportation facilities
Photo studios	Food supply/take away centres/services
Rail/road transportation ticket reservation counters	

Kota city for shadow education. Another 70,000–100,000 students would have already been in the city who are into their second and third years of stay in the city: it takes 2–3 complete years of preparation and coaching, to try their 'destiny' through the examinations. That means, close to 150,000–200,000 students live in the city during the period of April of a year, when the fresh classes begin, to the month of March next year when they complete the annual cycle.²⁸ The city and the institutes need to ready classroom spaces, provide accommodation and other ancillary services to enable students to stay comfortably and focus on study.²⁹

All this means that there are avenues for income generation, additional labor inflow and employment market to accommodate such organized as well as unorganized employment. To give an example, on a conservative estimate, bicycle³⁰ sales have surged from just a few years ago. This also placed a high demand for bicycle repair and accessory shops, further adding to the employment of an unorganized kind. There are also examples of those who were earlier working as domestic maids who have left their jobs and set up a service to deliver boxed lunches and dinners to the students in their rented rooms and hostels. Some have also set up mobile eateries to cater to the taste buds of the young students on the road-side *en route* to their hostels and coaching institutes.

All of these services noted in Table 24.6 require built-in space and human resources, which made a boom in the real estate industry, and also led to migrations of different kinds of human resources into the city of Kota. New residential areas appeared across the city, and along with them the commercial zones also got set up triggering the further expansion of the support services for the shadow education

²⁸ Usually admissions to the shadow education institutes take place around April of any year as it marks the beginning of the academic year.

²⁹ A student typically shells out anywhere around Rs. 60,000–100,000 as tuition fees to the coaching institute; anywhere from Rs. 24,000 to even Rs. 360,000 (depending on the luxuries offered and sought) towards the room/hostel rent; and another Rs. 50,000–100,000 on food/boarding; somewhere around Rs. 20,000–30,000 on stationary, travel and other miscellaneous expenditure. That means a student and his family spends anywhere between Rs. 300,000–500,000 on an average or even more per annum depending on one's affordability and nature and type of coaching and accommodation and facilities sought.

³⁰ Bicycles are the primary mode of transportation for students from their residential accommodation to the coaching institutes in the city. The opinion on surging sales of bicycles in the city was expressed by the bicycle shop-keepers themselves.



Plate 24.2 Location of shadow educational infrastructure in the industrial areas of Kota

industry. This expansion obviously went hand in hand with the actual infrastructure for the coaching institutions themselves. The institutes had to ready teaching-learning spaces to accommodate such large number of students. For example, the largest institute in terms of student strength in Kota, the Allen Coaching Institute, which currently has an approximate strength of 80,000–100,000 as of December 2014, projects a growth of 200,000 by the year 2020, built huge buildings in the new Kota city. As of now, they have 11 multi-storey buildings: each of these buildings is given unique names such as *Samanvay* (coordination), *Sankalp* (Determination), *Samarth* (Ability), *Safalya* (Success), *Sabal* (Empowered), *Savinay* (Respect), *Sanskar* (Value), *Sadhya* (Possibility), *Samayik* (Contemporary), *Sarokar* (Interest) and *Saddh* (Aim).³¹ All of these purpose built spaces for teaching-learning-administration for Allen are spread across the new Kota city space.

What is most intriguing about this story of the transformation of the city through shadow education infrastructure is the way the State and its agencies accommodated the demands generated by the burgeoning education capital. There are two ways in which land was acquired by the shadow education industry in Kota. First, huge unused land previously occupied by the public sector manufacturing industry, the Instrumentation Limited, was transferred to the provincial government who owned the Rajasthan Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (RIICO), which in turn made allotments to the coaching institutes as commercial organizations (Plate 24.2).³²

Some parts of the land were transferred to the Urban Improvement Trust (UIT), which holds the key to the growth and planning of the city of Kota. UIT in turn

³¹One can see the very idea of physical space is symbolized by a particular trait/virtue a student is expected to imbibe and internalize in order to succeed in the competitive examinations.

³²This conversion helped IL in mitigating some of the problems that arose due to its sick-condition. By transferring excess land to RIICO and UIT, IL earned some financial capital that allowed the firm to sustain.

redistributed the land acquired from IL and RIICO among the private individuals for residential purposes. That means, simultaneously, the growth of commercial educational spaces for the shadow education industry as well as the private residential colonies was facilitated in the post 2000, which as I've detailed triggered the unprecedented expansion of the city. The residential areas primarily served as hostels, paying guest accommodations, small shops, restaurants, and mess facilities: this land also served as residential colonies for parents who migrated to Kota to get their ward admitted to these institutes for coaching.

Second, UIT had changed the previous policy of not allowing commercial activities in residential areas. As a result of this new and more relaxed policy, residential accommodation is hired out to students, tuition centers and other ancillary service providers which in turn supports the shadow education economy of the city. This move has also facilitated economic returns for the families living in the new city. Many of the employees of the IL have bought plots of land and converted them into hostel accommodations for students, thereby generating additional avenues for income to their otherwise meager salaries.³³ This also triggered further investments of these families into the real estate boom of the city, which in turn had generated demand for built-in space and creation of new residential colonies in and around the shadow education hub of New Kota.

Third, the real estate boom led to the conversion of agricultural land on the fringes of New Kota into commercial and residential areas to accommodate the increasing demand for built-in space. This pushed the geographic boundaries of the city further and further out making it a centre of investment primarily to make profits through the educational and allied infrastructure. It is also worth noting that there have been instances where the coaching institutes triggered development of new residential areas in some sub-urban areas of the city as well. For instance, Allen Coaching Institute opened a new campus in Kunhari, about 15 km from the main city centre, and this has triggered growth of Kunhari as another hub for shadow education in the city besides the South of the city that has already made its mark as an educational hub (Plate 24.3). The real estate firms now market their products in the name of the burgeoning shadow education industry in the vicinity. For instance, I approached a real estate company as a potential buyer and found that the entire marketing of the housing flats is in terms of how a flat in their residential project would bring about returns through rentals to students.

Thus, the emergence of Kota as an educational hub has clearly made the city restructure itself spatially. The characterization of the city as 'educational' from being 'industrial' is now complete. As one respondent put it, the whole city is now like a university campus and there are only movements of students in these new city spaces: the presence of students has served to regenerate the social and economic

³³In all the areas mentioned above, the flat/house owners prefer to give their houses on rent to students than to families as it would offer them bigger profits. A small room in a flat or a house costs anywhere from Rs. 2000–15,000 depending on the kind of facilities offered. A house with five rooms of space can yield something like Rs. 30,000–60,000, which otherwise would only Rs. 5000–10,000 maximum, if it is offered to families instead of students.



Plate 24.3 Construction under way in a new Real Estate Hotspot, Kunhari (Proposed Site for construction of a new Infrastructure by Allen Coaching Institute)

life in the city of Kota, which was once doomed due to de-industrialization. The popular image of Kota city has been re-structured and reformulated, and its sprawl clearly is rooted in the educational economy.

24.5.1 Impact of Education Capital Generated in Kota on Other Small Towns

The transformation of Kota as a shadow education hub did not remain restricted to Kota only. While the economic transformation of the city changed the value of the land, the demand for land, and the very nature of land transfers between the state institutions and the citizens of the city and outsiders to the city, it did serve as a potential model to be replicated elsewhere by the flight of education capital from the city or into the city. Those who seek to appropriate land found the growth of the education economy as a promise for future capital accumulation as well as reinvestment. The education capitalists of Kota have reinvested the surplus at their disposal in spreading their brands across India, and also by way of selling franchise of their brands to prospective investors in other parts of India. The economics of capital accumulation in Kota now travel to other small towns and begin to transform those urban spaces as well, making them sub-regional hubs for the shadow education economy. Now, those students and families who cannot afford living in Kota are served with Kota brands of the shadow education in their own small towns.

Bansal Classes Private Limited today has branches in 17 towns and cities, besides Kota, spread across 9 states of North India. In their business promotions, Bansals claim that the shadow education sector is 'recession free' and that one can get 'excellent returns on one's investment', with what they call 'satisfaction of serving the society'. The marketing of Kota brands such as Bansals' can be better under-

stood with what they claim in their effort to seek more franchises³⁴: “For 27 years backed by trust of 113,000 students, the group has forayed into.....”. This emphasis on gaining the trust of 113,000 students is a crucial marketing strategy to sell the brand. Besides, it is claimed that shadow education economy is not affected by business cycles. The growing market and the least risks involved unlike those involved in manufacturing economy add to the advertising strategy of the education capital. Further, in the education economy there is said to be no stress of recovery or loss of revenue, which helps selling the brands to educational investors from within the country as well as from among the multinationals interested in investing in shadow education economy of Kota. These strategies and dynamics of the educational market emanating from Kota work to transform the ideas of urban space and sprawl: going by what is already known by the way the small towns and cities, such as Patna, Jaipur, Aurangabad, Meerut, Agra, Bhubaneswar, etc., have transformed as centers of shadow education sub-regionally in the recent past, triggering urban sprawl in those urban centers as well. Thus, the working of the education economy in this sense is no different from the working of the financial economy. It is different in the sense that its spread is guaranteed as the demand for shadow education is ever increasing, and the sector appears to be ‘risk’ or ‘recession’ free. Though it is never recognized by the state as a potential driver of economic as well as spatial growth in urban India, and in the absence of any regulation of the sector by the state, this shadow education economy is bound to produce many more educational cities across India.

24.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter presented how urban sprawl and restructuring of space is produced as a result of the rise of a post-industrial education economy of shadow education. As we have seen, and finding concurrence with what Lefebvre argued in his work on ‘production of space’, the urban space of Kota is structured in different periods in history depending on how different social as well as political-economic forces shaped that urban space. According to Lefebvre space takes on, ‘within the present mode of production, a sort of reality of its own, a reality clearly distinct from, yet much like, those assumed in the same global process by commodities, money and capital’ (Lefebvre 1991: 26). Though this claim may appear paradoxical, as is also acknowledged by Lefebvre, the case of urban transformation of Kota does present a curious case that makes this paradox look real. The chapter provided evidence to show that the space thus produced also serves as a ‘tool of thought and action, that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, hence

³⁴The expected investment for franchise is Rs. 2.5–5 million, which includes the Franchise fees and faculty training. The total capital investment required is something like Rs. 5 million, which includes rental advance, furniture and fixtures, advertisements and promotional activities, interiors, signages, start-up events, power back up, etc. The typical built-in space requirement is 4000–5000 ft² and the premises shall be semi-commercial/residential with ample parking space, etc.

of domination, of power' (ibid). The state and its agencies contribute to the production and reproduction of the urban space, but they fail to control it beyond a point as the forces of the market takeover and exert 'uncontrollable autonomy' in matters of spatial sprawl. In the case of Kota, this has precisely happened and, as the chapter has argued, education capital had taken over further spiraling the growth in the city space, leaving the state and its agencies to follow rather than to control particular models of growth³⁵: such an outcome may, over time, distort the actual Vision/Plan.

What the chapter also sought to demonstrate, with the help of the case of Kota, is how cities undergo struggles of various kinds – social, political, cultural and economic, which then lead them to innovate their urban spaces (Lefebvre 1996; Harvey 1985a, b, 1996; Bridge and Watson 2000). Single factors or combinations of these struggles produce a variety of innovations for the cities to restructure themselves in particular ways, which in turn may produce newer kinds of struggles between the social relationships, labor processes, capital accumulation, state, and the very urban public itself. As Harvey (1996) points out, each bundle of innovations has allowed a radical shift in the way space is organized and therefore opened up radically new possibilities for the urban process. In the case of Kota, over the past two decades, the education economy in general, and the shadow education economy in particular, has become integral to these struggles and innovations. It is important to see how production and the culmination of a particular urban restructuring and innovation process result in shifts in the way city of Kota experienced changes in its social and cultural realms, and how these changes, in turn, open up new vistas for further possibilities for urban innovation in the future. Further, it remains to be seen how long the bubble of shadow education will continue to trigger urban sprawl and innovation in Kota city, and when it would seek to transcend to another stage in the global as well as local economic transformation. It is likely, as many education capitalists of Kota believe, that since it is 'recession and risk free', the bubble may never burst, but rather acquire proportions that may trigger similar urban transformations across the country: it is argued that it may even travel to other Asian and African societies where shadow education indeed flourishes – a possibility which the chapter indeed brought forth in unambiguous terms.

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³⁵The shift in the town planning strategies and subversions to the Master Plan of the city are some of the examples of this lack of control over the way the Market operates. Once the architecture of space is created, in the case if it is driven by education capital, the state appropriates it by modifying its own original plans of town planning.

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Chapter 25

On the Margins of ‘Opportunity’: Urbanisation and Education in Delhi’s Metropolitan Fringe

Radhika Menon

25.1 Introduction

In the last few decades India has been going through a rapid rural-urban shift. While 32% of the total population already live in the urban areas, by 2050 it is expected to go up to 50% of all population. Most of this growth is still accommodated in the existing cities that have witnessed increasing density of inhabitation. In addition, there also has been territorial expansion of the cities as new urban agglomerations came up at the periphery of the city. The National Capital Region (NCR) of Delhi, has been at the forefront of India’s urban shifts. Delhi became the second most populous urban agglomeration in the world, after Tokyo, in 2014. The NCR has a population of 25 million (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division 2014), and estimates suggest that by 2030, this is likely to grow up to 36 million. With a heavy population density (11,297 persons per sq. km. as per Census of India 2011) and growing urban agglomerations in the National Capital Region, Delhi has become an important site of urban shifts and imaginations.

Delhi as a city dates back several centuries and it has been what Lefebvre (2003, p. 8) calls a ‘political city’, with its share of kings, princes, warriors, artisans and wandering merchants. The colonial government also maintained its political headquarters in Delhi for 36 years. In the post-Independence period, it retained its position as the national capital, thus encouraging both national and international institutions to establish offices here. While this initiated infrastructural growth, the significant push has come from the country’s urban centric growth and planning

Urbanisation as opportunity continues to be a normative question in India and it is put here in quotes to highlight the peculiar meanings that opportunity assumes in the urban fringe.

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(Nath 2007, p. 21). Industrial growth around the city led to new urban agglomerations as public facilities and markets of the political city were proximal (p. 9). This led to the colonisation of rural areas on the periphery of the city, and emergence of several townships, an urban categorisation based more on population rather than public facilities or administrative structures. In India, for that matter, of the 7935 recognised towns (Census 2011), as many as 3894 are Census towns, based on density of population, non-agricultural occupations, and a population strength of 5000 and above (Census of India 2004). The National Capital Region of Delhi and its urban agglomerations hence follow this national pattern. Many of Delhi's Census towns are spread across four states and part of its extended urban fringe.

The urban fringe has been characterised as a dynamic space (Pryor 1968; Nath 2007), with a significant increase in population density; change in land-use, employment, utility services; and social orientation (Rao et al. 1991; Dahiya and Thakur 2007; Yadav 1987). The fringe was earlier understood as a rural area whose residents were rooted in the village but participated in the economic and political activities of the city (Rao et al. 1991, p. 392). A recent commentary however observes an all India phenomena of rurbanisation, where rural people are increasingly involved in urban occupations, that leads to a change in consumption patterns and increased access to urban amenities that eventually leads them towards an urban future and imagination (Gupta 2015). Around the larger cities of Delhi, Navi Mumbai, Bengaluru however, the changes have been far more rapid, and is not restricted to participation in the city. The traditional village landscape has transformed and the agricultural economy now assumes only a marginal role with majority of its population engaged in urban work. Moreover, a crucial feature of the fringe is the inward migration from other rural areas, along with outward migration from the city centre (Desai and Sengupta 1987, p. 208).

Delhi and its census towns at the periphery, are attractive destinations that offer political, economic, social and educational opportunities. In the past, there have been periods of a sudden spurt in population that have led to the city's expansion and growth of census towns. The first such transition in post Independence period was in 1947 at the time of the Partition of the sub-continent, when politically displaced people came as refugees and settled in the city. Later on, between 1981–1991, the city's population rate increased by 51.45%, as workers were brought into the city from various north Indian states to build infrastructure for Asian Games (1982). Many of them stayed back in Delhi or returned to it with their families. While population growth has declined in recent years, at 20.96% (Census of India 2011) it is still significant as people continue to move in search of livelihood and economic reasons (NCPRB 2012), pushing the boundary of the city wider. As in other developing countries, migration to Delhi is associated with pull-in factors such as hopes for higher incomes, livelihood options, availability of public services and better living conditions. In addition there are also push out factors such as low agricultural productivity in the villages (Dudwick et al. 2011). For people involved in this urban shift even when it is to the city's periphery, Delhi's numerous schools and colleges suggest educational opportunities, while the manufacturing sector in the urban agglomerations, the large state sector of the 'political city', the unorganised

and private service sector offer possibilities for employment. Together they provide a possible landscape for individual and social mobility.

The urbanisation of the city's rural periphery, the re-designation of its population as residents of Census towns and the opportunities for mobility provide a critical site for investigating urban educational opportunity and social mobility. This paper, looks at one such dynamic urban fringe of Delhi, to examine the social-spatial distribution of educational opportunity and the possibilities for individual and social mobility. It is based on the understanding that formal education is a non-negotiable in the urban shift towards non-agricultural occupations and expectations of security, better living conditions and higher incomes. It is informed by primary sources including ethnographic data, questionnaires and land records obtained by the author from an urban fringe of Delhi that has been given the pseudonym of Morpur.¹ Reflections made here are on the basis of school reports and longitudinal findings from detailed interviews conducted between 2005 and 2012, with 85 students and their families who live in the area.

This paper first locates the urban fringe vis-à-vis other settlements of Delhi before establishing the case of Morpur. It points to the peculiarities of urbanisation in the metropolitan fringe, where the participants of this study lived. This is also one of the spaces which offered Delhi's urban dreams and opportunities and the second part of the paper explores educational opportunity through an exploration of the educational institutions, services and information available to the people living in the area. In the final section, drawing upon the space and social configurations in the locality, it situates the urban fringe as being on the margins of 'opportunity', bringing back concerns about educational inequality, as urbanisation expands its roots in India. Finally there is a deliberation on ways to widen access and improve quality of educational opportunity.

25.2 Delhi's Rural-Urban Fringe

What is known as Delhi today, is a spread of several urban settlements that have emerged at different historical junctures and hundreds of rural settlements amidst or surrounding the urban quarters of the city. Among the prominent urban settlements, those within the fortresses of the pre-Mughal era remain today only as heritagesites, as the political decline of its founders also routed out its urbanism till they finally settled into the pace and life of adjoining rural areas. However, the settlements of the Mughal era, have had a continuous urban existence and thrives even today as Old Delhi, with a bustling mix of heritage buildings and densely packed residential quarters and commercial activities. The colonial settlements of the empire distinguished its political power with a new aesthetics of grandeur and expansive spaces designed by Edward Lutyen. After Independence, Lutyen's New Delhi was

¹In order to maintain the confidentiality of the respondents pseudonyms have been used in this paper.

taken over to house the Republic's institutions of democracy and became the city centre. The density of population increased as political, economic and social institutions established their presence in the capital. The surrounding areas were developed in planned phases to accommodate office complexes, public sector housing colonies for government employees, institutional and diplomatic areas. The planned measures also accommodated residential requirements of the growing capital city. Areas were earmarked for providing independent bungalows for the city's rich and wealthy, housing societies for the middle classes and basic apartment blocks for the lower middle classes built by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA). However, urban planning did not keep up with the migration to the city and the housing needs of the working poor, who settled in places close to their areas of work and devised their own means for living in the city. The areas where they settled eventually became classified as slum and Jhuggi Jhopri Clusters (GNCTD 2015). Planned interventions to provide housing for them often meant displacement and relocation to distant resettlement colonies in the city's periphery.² The rural areas thus, began to accommodate those who were left out of planned urban living. Delhi's villages and its land, private and community land as well as agricultural and residential areas, began to transform without official permission of the concerned authorities into urban townships. As many as 135 of Delhi's villages are now 'urban villages' (GNCTD 2008) and accommodates hundreds of 'unauthorized colonies'.

The planned and unplanned incursions into rural areas have led to a 40% increase in the urban areas of Delhi over a 40 year period (1961–2001) and 44 of its villages are now classified Census Towns. Urbanisation of Delhi's most populous districts such as North East, North West and South Delhi have been led by unauthorised colonies. This makes Delhi significantly different from other major cities of the world, as its urban population is spread on the periphery in its many unauthorised settlements and squatters (Kumar 2000, p. 154), while its spacious centre is relatively less populated. This periphery is mainly populated by the displaced poor, migrants, workers, and lower middle class populace (GNCT 2011). Studies on asset ownership and consumables also confirm these spatial inequalities between the city centre and periphery (Bhan and Jana 2015; Sidhwani 2015). Delhi's suburbs hence are not like European and American suburbs, which have a higher concentration of the middle classes living in neatly planned areas and thriving on commuting economies. Instead, its urban fringe is less resourced, more densely populated and with a greater concentration of people belonging to working class and lower middle class backgrounds. The planned city periphery of middle classes and wealthy based on a 'commuting economy', neat area plans and gated communities do exist in Delhi, but these are still too few and not representative enough of the urban fringe.³

²The resettlement colonies refer to 44 colonies that were dislocated from the city's centre to rural peripheries of the city between 1960 and 1985 (GNCTD 2015) and later on in the years leading up to the Commonwealth Games (Datta 2013).

³The unauthorized colonies of Delhi include farm houses belonging to the city's wealthy, who in a bid to avail benefits of village life have set up exclusive communities without authorisation. However the spatial inequalities in asset ownership and density of population in the urban

Education in Delhi's urban fringe hence is being located within this backdrop of inadequate urban planning for the working poor and migrants; spatial distance from the city's political, economic, and social institutions; high population density; and lower asset ownership.

25.2.1 Morpur and Its Urban Space

The area of Morpur, lying towards the South of Delhi, is a typical urban fringe. On the outskirts of Delhi's metropolitan area, it lies close to the urban agglomerations of Faridabad (Haryana), Gurgaon (Haryana) and Gautam Budh Nagar (Uttar Pradesh). The Morpur area, covers the residential, agricultural and community land of more than three villages, which are now re-designated as three Census towns (Census of India 2001, 2011). Currently there are several dozen unauthorized colonies and squatter camps here.

In the 1990s, when unauthorized colonies were being carved out on undeveloped agricultural land of Morpur, people from lower income groups exhibited willingness to settle here as it was seen close to the manufacturing industries of Faridabad, real estate development work in Gurgaon and Gautam Budh Nagar, even while retaining a Delhi residential address. As these unauthorized colonies did not have necessary infrastructure for setting up a residential colony, land was cheap and affordable. A study of the land records shows that the first sale of private land for building a residential colony began in 1985; and that by the 1990s there was a spread of unauthorized colonies from each of the three villages. As land transactions started creating super profits, people with large land holdings, who also wielded clout over traditional networks of caste, started trading in land. Builders from the city also entered the trade and apart from sale and purchase of private property business extended to capture of community areas and public spaces. The Delhi Development Authority reports that some of the colonies were built on vested gram-sabha (village government) land, shrub land and even vacant land in the possession of government departments. On the Delhi side of the border alone, 38 unauthorized colonies got built on the banned eco-sensitive river front zone (DDA 2010).

In the absence of plans, the constructions in the area have emerged as per the whims of the builders and budgetary concerns of the settler households. These include temporary shelters and camps, haphazard semi-pucca and pucca structures that left little space for public and community needs such as parks, hospitals and commercial complexes. Land disputes have been common and a large number of civil and criminal offences have been registered in the area police stations. Constructions have rarely followed safety principles and more than once buildings have collapsed because of unprepared land and poor foundations. In one such accident in February 2009, a building ended up burying ten people in its debris.

fringe, indicate that even though farm houses have taken over large tracts of land, these non agricultural gated communities do not typify life in Delhi's urban fringe.

However settlers have ignored these hazards, in the absence of other housing options and investment of their life's savings for a Delhi based house; seeking strength instead in numbers and mobilisations to avoid demolitions by the municipal authority.

In Morpur, 'urban development' for the low budget settlers stand cheek by jowl with the growing wealth of the builders and villagers who have profited from some of the land transactions. Hence, it is not unusual to find roughly built houses on small plots of land on narrow streets, adjacent to large mansions. Luxury cars and sports utility vehicles of these mansion owners stand parked on dairy farms and other dilapidated structures hurriedly converted into barracks for workers who live here on rent. There are no distinct areas marked as residential and commercial in Morpur, and shops and trading areas have come up in buildings close to the main roads. The outgrowth of unauthorised colonies from the three villages of Morpur, now makes the territorial distinction of the villages faint, connected as they are by lanes, houses, shops, private schools, clinics, wedding halls, equipment laden gymnasiums, wrestling arenas of the traditional *pehelwans*, warehouses and dairy farms. Piles of cow dung cakes and hay stack sit alongside coaching institutes and computer centres, announcing a mix of the rural and urban milieu. Traffic is thick on the streets with vehicles, pedestrians, cows, auto rickshaws, cyclists, goods carriers and an occasional state transport bus.

In August 2012, the long standing demand for regularisation of unauthorised colonies by the residents was fulfilled by state authorities for the pre-2002 colonies (GNCT 2012). This enabled those who built their homes in these colonies, to register their houses for a fee and escape demolition. These colonies are also now entitled to grants and funds for infrastructure development in the area. However, the possibility for developing public spaces and resources, road widening and laying of sewers for waste management appears bleak, as is apparent from the experience of colonies that have been regularised in the past. As a testimony to this bleak future, road widening measures between one of the colonies and the local school got stalled thrice by a wealthy local resident who refused to allow his property at the mouth of the road to be touched. However, even the limited hopes from regularisation are denied to the residents of the camps, squatters and colonies that came up after 2002, and they continue to live in fear of demolitions and displacement.

Morpur's urbanisation patterns and emergence as set of census towns in the urban fringe of Delhi is neither unusual nor specific to it and it is a pattern being widely replicated in the surrounding urban agglomerations. This follows the urban dispersion strategy being followed in the large cities, to remove people from the central part of the city to its periphery. These urbanisation patterns are hastened by the availability of work in the manufacturing, real estate and service sectors on the fringes of the city. The urban fringe itself gradually shifts from rural life to an urban pattern of existence, without maintaining any norms of planning. People are left to their own devices to develop a residential colony in association with local land dealers and lobbies of builders. The small economic means of the people has often meant that they have little voice in deciding the nature of development around them. Most areas are devoid of urban public spaces and the urban growth stands out

as a jumble of haphazard unsafe buildings. Essential amenities for living such as water, electricity and sanitation become prized services requiring a daily struggle for access.

25.2.2 Social Relations in Morpur

People moving to settle in Morpur have been from various parts of North India, with most being first generation migrants who arrived in Delhi for work, from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Uttarakhand and Rajasthan. Migrants from Nepal, refugee Kashmiri Pandits and post partition Punjabis are also present in large numbers. Residents of *jhuggis* (squatter settlements) located in affluent areas of South Delhi, have also settled here after being displaced by authorities, following eviction campaigns. While few of them bought land and built houses, most have set up temporary shelters in the camps for the displaced.

The house owners in the unauthorised colonies include workers and lower level office employees in the adjoining factories, private and government offices; self-employed artisans, vendors, hawkers and other unorganised sector workers. Those living on rent mainly include, casual labour and factory workers. Their houses are single rooms or shared barracks built in the large buildings of the disused dairy farms. Multiple tenants in a single room are also common, with independent rooms being rented only when families arrived. A large proportion of the workers are engaged in uncertain, irregular and "invisible" work, without any security of tenure. According to one factory union, three-fourth of the workers were not on the company's records, 85% were hired through contractors, 80% were not paid the statutory minimum wage and salary delays were common with legal dues being denied even 15 years after closure of the factory (Faridabad Mazdoor Samachar 2007).

The original villagers of Morpur are mostly families belonging to Hindu Gurjar, upper caste Brahmin and Scheduled Caste(SC) households. Traditional occupation in the villages of Morpur and its adjacent areas have revolved around agriculture, animal husbandry and quarrying (Soni 2006; Dabral and Malik 2004). Upper caste villagers had access to some land and education and hence had greater participation in the city as workers and employees of the public sector. Numerically the Gurjars have dominated the area. They have been mainly involved in dairy farming and have controlled the land around Morpur. The colonisation and escalation of land prices have increased their economic clout. Many of the Gurjar families are also those dealing in land. They have subsequently gained wealth, acquired school and college education and diversified into transport, trading and setting up of retail showrooms. Acquired wealth is displayed through palatial homes and expensive cars. Some of these families have also lost wealth to alcoholism, drug addiction, land disputes, legal battles and poor investments. Nevertheless the overall financial gains made by the community, their numerical significance, knowledge of the area and traditional social networks, have given them political strength and won them representatives at various levels of the government. This has also increased their muscularity in social relations.

The Scheduled Caste(SC) community earlier lived in the periphery of the main villages, now known as Harijan bastis and Ambedkar colony, but urbanisation has integrated their residential quarters with the main village through a continuous stretch of unauthorized colonies. Sections of the settler population from other castes now stay here as well. The members of SC households have in the past been engaged as sanitation workers, quarry workers, agricultural labour and sharecroppers. The absence of agricultural work has led to a shift towards urban occupations in construction, real estate, municipality sanitation work and property dealing.

The urbanisation of the fringe has also generated new jobs but mostly in the local informal economy. Settlers have started dealing in land as commission agents for bigger builders and in the absence of basic amenities and adequate infrastructure, people have started working in the large market that provides drinking water through tankers, electricity through generators, para-medical services, documentation services and petty trading. Retail shops have been started from houses for vending groceries and other household requirements. Garment factories give out contract work for minor sewing and stitching on piece rate basis to women. Shops, parlours and clinics have opened up, which hire casual workers. Those with some education have started tuition centres, coaching classes and private schools. Non-governmental organizations also have set up offices in the area and periodically carry out surveys for which young people are hired. It is only in land where construction is yet to start or in areas not yet colonised, that farming is still practised. Most of this land is leased out to share croppers and cultivated with the assistance of seasonal labour.

Thus, urbanisation of the fringe has changed the social dynamics of the area, as farm employment has become confined to the outskirts of the fringe and urban occupations have assumed a central place. While earlier the upper caste communities of Morpur were commuting to the city and engaged in urban occupations, it is the middle castes such as the Gurjars who have benefitted the most from urban growth and escalation of land prices. They gained particularly when they acquired education and shifted to new occupations. The spatial segregation of SC groups became less significant in the concrete outgrowth, and they also shifted from rural casual work to urban casual work. However, substantial upward mobility is still not seen. The migrants to the area have been the relatively disadvantaged sections of the city involved in the lower echelons of the manufacturing and tertiary sector, which are increasingly becoming informal. Thus, despite the overall infrastructural disadvantage faced by the people living in the fringe, there were some who were more vulnerable than others. Positions in the caste hierarchy, migrant status, nature of work affected their overall position within the fringe. Nature of work available to the women was also mainly in the casual sector and in the local informal economy.

25.2.3 *Hopes from Education*

In pre-urbanised Morpur, as in other villages of Delhi's metropolitan periphery, the state supported secondary school was located in a spacious complex with a large playground. It was well connected by road to the three villages of Morpur and also with those in the bordering state of Haryana. Established in 1960, most of the villagers who had attained secondary education, had attended this school. Once colonisation started, the first flush of urban growth also started around the school. It became an important landmark in the area and new plots were identified by its distance from the school.

Increasing non-farm occupations, increased the value of education and that of the school among all social groups of Morpur. Families of the local landless and those settling in the area particularly saw in the school a place that could offer a better future for their children. The decline in prospects from industrial, agricultural and animal husbandry work made education a possible entry point for chalking out an alternate future in the city. Educational credentials were perceived as a means for attaining a secure government job that could lead to vertical mobility. In the industrial environment of increasing casualization of workers, retaining jobs in the manufacturing and tertiary sector was also linked to education. Interviews have indicated that for the younger people of settler families, education meant greater possibilities of survival in the city, higher incomes, new professions and occupations, departure from traditional social rigidities of caste and gender roles, urban life styles as well as access to a more wholesome socially engaged life. Girls in particular looked at education as a means to transform their own lives and society.

For the socially dominant groups in the villages, education was a means not only for greater vertical mobility in the city but also a way to secure their political future and dominance in the area, as local social profile rapidly changed. An earlier study (Tyagi 1982) on Delhi's fringes also shows that conversion of land to cash through urbanisation led to income increases through adoption of non-agricultural work such as transport, retail, education or land purchases in newly emerging areas. On the other hand, wealth was swiftly lost when social dominance was being retained through legal battles, ostentatious expenditure, unwise investments, alcoholism and addictions. As metropolitan Delhi's urban fringes undergo changes, these experiences have become part of people's larger popular understanding. Education thus was seen as a tool that could offer hope in a rapidly changing landscape of work and social relations. It was seen as a means for dealing with a future that made traditional life unpredictable.

25.3 Educational Opportunity

In the background of the hopes from education in Morpur, it is important to see the kind of educational opportunity actually available to the people and its access by various social groups here. References to educational opportunity has often been portrayed through indicators such as enrolments, attendance, level completion rates, as well as reading, writing, arithmetic and comprehension of students at various school levels. While this does provide a broad representative picture of opportunity, the marginality of the fringe both spatially and in terms of the people living here requires educational developments in the area also to be seen through a relational perspective. Delhi has a sharply stratified school system that practises extreme levels of social and ‘meritocratic’ selection, not only by private schools but also by government and government aided schools (see Waldrop 2004; Juneja 2011; Menon 2006, 2014a, b). This poses questions on the kind of educational opportunity, be it institutions, information or services, that is available to the children living in the urban fringe and also to various social groups therein.

25.3.1 *Schooling the Urban Fringe*

The state funded secondary school, as mentioned earlier, held a special place in the landscape of Morpur. It was the only school in the area that offered secondary education. Even so, student enrolments up to the late 1970s and early 1980s in the school, according to retired teachers, never surpassed 350. The teachers were familiar with all their students and the school had the life and pace of a ‘village communal’ school (Brint 2006, p. 135).

A surge in Morpur’s urban growth also transformed its school. Enrolments grew and school authorities responded with multiple rounds of ‘upgradation’. The middle level school was upgraded to the status of an independent secondary school and the secondary level upgraded to that of a senior secondary school. Upgradations, only reflected on the levels of the school and they continued to function out of the space and complex that existed before. Each upgradation infact restricted the space provided to each school, as classrooms and playgrounds were partitioned off between the middle, secondary and senior secondary levels. As more colonies emerged, student enrolments continued to increase. The school (by now schools) introduced shift based sex-segregation of students, with morning school(s) for girls and evening school(s) for boys. In a span of 10 years, 2005 to 2015, the school underwent four more upgradations. The original school campus today accommodates ten schools in five buildings. Each school has its own administration but the schools are yet to have permanent classrooms, with many functioning out of semi-permanent structures.

25.3.2 *Slumming of School and Herding of Children*

If schools in the complex increased ten times, the enrolled students increased by 85 times. In 2012, more than 20,000 students were being provisioned by these schools. By 2015, it had increased to nearly 30,000 students (29,752). These enrolments are likely to grow in the coming years as the density of the settlements continue to increase and a concerted move is on to widen enrolments at elementary level as part of Right to Education Act, 2009. Notably, while new sections of students were being brought to the school, they were being accommodated in the old buildings and classrooms. The upgradations enabled each school to have a manageable administrative strength but the classrooms and buildings remained more or less the same.

Over the years, the academic structure, teacher-pupil ratio and classroom student ratios have worsened. In one of the boys' school, for example, the classroom pupil ratio was 1:268 at the senior secondary and 1:328 at the secondary (after upgradation). In the girls' school the classroom student ratio was 1:188 at the senior secondary level. This is not unusual in the urbanising fringes of the city where these kind of ratios and failure of educational planning has left schools to devise their own ways to cope with numbers. In some places students have been asked to come on alternate days to school, while in others school services are available to a child for less than 3 h a day, instead of the usual 5 and 6 h school day. In the Morpur school(s), the attempt to initiate an integrated school system from classes I–XII, have further added to the school's infrastructure woes as permanent buildings in the complex had to be handed over to primary classes.

The teaching-learning processes at senior secondary classes have also been affected by adverse teacher-pupil ratios, sometimes as high as 1:99 and 1:97. According to an elderly teacher of the school, this has led to a change in not only the school's character but also the nature of their jobs. He observed that "*we are not educators anymore, we are herdsmen (gwale)*". Teachers in the staffroom often talked about themselves in this role and children as their herd. This had repercussions on how children were treated in school, as coercive and persuasive measures began to be deployed to keep children back in school. Teachers held on to students in a bid to prevent them from escaping school, while a section of them nevertheless scaled the walls and ran away. The desire to retain students in the school often had more than academic concerns as teachers worried that some of the students after marking attendance would get involved in some crime and get everyone into trouble. However, the numbers in the classes made creatively engaging students a challenge.

Town planners have pointed to overcrowding of city areas, and unplanned urbanisation as a significant reason for the degradation of an area's ecology and environment leading to its eventual slumming (Verma 2002). It has been observed that even elaborate city infrastructure and built environments get dilapidated in the process (Naidu 2009). Slumming and dilapidation is clearly visible in the Morpur school complex. Ironically while more and more buildings were coming up in the area, there was no significant expansion in the state provisioning of school buildings

eventually leading to the slumming and dilapidation of the existing structures. According to one of the school's principal, these schools have ceased to be "a rural school" and are now more like a "slum and resettlement colony school". The dilapidation has eroded the academic life of the school, as it once had been a resource centre for primary and middle schools, but was now reduced to coping with the growing numbers and its management.

Even so, these schools held out hope to large sections of the enrolled boys and girls who felt that their individual, family and community's social mobility lay in realising the benefits of formal school education. Increasing integration of the schools with urban life, however also brought forth realisation of the disparities in schooling. Some boys went to study in state funded schools outside Morpur, where they felt they had access to a more wholesome schooling experience. However, few girls were allowed to do so as their mobility was restricted by patriarchal ideas of their families and immediate neighbours. Some of the girls who were allowed to attend elsewhere, sometimes volunteered out of it as they felt harassed by lack of public transport and security. The costs involved in transport also made it unfeasible for most students. Those who had moved in from other parts of the city to the area also felt that schooling could be more than herding and aspired for better conditions in their schools. Girls particularly resented the inadequate provisioning of good schooling in the area and worried that their future was being jeopardised by poor schooling.

25.3.3 Invisible Barriers to Schooling and Negotiating Through 'Jaan Pehchans'

Official policies claim widening of school access, but in practise state schools frequently put up invisible barriers to school. Often it was an informal attempt at curtailing enrolments. A teacher explained the reason stating that, "*We don't have teachers, boys are sitting in the corridors, there is no space, where do we keep these children?*" New admission seekers, migrating to the city or moving in from other areas, were often the ones who were dissuaded from joining the school to keep student strength manageable. Admission was denied on the grounds that enrolment seekers did not have valid identity papers, residential proofs and migration certificates. Other tactics included not allowing students, returning late after vacations, an entry back in school. These mainly affected children of poorer migrant families, who travelled more often to their villages because of community ties, illness and loss of jobs in their family. The immediate impact of these barriers included an exit from the school system for children of vulnerable families, and their early entry into the labour market. The presence of a large number of child casual workers in the area, points to the large sections of children who should have been in the school, but remain outside it. The case of 11 year old Ravi, is an indicator of these barriers. He and his mother migrated to Delhi and settled in a squatter settlement of Morpur. The

school turned them away for "some paper", which they were unable to produce, thereby losing a chance to secure admission in the school. The boy consequently left studies and started working in a general store opposite the school complex. For Ravi, this exit meant the denial of even a hope. that things would change for him and reconciling with the thought of being an unskilled casual worker all his life.

Ravi could have found his way back in the school had he come across a '*jaan pehchan*', or a contact in a relevant social network, who could have facilitated an entry into the school and eased a way out of the invisible barriers. '*Jaan Pehchans*' in the fringe included local political leaders, workers of non-governmental organisations and educated members within community networks. In recent years, with a number of welfare schemes available through the schools, an informal market of '*jaan pehchans*' have also emerged, which include ex-school students offering assistance and support for a fee. However, for families like that of Ravi, being strangers in the area activating these social networks was difficult.

The need for '*jaan pehchans*' continued over the school years. The high teacher-pupil ratio meant students received less attention throughout their school life. This aggravated the difficulties at the secondary and senior secondary level when first generation students had to make critical educational decisions on subject choices and streams, often with no reference points. They were unfamiliar with subject selection procedures and disputes over these were common. Students by this time had also learnt that streams like English, Commerce and Science were popularly perceived as more valuable for a chance at urban middle class occupations. Faced with another selection round in the school, families sought out '*JaanPehchan*' to resolve their grievances and to get a hearing in the crowded school. Families with greater clout and networks gained at each of these stages.

25.3.4 Bussing

Slumming, dilapidation of existing school infrastructure and consequent herding have forced families towards individual, household centric family responses for realising urban hopes from education. 'Bussing' students from homes to school and back is a widely prevalent practise among Delhi's middle classes, where children are transported across the width and breadth of the city in private and school transport. Though policies of admissions at the nursery have begun to encourage admission of students from neighbourhoods, bussing continues to be widespread as parents seek good schools for their children. In Morpur, where even 10 years ago, most students across social groups attended the neighbourhood state schools, in the recent years its slumming and dilapidation has led to bussing of children to private schools located outside the fringe. Interestingly, these private schools were neither the best of schools nor reputed for any particular reason. Their only promise was English-medium education and good examination results, which some parents saw as necessary for succeeding in the city. However for most parents, the only privilege the school endowed upon their children was greater attention, which was scarce in

the crowded state schools of Morpur. The option of bussing, however, was available only to children from the socially dominant sections, such as the Gurjars and upper caste families; or those from financially secure backgrounds. Even among them it was mainly the male child who got a chance to be bussed around. This led to a concentration of children in the state school from among the poorer households as explained by a teacher who felt that “*only (children of) labour (households) studied in the (state) school*”. Social class homogeneity of the students thus began to crystallise in the schools as a result of these practises.

25.3.5 Private Interventions in Schooling

The gaps in school provisioning within Morpur has been filled by cottage-industry like low-cost-for-profit-private-schools. Operating out of the residential areas, from houses, these were mostly elementary schools managed by educated members living in the area. Initial investments were low and they flourished mainly because of their local social networks and ability to ensure transition to the state secondary schools in the higher classes.

These schools thrived at the elementary level, as securing admission to the government school was difficult. Families found it safer and manageable to send their children to a school in the immediate neighbourhood than to a large school. All these schools claimed that they were English medium schools, which as mentioned earlier was considered as highly valuable. It was another matter that it was more of an advertising strategy. These schools also presented themselves as offering quality education, which several parents agreed with primarily because school rituals were maintained and children were given greater attention than they would have in the crowded state school. The teachers here were mainly young women and local residents who could be approached by the parents, when required.

At the secondary level, private schools in Morpur were few as they were unable to get necessary recognition from regulatory bodies for offering education up to class X. Those that were there did not operate in full capacity because most households had low income levels and had already exhausted their capacity to pay fees after educating their children for a few years in the private elementary schools. For these economically stressed households, a private school was considered as good so long as it could ensure a smooth entry into the state schools in later years.

25.3.6 Private Tutoring

Once students were in the school, families began to realise that school success could not come without academic support at home. Unable to provide the same, families sought out academic support in the form of after-school private tuitions. Tuitions were provided by educated youth either individually or in smaller groups, for a fee.

Several coaching centres had institutionalised these tutorial assistance and offered services through a network of youth.

In a cohort of 85 students studying in class IX, 50% of the students had taken tuitions at the elementary level. This included students who had been to private as well as state funded schools. For the former, however, this implied that families had borne additional costs of tuitions besides the school fees.

Different reasons contributed to private tuition taking. Parents who were educated nonetheless had to hire tutorial assistance for their children as they worked long hours. They spent considerable time travelling back and forth from work in the city to their homes on the fringe, which left little time for academically assisting their children. Families engaged in factory work were mostly from socially and economically disadvantaged families and they also had little time to assist their children at home. They were also less educated and unfamiliar with the language and content of the school texts. Tuition enrolment was the highest among these children as households saw tuition as seen as a means to get past disadvantages posed by the home situation. A mother of one of the students, Raunak, explains:

We were born with a sickle. As soon as we opened our eyes we were sent to the fields to cut grass and feed cattle. School and what happened there was not important. It is only now that we realise our children can't survive if they don't study. Raunak's father has done class III, what can he guide? We have to send him for tuitions. At least with other children he would know what he has to study.

In some of the labour households, tuitions ensured children had an academic time table and structured schedule at home. This also kept them busy, out of trouble, and offered a safe place to study since houses were crowded. Families thus looked at tuitions as an essential aspect of urban life. However, the cost of private tuition was considerable and in some households, almost 10% of the family income was spent on it. As a consequence, the distribution of private tutoring was less dependent upon the need for academic support at home and more impacted by costs that could be afforded. Hence even though students from casual labour households felt the highest need for tuition taking and started out with it the most, they could only afford it 'intermittently' rather than as a continuous support. Similarly, across a section of social and occupational groups, girls availed tuitions only intermittently.

25.3.7 Vocational Preparation

Upon school completion most students, irrespective of their family backgrounds, expressed a desire for professional qualifications and service sector jobs. They rejected agricultural work and expressed a disinclination for industrial shop floor work. They felt that in metropolitan areas factory jobs did not bring the kind of job respectability that they were seeking as school pass outs. Moreover, it was considered as less appealing because of the absence of work security, hard physical labour, poor remuneration and casualisation. Urban middle class professions were the

dream jobs and boys aspired to become pilots, doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, and bank employees. Those unable to think of a specific desired profession, said they wanted to do just about any office based computer job. If nothing worked out, the boys proposed they would do some business locally in the retail sector or join the army or police.

In the case of the girls, schooling had fuelled aspirations for vocational preparedness and economic independence. Many of them were willing to take any job that would help them avoid patriarchal–family restrictions on mobility. Living the urban dream for them was about fulfilling individual aspirations and establishing their own identity, which they felt the community in the urban fringe would not permit because of its patriarchal mind sets and close supervision of women’s mobility. They felt that the metropolitan city offered them greater freedom, and expressed fears of getting married in a rural area. Most girls wanted to become teachers as they felt they could balance both work and home, while winning the freedom and respect of being a working woman.

Schooling enabled students to dream of an urban life but vocational information and preparation was available only outside the school. While most nurtured aspirations for upper middle class professions they had no idea which course would qualify them for these occupations. Students thus, sought information about courses and made career choices after consulting local tradesmen, non-governmental organisations, commercial centres offering computer courses and private coaching centres offering distance education programmes. They also relied upon their friends and tutors regarding information on examinations, jobs, courses and higher education prospects. However, decisions on courses were ultimately decided by the proximity of the instructing centre to their residence (in order to avoid transport expenses), course fees, and friends willing to join the course. Boys from both labour and employee households enrolled for mobile repairing, hardware training, spoken English and basic computer courses in MS office and Excel. While these courses, offered by private agencies and commercial set-ups, did not come cheap these were taken up mainly because other courses were even more expensive and beyond their budget. Courses such as Tally and other accounting software were considered as desirable but more expensive. Similar opinions were held regarding coaching for medical and engineering entrance examinations. While these were out of reach for students from labour and lower income employee households, students from the socially dominant groups did take them up as they possessed a wider social network, greater financial clout and supporting relatives. Polytechnics, which are vocational training institutes for providing skilled industrial training, were opted mainly by students from families who were already familiar with these trades.

The courses offered to girls by the more affordable non-governmental training institutes, followed a gendered chart of beauty services, sewing and stitching courses. Some commercial institutes offered nursery teacher training and call centre operator training programmes. Courses offered by non-governmental organisations were seen to typically enhance domestic skills and most girls had completed these programmes. However their professional worth was perceived as negligible. Vocational programmes, such as fashion designing and air hostess training, meant

incurring high costs and were hence ignored or taken up only by girls from families with secure sources of income. Courses related to the hospitality sector, such as airhostess training, were aspired by the girls but their encounter with the training institutions had also introduced elements of a metropolitan life, life styles and social norms that was disconcertingly unfamiliar. The cultural shock of these encounters and the exorbitant fees stopped any further pursuit of these courses.

The decision to do a course and its completion did not always translate into a vocation. Market determined courses were often hyped about the prospects in the job market. The non-governmental organisations offered only introductory lessons in beauty treatment, fashion designing and dress designing. The experience of the youth in finding work with the acquired training had often been demoralising, as the market considered them untrained even after certification. Some of them realised that the courses they had enrolled in, such as computer hardware training and mobile repairing, were already obsolete by the time they had finished their courses. The girls who had spent considerable fees in doing short-run nursery and primary teacher training courses, realised after completion that these were not even recognised by the regulatory bodies. Similarly, computer courses that they could afford to do were too basic to be of any use in the market. Those who had opted for coaching classes to help them prepare for entrance examinations to professional programmes, learnt that many of these courses were module based and a number of such modules had to be done to execute the test successfully. The fees required to do so was beyond their family income. Most youth from labour households had not even attempted to do the vocational courses, while those from employee families either attempted trial courses or abandoned programmes mid-way as they exhausted their budgets. Only youth from families with steady incomes, smaller families, educated parents who had familiarity with the vocational routes were able to find a job in the field of their training. In the cohort of 85, only three students had actually made the transition from a vocational course to a profession. While two of them came from families who were already familiar with the trade and had been prepared for polytechnic training, only one student had actually managed to make the shift to a middle class profession on the basis of his vocational training and education. This young man, from the socially dominant Gurjar family, had acquired an engineering degree from a private college, facilitated by his family's economic and social clout.

25.4 Urban Fringe: On the Margins of 'Opportunity'

An increasing proportion of the population in India is getting 'urbanised'. While this involves a shift towards the nearest urban settlement, it is the largest cities of India that have become the most popular destination for those seeking a livelihood and an urban life. Consequently rural-urban shifts around the big metropolises have become integral to city expansion processes. The discourse of these shifts have focused often on the middle class suburbs and gated communities but the peculiar

pattern of Indian cities with a posh centre and poorer peripheries raise important questions concerning the nature and promise of the urban.

The urban periphery or the fringe is deeply connected to the metropolis and its geographical, economic, and social growth. The city thrives on the workforce that stays at its periphery. The energies of the settling and local population here are channelized towards building the resources of these areas, in making them habitable urban settlements and sustaining urbanisation process. When left to its own devices, and that of land lobbies, the urban fringe undergoes congested, unplanned and unauthorised development. The spatial distribution of resources become lopsided with a high density of population having low entitlements to opportunities and resources of the city. Unlike the fake farm houses of the rich, which are actually posh urban houses in vast lush surroundings, the unauthorised colonies of the poor in Delhi's metropolis are high density settlements with disproportionately low distribution of resources. The people live here out of compulsion imposed by their economic means rather than decisive choices on where to stay. Their settlements reflect a deliberate lack of state planning and *laissez faire* urban growth that becomes guided by builder lobbies, land dealers and dependent upon the informal market for fulfilling the needs of the people living here. Thus the nomenclature of an unauthorised colony, places the people here in a situation where they themselves get blamed for non-provisioning of necessary urban amenities, including inadequate access to schools.

By the time the urban fringe and its unauthorised colonies gain regularisation from authorities, the area and its schools have undergone a slumming and dilapidation process, making renewal of these areas a complex process. For the landed rural people living here, urbanisation promises to introduce the possibility of mobility and attainment of a metropolitan life; while for the poor it is often accompanied by sudden dispossession of earlier livelihoods or from a dispossession of their homes as in the case of the evicted.

Hope, however, thrives as urban growth makes the earlier spatial segregation of dalit settlements vis-à-vis the village irrelevant; girls begin to find reasons to shake off patriarchal restrictions as they search for individual identity and mobility; and better urban amenities and public services begin to be expected with colony regularisation. The proximity to the city, even if it is at the fringe, makes resources seem closer and education as a means for future vertical mobility, better living conditions and higher incomes. Thus the urban fringe also offers a means to escape social hierarchies, caste rigidities and patriarchal restrictions.

The educational credential become increasingly relevant to life in the urban fringe, as life chances get linked to them. There is hope especially for those who have no other financial and social clout, who see possibility for transcending immediate restrictions, with educational degrees and qualifications. For the socially dominant sections of the urban fringe, educational opportunity is a means to consolidate the economic gains and secure it. There is also a compulsion posed by the changes in occupations, land use changes and new aspirations. For people in the fringe, urban shifts require new cultural capitals for thriving in the city; and eagerness for

schooling, expenditures incurred on private schools, tuitions and vocational courses are attempts to cope with this shift.

There is no infrastructure ready to absorb the influx of settlers into these fringes. And when changes begin to happen because of colonisation, there is a tremendous pressure on whatever exists of the rural public services. The state schools are also caught unprepared for these changes, and it is on the verge of a crisis that demands begin to be addressed. However responses such as school upgradations that is beyond capacity, remain ad-hoc and there is a gradual slumming and dilapidation of the schools. The state schools instead of becoming sites that could prepare people for the urban shifts, become sites that represent its collapse. Schools start operating as per the erratic demands of the crisis, high pupil-teacher and high student-classroom ratios becomes the norm, where children from poor families are 'herded'. Social transformation is substituted with social control in this entire exercise, where discipline focuses on teachers becoming herdsmen/women and children a mass of restless energy waiting to escape from the confines of the school.

The hopes of vertical social mobility forces people towards individual and family based responses, like bussing children to schools outside the area, private schooling, private tuitions and private vocational courses. Access to scarce educational resources become activated through '*jaan-pehchans*' and social networks, both paid and altruistic. While they plug the immediate gaps, they do not suffice for the needs of the most vulnerable sections of the fringe, and consolidates the dominance of the economically and socially well endowed. The private educational providers, fill the gap, but do not necessarily reflect quality, repute or relevance. They are simply yet another part of the informal economy of the fringe that is making profit and business out of the vulnerabilities. Often, as in the case of vocational courses, they also misrepresent, create hype and withhold relevant information. Notably, it is the unregulated educational market for the poor that is even more unpredictable and unreliable. Instead of mobility, existing inequalities gets wider between social-occupational class and caste groups. Within families, gender variations widen, as scarce opportunities such as bussing, tuitions and vocational courses remain less accessible to the girls. When these are available they assume the form of gendered courses and intermittent tuitions, placing girls from all families, and boys from labour households at par. Mobility as and when it exists is restricted to a few and powered by social networks and economic capital. For most others, living on the urban fringe is also about living on the margins of opportunity.

Clearly, the geography of the urban fringe enhances the inequalities faced by the socially vulnerable. Turning this situation around requires both a political and social will that questions the kind of urbanisation that is being encouraged in and around the Indian cities. Unplanned urbanisation of the fringe is a fall out of the planning and policy processes that avoids concerns of the lower income groups and the poor. Moreover, if cities continue to evict the poor from developed areas of the city and keeps them on the urban fringes and city periphery, it only perpetuates inter-generational disadvantages and restricts their opportunities and chances for mobility.

Educational planning clearly needs to pay attention to urban fringes before it reaches a point of crisis. Notably, state funded neighbourhood common schools, where thousands of students study, still hold out hope for ensuring equal opportunities. Strengthening these schools is critical for school revival and this requires not only school up-gradations but also commensurate infrastructural expansion in the newer colonies. Lowering teacher-pupil ratios and maintaining classroom-pupil ratios is critical for any revival plans.

Inclusion of an unauthorised area into the planning process has mainly been through regularisation of colonies, which is a protracted process of mobilisation and campaigning. However, these calls for regularisation also need to earmark areas for school expansion and public services. At the same time it is important that state's educational provisioning also becomes independent of urban regulatory authorities so that they may prepare plans as per the need for a particular area.

There is a great need for institutionalising community youth and child services. This is particularly important in camps and localities where the most vulnerable population live, since they neither have requisite social networks nor feel equipped to seek these services. Effective measures hence need to be taken to ensure that youth are not dis-privileged because of lack of access to relevant information. This calls not only for digital information provisioning but also human interventions through counsellors appointed in the schools.

The crowded localities are bereft of public spaces for learning and developing them is critical for the health and ecology of the neighbourhoods. This is essential so as to create spaces where young people can access information and obtain after-school-academic support, since families can barely provide it to those who need it the most. While several non-governmental interventions have demonstrated the positive impact of such measures, including in Delhi's fringes, the scale at which urban changes are taking place requires a far greater and concerted effort that only state agencies are in a position to plan and provide.

Educational provisioning through an informal market has mainly been the policy direction for urban fringes, however it is clearly not ensuring equal opportunities to various social groups either for school or for vocational services. Active state intervention is required in regulating the vocational services offered by the market to prevent them from exploiting the vulnerability of students who are enrolling for courses without promised gains. Given the demographic profile of the cities and the urban fringes, direct state provisioning of gender-neutral vocational courses through professional institutes also has to be initiated.

People on the other hand are willing to mobilise and demand their rights to opportunity. And here the Constitutional measures and relevant legal provisions, be it the Right to Education Act, 2009, or the Right to Information Act, have encouraged people to seek information and approach the courts for staking their claims for equal access to educational opportunity. Gradually thus, even through these small individual and group acts, a new sense of urban community emerges.

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Part V
Latin America

Chapter 26

Urban Education in Latin America: Section Editor's Introduction

Belmira Oliveira Bueno

Latin America is part of an even larger continent, made up of countries with a variety of territorial sizes, cultures, languages, and histories. It encompasses Mexico and almost all countries from South America and Central America, including a few islands from the Caribbean, such as Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Such geographical extent and the cultural diversity which characterizes the area indicate how inappropriate it is to conceive and treat Latin American as a homogeneous whole (cf. Bueno 2007). Amidst variety, there is however a point where these countries converge to: their enormous social inequality. In spite of its extraordinary beauties and natural wealth, Latin America is among the poorest regions in the world. In it, wealth and poverty live side by side, mainly in the metropolitan areas, where social contrasts pop out all the time.

Understanding education in Latin America requires a two-way analysis to include, on one hand, the processes with the school systems and, on the other hand, the processes concerning society at large, which involves not only the domestic context but also what takes places beyond each country's borderlines. The geopolitical changes affecting all nations in the late twentieth century moved a great deal of the decision-making processes away to the centers of power of supranational character. Regarding Latin America, a number of bodies and agencies play this role, including the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), UNESCO, as they provide the funds and/or are the fosterers of policies in the region. ALCA – the Area of Free Trade of the Americas and MERCOSUL – the Common South Market should not be forgotten either, because they work as blocs that attempt to reposition the regional economic forces into new basis.

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Comprehending the relations between local and global has thus become an imperative in dealing with the educational policies in Latin America, due to the perspectives glimpsed by the countries to tackle the social inequalities through reforming the school systems. In this region, reforms have been guided by models nurtured elsewhere, adopted without taking into account the real needs of each nation and their populations. Consequently, such reforms have not so far envisaged the necessary and urgent remake of the school model currently in force, whose social functions met in the past expectancies that were very different from the ones faced today by the Latin American governments (Tiramonti 2005).

Thinking over the school's role in today's society demands, as emphasizes the Argentinean sociologist, "to consider the whole changes that contemporaries societies have been going through and realize the specific aspects that such phenomena take in peripheral places as the ones we are part of" (Tiramonti 2010, p.15). In her analysis, Tiramonti goes back to the model of a *centered state* which prevailed in the organization of Latin American countries and to which the setup of the educational system responds; she demonstrates that the changes undergone by today's societies have caused a loss of meaning. In the educational field, this resulted in the "loss of the school's potential to institute identities", whose process is associated "with the death of the Nation State and the law as the founding instance of citizenship" (p.19). Although the interpretations about these facts abound, it is important to stress such aspect, because it is a key element to understand the role of schooling in Latin America.

This section was organized in order to contribute to his perspective of analysis. Considering the time elapsed after the first edition of this Handbook (Pink and Noblit 2007), one wonders what has changed Latin America education along the last decade. Which advancements have marked this period and what problems have persisted? For such, I have selected a set of themes that may provide an overall view, a picture of the challenges faced in the field of education by the countries from this part of the world. Public schools in Latin America – which in several ways are similar to urban schools in the United States and in the United Kingdom – has an attendance consisting mostly of children and youths from this region. As a result, I understand that they should be treated within the frame of public policies guided by the principles of democratization, quality and equality.

According to this point of view, this Introduction is structured in three parts. The first part presents some data about inequality in Latin America, the second part brings a discussion on the meaning of the public school in this region, listing a few relations of proximity with the notion of urban school employed mainly in the US and in the UK. And the last part is about the contribution of the eight chapters included in this section, which is preceded by considerations about some possible views of these texts, as a way to stimulate future studies in a compared perspective.

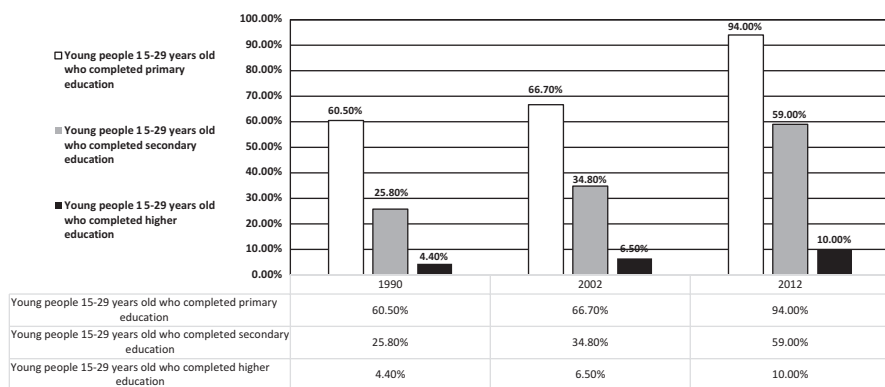
26.1 Inequalities and Contrasts

It is virtually impossible to talk about Latin America without a reference to the inequalities that characterize the countries from this continent. The interpretations of this historical feature usually take the path of political and ideological explanations, highlighting the relationship between the economic policies set forth in the central countries and the public policies employed by LA countries, under the constraints following agreements and impositions. Boron (2003, p. 25) remarks that, from the 1990s on, under the pressure of the Washington Consensus, there was a rhetoric change in the region, when Chiefs of State began to define as fundamental goals of their policies the reduction of poverty, and education and the good forms of governance. However, this standpoint collided with economic growth, whose purpose remained as part of the government agenda. The facts observed explain, according to Boron, why “there has been so little progress (at best) in the battle against inequality and equal distribution”. Another author shows that the topical social policies did not turn out to be “sufficient to reverse the increase in the social costs arising from the economic restructuring imposed by globalization”. Because of that, the vulnerability of the disadvantaged groups in society has worsened “and the final outcome is the maintenance of the ancient and structural inequality all over the continent” (Mendonça 2009). Di Virgilio and Perelman (2014), in *Ciudades Latinoamericanas* (Latin American cities), polish such assumptions by analyzing the segregation and social inequality that is manifest in the urban territories. Such process, they say, “are built on the grounds of material and symbolic elements, historically produced and territorially contextualized” (p. 9). This viewpoint allows the authors to look at the everyday practices and the several spheres of changes and interactions, on the side of traditional studies of urban segregation.

The Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) – a section of UNESCO – has engaged in collecting data about poverty and equality in the region and disclose such data in its annual report *Panorama Social da América Latina* (social overview of Latin America). The last report, released in 2014, says in its initial lines that, “beyond the advancements achieved in the last decades, poverty remains a structural phenomenon which characterizes the Latin American society.” CEPAL proposes a development agenda for the countries in question by advocating that “equality must be the primary normative ethical principle and the ultimate goal of development.” (CEPAL 2014, p. 11).

The drop in the poverty rates recorded between 2005 and 2012 took place mainly in the urban zones, demonstrating that monetary poverty is the greatest item among all the hardships faced by Latin American people. It affects however in unequal fashion the groups in several categories – age bracket, gender, years of schooling and activity (with or without a job). In that respect, youths appear as group with specific vulnerability, since they are socially excluded as a result of close ties between education and employment. In the aforementioned *Panorama Social da América Latina*, CEPAL (2014) dedicates an entire chapter to Latin American youth, whose population was 30 million people in the age bracket of 15–24 years old, in 2012.

A number of countries in the continent, such as Argentina, Mexico, and Brasil, have paid special attention education in the high school level, since this stage of schooling has turned to be a narrow bottleneck in most nations, which creates a double gap – with higher education and with the labor market – and causes serious compromises both to the life of youth as well as to the development of those countries.¹ High-school drop-out rates are a symptom of the high levels of exclusion noticed in the age bracket from 15 to 29 years old. Encompassing 18 LA nations, the chart below provides an idea of this situation by showing the evolution of percentages of students completing primary, secondary and higher education between 1990 and 2012.



Latin America (18 countries): evolution of the proportion of youths between 15 and 19 years old who completed primary, secondary and higher education, according to their age bracket in 1990, 2002 and 2012 (in percentage)²

Even though a positive evolution has occurred along the last two decades, a strong concern remains about the permanence of a high percentage of youths who, in 2012, stopped going to school in secondary education. It is important to note that this evolution is not heterogeneous, with great disparities among the nations placed in both ends of the chart. Higher percentages of students completing secondary schooling were found in Chile and Peru (80 %) in contrast with Honduras (36 %), Nicaragua (36 %) and Guatemala (25 %), where the lowest rates were noted. There is no doubt that this situation has an impact over the social insertion of youths, their emancipation and autonomy and, finally, over their citizenship.

Other data provided by CEPAL helps us see more clearly the situation of exclusion and vulnerability faced by the Latin American youth, and for this reason the Economic Commission emphasizes the importance of designing inclusion policies

¹In this regard, see Chap. 30, by Nora Krawczyk and Edna Taira, covering the inclusive potential of secondary education in Brazil.

²This charter was reproduced from CEPAL (2014, p. 131), and translated into English.”

and programs.³ The 2014 report brings a series of recommendations including to avoid the label that stigmatize youths, such as the badly named expression “generation nini”⁴ (which associates youths with delinquency, alcohol and drugs, homelessness. The report also draws attention to how important it is to understand the reasons why youths do not go to school. But, in addition, “it must be acknowledged that there are other ways for social integration being taken by this population.” (p. 137)

The last issue to be highlighted is the violence affecting youth in Latin America, under different angles. Certainly, it is not easy to define a precise concept of violence due to its multidimensional nature, that is, the various ways through which it becomes visible, whose causes and consequences are also diversified. Galtung (1990, quoted by CEPAL) classifies the phenomenon in three types – direct violence (physical acts that are violent or verbal); structural violence (the fact that there are groups socially excluded), and symbolic violence (imposition and reproduction of a system of thinking) – mas, definitely, this classification does not cover all forms of violence. Data collected by CEPAL concerning direct violence in the schools, in the families, between neighbors and between gangs, shows that Brazil bears the highest numbers in these four areas of conflict (52, 40, 42 and 38, respectively). If we take school only in consideration, Brazil is followed by Colômbia, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Mexico, all of them with the same indicator (33). This situation leads us once again to wonder about the place that schooling has in the life of Latin America young people. Social exclusion is a great deal responsible for this state of affairs, which calls for urgent political policies in hand with policies for employment, housing, transportation, among other that are intended for social change in Latin America towards a fairer and more egalitarian society.⁵

26.2 Public Education, Urban Education

The remarks above may help understand the several meanings and nuances that the term public education has attained in Latin America over time. Just like the term urban education, which implies quite different meanings and senses, the same happens with the term public education in this part of the world.

Campbell and Whitty (2007, p. 929), going deeper in the analysis of the term urban education in the context of the United Kingdom, say that “there are different policy nuances in different parts of the UK”. According to the authors, the game of

³ See proposals for inclusion in several chapters in this volume. Silvina Gvirtz and Esteban Torre (Chap. 31) talk about inclusion in secondary education in Argentina based on Information and Communication Technologies. Marcelo Andrade and Pedro Teixeira (Chap. 32) discuss religious teaching and present a proposal aligned with an intercultural perspective. In Chap. 33, Leonardo Peluso, Juan Andrés-Larrinag and Ana Cláudia Lodi focus on the education of the deaf.

⁴ In English, the “neither-nor generation”, describing those who neither go to school nor have a job.

⁵ See Chap. 34 in this volume, where Cristián Cox, Carlos Beca and Marianela Cerri also deal with the issue of violence in the school as they discuss teaching as a profession in Latin America.

power between the central government and the local authorities result in a variety of ways to deal with curricula, testing, inspection and budget, “leading to the creation of quasi-markets among local schools and the potential for the atomization of urban education” (p. 930). Campbell and Whitty argue at great length about the definitions of urban education in attempt to show that the use of such term is problematic. This is clear if we consider, for the example, the spatial issue, the diversity of urban contexts, the difference between inner cities and other urban areas. The variety of educational experiences taking place in these contexts leads us to see that the generic characteristics of urban education are inadequate, according to those authors.

In the United States, a number of authors have also pointed out the various meanings of urban, under several angles. Michele Foster (2007) shows, in a lexical analysis, that in the seventeenth century the word urban had a positive connotation. However, this has changed over time, although no one knows exactly at what time such change started. What one can say for sure, says she, “is that by the early twentieth century, negative connotations associated with urban, exemplified in the euphemism inner city were widely accepted” (p. 765). Leonardo and Hunter (2007), based on Berger and Luckmann (1966), say that urban is related to a reality that is much imagined. That is, “the urban is socially and discursively constructed as a place, which is part of the dialectical creation of the urban as both a real and imagined space” (p. 779).

Other meanings may be added to those mentioned above, referred to the historical and local specificities of each nation where the term urban education is familiar. However, this is not our scope, which is merely to point out the complexity of such term and, at the same time, draw attention to the fact that in Latin America, the term that best translates it is “public education”. Thus, it equally bears several meanings which have changes over time. Such variety of meanings includes two that are more widespread. One of them is to distinguish public education from rural education; and the other, to distinguish by contrast public education from private education.⁶

The idea of public education in Latin America and the meanings it has gained over time share a close tie in relation with the making of Latin American states and with the place that the school has taken in those societies. Even if the education system had developed quite differently in each country, public school was in the

⁶ It should be noted that rural education and private education are terms whose meanings have also changed over time. In the past, private education widely associated with the education provided by religious institutions, since most of the religious orders settled in Latin American started a school. Today, unlike it was in the past, these schools make up large networks managed by private businesses, and most of them are secular, not religious. As for rural education, there are also meanings and senses that have altered over time, mainly due to the processes of colonization and urbanization. It is important, for example, to pay great attention to how inappropriate it is to categorize indigenous nations as exclusively rural, since in the past many of them built cities and inhabited those cities for centuries. The discussion presented by Gabriela Czarny in Chap. 27 in this volume sheds light on the issues involving the relations between urban and rural.

past a symbol of distinction in all of such nations.⁷ However, this status undergoes a collapse after the dictatorships had settled in several countries in the region by the end of 1960s, and then they turned out to mean “low-quality school, intended for the students from the most deprived layers of the population” (Bueno 2007, 563). In several countries, including Brazil, from that moment on, policies were implemented to expand the access and permanence of children and youths in the school, because of the high indicators of exclusion. However, such policies were not followed by investments to ensure the quality of public education, and we have seen in most cases is an increasing deterioration of public education. Even in countries such as Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, which in the 1960s had high rates of growth and education, suffered such deterioration from the 1980s on (Puiggrós 1999).

Alongside this process, the private school networks began to rocket. It is necessary, though, to point out that those schools and, the public schools more so, are not homogeneous, as there is within each group a spectrum that leads to classifications which create new forms of social and school segmentation. As parents have to choose a school for their children, conflicts and competition arise and they are a clear example of the educational policies currently in force in Latin America.⁸

In Brazil (in the state of São Paulo), one finds, for instance, public schools with different administrative ties – state, local and federal institutions– which, in addition, may be either a “common” or a “selective” school (Basílio 2016). The former are legally responsible to provide basic education. “Selective” schools include those from the private system whose principle for being chosen is the economic factor, and public school in which new students are admitted through a selection process, as the number of vacancies is quite small. Basílio (2016) notes that recruiting teachers is also an differentiating element between “common” and “selective” school. For the latter, teachers are recruited on a per school basis, while in the “common” schools selection is conducted by public contest and the teachers who have been approved can choose the school where they will work. Considering this classification, we may identify a *continuum* in which one of the ends are the “common” public schools, exclusively from the public system; in the other end lie the private schools, exclusively; and between the two edges are the “selective” public schools.

Amidst such differentiation, we find one of the most detrimental strategies for public education in Latin America: the privatization of public schools. As part of the neoliberal policies settled in the region since the 1990s, the purpose of such policies is to reduce or withdraw from the hands of the State the responsibility for providing education; for that most of the public funds aimed at education are drained to the private system. Although in each country privatized schools are called with a specific name, all of them are inspired in the American experiences with charter and voucher schools (Cf. Calvo 2007; Raczynski and Muñoz-Stuardo 2007).

⁷Concerning this issue, see Faria Filho and Vidal (2007) and Tiramonti (2005), among other authors.

⁸About the Chilean case, see Raczynski and Muñoz-Stuardo (2007) and, in this volume, Donozo-Díaz and Castro-Paredes (Chap. 28) and Quaresma and Valenzuela (Chap. 29).

The privatization process affecting public education has give rise to an educational market which has contributed to aggravate social segmentation in Latin America. As I had pointed out a decade ago,

the privatization strategies introduced by the current Latin American reforms are clouding the idea of public school. With the coming of such policies along the last [twenty five] years, the perception and meaning of what is public, as well the difference between public and private in education, has become more and more faded. (Bueno 2007, p. 570)

The privatization tendency has been enhanced over the years, but the situation is not peaceful. In the last decades there appeared reactions of discontent in Chile, by means of great demonstrations involving several sectors of civil society, who demand the State to reassess the proposals implemented since the military dictatorship, as Donoso-Días and Castro-Paredes examine the issue in this volume (Chap. 28).⁹ This is one of the most important changes to be highlighted in the past few years.

26.3 The Contributions of this Section

The chapters that make up this section convey contributions quite relevant to the debate and the interchange of ideas about public education in Latin America indicated above as well as about the educational policies and practices from other parts of the world, especially those included in this handbook. Here, I outline a few suggestions of reading and analytical perspectives that may unfold from the texts.

26.3.1 *Towards a New Understanding of Education in Latin America*

Looking at the local specificities and seeking to connect them with broader contexts seems fundamental to me today, even more than in the past. The texts included in this section stimulate different views, in several directions, such as the perspectives adopted by Stephen Ball in his works. One of them is the idea of a cycle of policies, referred both to the context of each country and to the region as a whole, another perspective concerns the relations between macro and micro educational policies (Ball 1994, 2015).¹⁰

⁹It is interesting to note how pioneer Chile has been in this issue. In one case, the State, in the implementation of the educational reforms guided by the neoliberal principles; in the other case, civil society, in the objection of those policies. This makes one think that perhaps similar reactions may take place in other countries.

¹⁰See also Avelar (2016), Beech and Meo (2016), Bocchio et al. (2016) and Verger et al. (2016) who took part in the Dossier Stephen J. Ball y la investigación sobre políticas educativas en América Latina, *Education Policy Analysis Archives* journal.

As if utilizing a magnifier, each text allows the reader to get closer to the educational reforms of each country, its challenges, problems and proposals, through different approaches, themes and analyses employed. The chapters may also be put in dialogue with the authors who participated in the first edition of this handbook favoring an analysis of longer spectrum about the reforms in the Latin American region. Establishing the dialogue in such fashion, they may expand the view over the education situation in this area in a significant way. As a mosaic, they allow to identify the similarities and differences between the policies and practices adopted devoted to public (urban) education in the region as well as the theoretical and analytical advancements that those very reforms eventually gave rise to.

Movements of this kind, which go back and forth between analysis of small and large scale request analyses which go beyond the outlines and specificities of the region in question in order to question, in our case, what is common and what is different between Latin America and other parts of the world, especially those included in this handbook. This direction opens the way towards the domain of the compared studies, and this is one of the remarkable contributions that the chapters in this section may provide. In effect, geopolitical changes in the last decades brought a new breath to this area with the challenge of comprehending the relations between the global order and the local contexts, between the center and outskirts, whose analyses also imply comparing and understanding the similarities and differences between the local contexts themselves. António Nóvoa (1995) summarizes today's challenges in compared education with the following trilogy: "new problems, new models, new approaches" (p. 51). His thinking is inspiring as he highlights that:

compared education must look at the world as a text, in an attempt to understand how discourses take part in the powers that unite and divide men and societies, how they unleash situations of dependency and logics of discrimination, how they construct ways of thinking and acting that define our relationship with knowledge and investigation. (...). The main argument is that comparative research interprets and builds facts, and is not limited to discover or describe such facts. (p.52)

This kind of demand, increased since the early 1990s, multiplied the objects of compared education indefinitely. Today, it is assumed that every object in education can be compared beyond the comparison between the educational systems (Groux 2009). These new horizons allow to enlarge the methodological repertoire for the comparative effort, as the studies utilize both the macroeconomic and political analyses as well as the everyday microanalyses. According to this viewpoint, urban education must take an outstanding position. And the possible approaches and gains are many.

According to Groux (2009) comparison in education is intended to get to know the macro system, the elements that make it up and its didactic micro-units. In addition, comparison correspond to an heuristic need which seeks a better understanding of the system, but it also plays a pragmatic role, as it is aimed at improving and changing the systems through the links that the experts attempt to establish between the governments and the international bodies. Understood this way, comparison –

either of models, experiences, policies and practices or something else – is mainly intended to raise questions on the part of those who analyze such elements.

The notion of “connected histories”, devised by Subrahmanyam and resumed by Roger Chartier (2007), is also valuable here in order to see the links between populations, cultures, economies, and powers. Chartier says that

one of the possible practices in global history clings to the gateways between worlds that are quite different from each other (Davis 1995) or even to acknowledge in more local situations the interdependencies that connect them far away, and actors not necessarily share a clear perception of it. The inseparable union of global and local took some authors to the notion of “glocal”, which is a correct, if not elegant name for the processes by which common references are appropriated, models are imposed, the texts and goods that circulate around the world, to make sense in a concrete time and place. (p.57)

Reiterating our conviction, the chapters in this section may provide valuable contribution under this perspective, as can be seen in the following presentation.

26.3.2 *The Themes Under Discussion*

Gabriela Czarny, from México, offers an interesting question in Chap. 27 which helps clarify the nuances of meaning in the expression “urban education” in this geographical region, which has been inhabited by several indigenous peoples before the Spanish set foot on it. She also reminds that most of these peoples lived in cities they had built themselves and the association of these populations to the rural aspect is something that will happen afterwards, mainly when the State begins to conduct census and, as a result, social representations are shaped to link the ethnic component to the image of the indigenous as illiterate and underdeveloped peoples. Czarny remarks that the mention of indigenous education in the cities, as part of the public educational system is a recent issue in México, starting some 20 years ago. However, she notes, although this education is not characterized as intercultural and bilingual, it has been important for the recognition of the indigenous presence in the cities and to raise questions on how to serve this population in the schools, taking into account their particularities, tongues and cultural practices. In this perspective, the author examines the notion of migrant Indians and the processes of discrimination these peoples have gone through over time, drawing attention to some of the proposals provided for the education of this population. She concludes with questions about the way today’s societies and public educational systems recognize themselves as multicultural and multilingual, as is the case of México, and how they deal with the education of these peoples.

In Chap. 28, *Sebastian Donoso-Díaz* and *Moyra Castro-Paredes* take the path of the current reform of Chile’s educational system, marked by great discontent which led to the students demonstrations in 2006 and 2011. Both authors show that these movements increasingly catalyzed the dissatisfaction of citizens and civil society with the model imposed by the dictatorship in the 1980s, which had not been resolved by the following governments in the democratic period. In Latin America,

Chile is a paradigmatic case of the education being privatized, in strict compliance with the principles of neoliberal policies which ended up prioritizing the market and tarnishing the limits between public and private education. The authors of this chapter seek to show that the results of this model can be measured by the index of dissatisfaction on the part of several social sectors, mainly due to the social inequality and inequity it has caused and the asymmetries in exercising power. Nevertheless, Donoso and Castro note that the fact that education has been the catalyzer of such discontent reveals that education is still the great hope of a better quality of life for the community. They also consider that the 2013 presidential campaign and the resulting changes in government policies are the sign of a society that looks for significant transformations, one of which is education. A dilemma still remains, though: keeping the market model with corrections or introduce changes that imply a different ways of thinking and doing? These are the aspects around which this chapter unfolds, which is an indisputable contribution to the debate about the future of public (urban) education.

Maria Luiza Quaresma and Juan Pablo Valenzuela, bring in Chap. 29 one of the most controversial topics of today: large-scale assessment applied to schools and students. Their analyses set a dialogue with the dissatisfactions mentioned by Donoso and Castro in the previous chapter. Here, the accountability model is examined as it emerges from the neoliberal policies and settles a culture of competitiveness based on the principles of merit, of quality and of excellence, with serious consequences to the public schools. The authors warn that the rhetoric about the crisis of the public education systems is an instrument to stigmatize the public schools, similar to what happened in other countries. Their discourses result in the appraisal of the results and the academic achievements; middle classes, as they feel insecure, seek a good school for their children. Consequently, the Chilean system goes hand in hand with the market. The starting point of the analysis takes the 1980s, when Chile begins to implement SIMCE (National System of Learning Results Assessment) which measures students' performance at fourth, eighth and tenth grades in reading, mathematics, and science. The text also examines the role of the quality assurance system currently in force in Chile, where standardized tests are major source to assess school performance. The evidence accumulated about the Chilean case urges the authors to recommend that the quality assurance systems must focus less on the information given to the families on how to choose a school for their children and more on supporting the school's abilities for the development of good learning practices and on following the impact of quality and equity in the various policies intended to support education.

Nora Krawczyk and Edna Taira go over in Chap. 30, under an original angle, secondary schooling in Brazil, as they examine the inclusive potential of such level of education. The topic of secondary school has been gaining increased attention in several countries of Latin America because this level is one of the greatest bottlenecks for the education of youths. Drop-out and failure rates are high and appalling. The main contribution of this chapter lies in its focus and in the great number of statistic data presented. The authors say that in 2013 50% of population aged 17–28 years old worked only and just 23% had graduated from high-school. In their view,

one of the arguments to explain the difficulty to reverse drop-out rates in the senior years of high-school is the lack of motivations for youths to study, resulting among other reasons from the scarce opportunities that this level of schooling provides in terms of transition to work. However, they note that there is little knowledge of the labor market's behavior in relation to the requirements of schooling associated with competences and certification. This gap was decisive in choosing youths' educational and job itineraries as the object of research. Analyses led the authors to formulate several inspiring questions which may result in new studies. To what extent the expansion of high-schools and the entry of new social sectors in this level of education has been producing some degree of progressiveness in the labor market, both in the type of occupations and in the salaries? Is it correct to insist on the professionalization as the driver of high-school education? Or this level of schooling should recover its cultural function in the formation of youths in a broader point-of-view, including the preparation for the transition to work, but without the emphasis (almost the exclusivity) that sometimes is advocated?

In Chap. 31, *Silvina Gvirtz and Esteban Torre*, from Argentina, also discuss the issues of secondary school, however, in the perspective of technologies. They note that the inequalities that had acted before as a barrier to the entry of youths in secondary school are now displaced to the trajectories of the students. One of the most envisaged strategies in many countries to tackle this problem and promote inclusion has been the adoption of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in public schools. This is the case of Argentina, through the program *Conectar Igualdad* (connect equality), which hands out netbooks to all students and teachers in the public secondary schools, in special education schools and teacher training colleges. The authors deal with the integration of technologies as a policy aimed at two issues of significant relevance in the public agenda of the first decade of the twenty-first century: the situation of the public secondary school and the perspective of universal access to the Information and Communication Technologies. Gvirtz and Torre acknowledge that the presence and availability of technology in the classroom is necessary, but it is not sufficient to improve the educational change. In addition, there are differences in the time that each school takes to integrate the technologies, since this process is affected by several factors such as the leadership of the school principal, teacher training; the wish of teachers to embrace the technologies in their pedagogical practices, the previous level of digital literacy of teachers and students; the school infrastructure. The authors conclude that the implementation of the 1-1 Model has brought a great contribution to schooling in Argentina, by not only reducing the digital gap but also expanding time intended for study.

Marcelo Andrade and Pedro Teixeira, authors of Chap. 32, deal with religious instruction in Brazilian public schools, an issue that has more and more catalyzed the attention. They discuss the complex and conflictive relationship taking place in Brazil between the concepts of lay state, tolerance and secularization to analyze the challenges that the presence of religion presents today to a proposal of secular education in the public schools. How and why should religion be present in school? How and why the relationship between school and religion has currently become an

issue involving everyday conflicts? How and why must these conflicts be urgently negotiated? These questions guide the way this topic is treated leading to an examination of the legislation about education and religion, and to the domain of ethical and philosophical fundamentals. The description of events where religious intolerance appears allows to point the difficulties of conviviality with different religious beliefs and disbeliefs in the everyday routine of public schools in Brazil. The analysis intends to understand how religious intolerance has been fueled and why it has increased in the daily activities of urban public schools. These cases take the authors to examine the challenges of secularism, which is the grounds for the proposal of intercultural education presented by the authors. Advocating secularism is the starting point for a bet they make on intercultural dialogue with the purpose of overcoming intolerance in the schools' life. For them, ethical and philosophical thinking based on "minimum ethics", not only is the grounds for the analysis of the presence of religion in the school, but also it appears as a possible key to read and act upon religious intolerance that currently defies public school in Brazil.

Special education is another issue that has been taking part of the inclusion policies Latin America. In Chap. 33, *Leonardo Peluso, Juan Andrés-Larrinaga and Ana Cláudia Lodi* examine the policies implemented in Uruguay and Brazil concerning the education of the deaf. The authors show that the education of the deaf has been historically understood and organized as a branch of special education, whose effects can be felt to this day in the official documents in both countries. Thus, whereas from the discursive viewpoint the two nations recognize their respective sign languages and the need to provide education for the deaf, the policies adopted do not actually implement a bilingual and bicultural education. When describing the evolution of the models adopted in the different levels of schooling in both countries, the authors review how this evolution sets a dialogue with the changes that have occurred in three intertwined plans: the theories that deal with the relations of the deaf with the language; the educational and linguistic ideologies that exist about the deaf and their languages, and the public policies that originate from these changes; and legal landmarks that deal with the issue of languages, the deaf and education. As there is a fragmentation of the policies adopted in both contexts, the article advocates the need to start an in-depth discussion and an enhanced communication between the designers of educational proposals, those who implement the linguistic policies and the deaf communities, which are ultimately the purpose of the proposals and those who suffer or enjoy such proposals and who, in most cases and paradoxically cannot intervene.

This section closes with the text by *Cristián Cox, Carlos Beca and Marianela* (Chap. 34) which focuses the region of a Latin America as a whole and not a specific country. Thus, this chapter may be taken as the background to interpret the other chapters, beyond the relevance of its own topic, the teaching profession. Authors argue that urban education in the Latin American metropolis have to face the challenges arising from poverty and social segmentation which have built up over the centuries. These tasks are added to more recent challenges, such as the new groups that today reach the final stages of secondary school in Central America, and

which bring to within the school environment the realities of violence by juvenile gangs. This affects the teachers, as they are in the center of the schooling processes and at whom everyone looks when attempting to respond in a constructive way such realities. This chapter deals with the recent evolution of teaching as a profession in Latin America and seeks to describe its distinctive marks and pressures for change currently underway. The strongest and most unequivocal of such pressures comes from the changes in educational policies, formerly directed at an easier access and expansion of the school system, including the building of new schools and the hiring of a greater number of teachers, and today they are guided by more demanding criteria, as those aimed at the quality and the requirements for change in the institutions and their practices. The chapter attempts to characterize the educational agenda in Latin America regarding early and continued teacher training as well as the organization and regulation of the profession as a whole, questioning if the particular requirements of an effective education in urban contexts are being fulfilled.

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Chapter 27

Schooling Processes and the Indigenous Peoples in Urban Contexts in Mexico

Gabriela Czarny

27.1 The (In)visibility of Indians in Urban Contexts

Until the 1990s studies of “Indian education” in Latin America and Mexico in particular centered around a focus on rural areas where traditionally indigenous peoples have lived and still live. However, and taking into account that these regions have been the historic settlement areas for this population, this way of defining “indigenous” as related to rural, has been a contributing factor to ignoring the existence of Indians and communities who live and attend schools in different parts of the country, for example, in urban areas. As part of this perspective we have included the socio-anthropological view, which up until the mid twentieth century, was characterized by the fact that “anything Indian” is necessarily associated with a rural, community-based and peasant way of life. This contributed to a lack of recognition of long-standing socio-territorial mobility processes and the conformation of communities with an Indian identity where you can be Indian and recognized as a member of the community even if you live elsewhere, a phenomenon known as *extraterritoriality* (Oehmichen 2005), or as *moral communities* (Martínez Casas 2007). Nonetheless, discussions over the past few years related to a redefinition of the indigenous peoples, the topic of migration, as well as their rights, open up these areas for public policy to begin to be concerned with the indigenous communities that reside in small and large cities.

Changes in Mexico’s Constitution at the beginning of this century highlight the country as a multicultural and plurilingual nation and recognize the fact that this diversity is based on the existence of the Indian peoples who have lived throughout

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the territory since before the Spanish Conquest. This recognition is the result of struggles and demands by indigenous organizations that have shown a strong presence since the second half of the twentieth century, as witnessed by international agreements and changes in the Constitution and laws in the countries of the continent.

The presence of indigenous peoples in the socio-demographic and cultural composition of the nation is so important that some studies note, from the total number of countries that make up the American continent, Mexico is the nation that is home to the largest number of indigenous peoples (Pueblos Originarios 2007). The latest census data on Population and Housing (XIII) (INEGI 2011), states that of the 112 million inhabitants in Mexico, 15.7% is defined as of Indian descent of the overall population in the country. What is particularly worthy of note is the fact that around 30% of this population lives in cities with more than 100,000 people, and about 50% in small cities and towns with a population between 2500 and under 16,000 people.¹

Visibility and identification of Indian peoples in Mexican cities is the result of several processes that have come on the scene since the 1990s: Progress made in Indian organizations after having their rights recognized under the International Labor Organization (Convention 169) and the 1994 uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) with its demands for recognition and the right to live with justice and dignity placed on the national political forefront citizens' concerns with the many faces behind the use of the concept *Indian*, not only in regions considered to be indigenous, but also in Mexican cities.

For decades, the criteria for identifying this population in national censuses has been whether or not they speak an Indian language. As of the year 2000, other criteria have been included, such as self-recognition or self-adscription in the sense of being part of an indigenous home or community.² Comparatively speaking, one could say that even when broadening the criteria for identifying this population in terms of percentages, there are fewer Indians than non-Indians in the country, as was mentioned in the previous section. However, this last statement has explanations which are not of a quantitative nature. To assume the identity of an individual who belongs to an Indian group or community has not been nor will be easy. The discrimination individuals have been subjected to, having to hide one's identity and go unnoticed, and being able to survive in environments hostile to indigenous peoples, are processes that have been internalized for several generations and are not easy to turn around quickly. As various studies have shown, masked identity and self-denial

¹ The National Institute for Statistics, Geography and Information (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática [INEGI]) uses 2500 people as a minimum number of inhabitants to refer to urban areas or rural areas, while other institutions like El Colegio de México, for example, propose 15,000 inhabitants. Undoubtedly the same notion of *city* forms part of this debate and areas which 50 years ago could have been considered rural are now considered to be small cities.

² In Mexico there are some 68 language groups made up of 364 dialectal variants (INALI 2006).

with respect to belonging to an ethnic community are processes that are present in multiple indigenous sectors and it is for this reason that we know the census data do not capture under the denomination “indigenous” the multiplicity of processes this population is subject to at present, marked by a change of individual or community residence and the use of the Indian language, among others. At present Indians, just like many other sectors in the country, change residence and migrate for different reasons and in different directions. We know of Indian populations that have settled for generations in various cities around the country, and in these cases their insertion in the labor and educational sectors is very different from the first generation indigenous population that goes straight from their communities to the cities.

27.2 Educational Policies and Indigenous Population: A Look to the Cities

Under the concept of progress and development adopted by Latin American countries at the turn of the nineteenth century, the role of the school was of central importance. School was thought to be a place to bring together under a mestizo ideology based on the notion of citizenship for all sectors of the population, one of which were the indigenous peoples. Behind this search for “integration”, the rights of the indigenous peoples to live under projects that are part of their own civilization, known today as community-oriented, were denied.

Public schooling for Indians in the cities, as an educational project encouraged by the Mexican government, was preceded by a federally sponsored pilot project introduced in 1925 in Mexico City, known as The Home of Indian Students (La Casa del Estudiante Indígena). The purpose was to prepare indigenous youth from different parts of the country to take charge of education and cultural brokering in their home towns and communities. The project expected them “to complete their primary education, receive pedagogical training and training in the arts and trades” and then go back to their communities of origin (De la Peña 1998). The program was cancelled 7 years after it began, but led to boarding schools located in indigenous rural zones, which initially attempted to train professors without uprooting them from their communities. Since then, many educational experiences and projects have promoted a type of education that takes into account the languages and cultures of the Indian communities, mainly in the rural indigenous communities, which is an aspect that we cannot deal with specifically in this chapter. By 1978, with the establishment of the General Office for Indian Education (Dirección General de Educación Indígena [DGEI]), under the Secretariat of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública [SEP]), an official national indigenous education project, open to this population and the public as well, an educational sub-system was instituted for Indians at the pre-school and primary school levels. This sub-system was linked to indigenous policies –known as *políticas indigenistas* – that have since been reformulated in light of other changes engendered in Latin American

indigenous people.³ The school structure, with indigenous teachers trained along the way through various teacher training programs, has grown at the preschool and primary school levels under the denomination of *Indigenous education*, at facilities located throughout different regions, mainly in rural and semi-rural areas.

It is important to point out that the notion of what the curriculum has been over the past decades is known as basic education, and is the sole program for all Mexican children and youth since the establishment of SEP, in 1921.⁴ In other words, the curriculum design in place since then as the national curriculum is common throughout the country and also operates in public Indian education schools. This is also the case in the rest of the region; Central and South America have developed educational programs for Indian communities from the 1970s, known first as Bilingual-Bicultural Education (Educación Bilingüe Bicultural [EBB]) and then in the 1990s as Bilingual Intercultural Education (Educación Bilingüe Intercultural [EBI]), and Intercultural Bilingual Education (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe [EIB]).

If we consider the latest results regarding the level of *school achievement* attained by children in basic education in areas such as Spanish and Math, indicated by tests and evaluations applied by the National Institute of Educational Evaluation (Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa [INEE]), we observe differences that have always existed among the different modalities offered for primary school under basic education (urban, indigenous, rural). It has been detected that for sixth grade in the area of Spanish, primary schools that offer public Indian education were 75% *below the level of achievement* in contrast to 37% *below the level of achievement* obtained by students in the same grade under the modality known as public urban schools. In the area of math, public indigenous primary school student were 65% *below the level* obtained by student in the sixth grade under the modality of public urban school (INEE 2015).⁵

Public indigenous education with an intercultural and bilingual approach has not been extended to secondary and high school education, nor has it been offered to indigenous urban populations. In recent years some projects have appeared known as community high schools as well intercultural universities. These projects

³Indian education in Mexico has undergone various stages, just as has been the case in other countries of the region and is under DGEI-SEP. From this office proposals and educational materials have been designed to educate in the Indian tongues and in Spanish, as well as to update the teachers in Indian education. Indian education schools, mainly located in rural areas, generally include several grades, which means that the teachers have to cover more than one grade in the same classroom and sometimes serve as the principal of the school as well.

⁴Generally, private schools recognized by the SEP also have to meet the national Curricula criteria.

⁵In the INEE's official statistics they mark a difference between public urban schools, rural public schools, Indian education, community courses and private education. There is no indication of the presence of Indian children in the modalities that are not defined as Indian education, which does not imply that Indians are not present. To the contrary, in what is defined as rural public education and community courses, it has been recognized in educational research that a high percentage of the students are of Indian descent.

have different origins and conceptions regarding the meaning of schooling for indigenous peoples. In some cases, they represent attempts to promote processes of autonomy, while in others they depend on the State for subsidizing these efforts under different modalities.⁶

Similarly, it wasn't until the beginning of the twenty-first century that an educational policy aimed at providing services to indigenous children in public schools located in urban contexts was proposed. With the establishment of the General Coordination of Bilingual Intercultural Education (Coordinación General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe [CGEIB]) and through the National Plan for Education 2001–2006 (SEP 2001) a policy was created that distinguished between *Intercultural Education for All* and *Bilingual Intercultural Education for Indigenous Zones*. This policy of *Intercultural Education for All* is official but in juxtaposition with the other educational concepts.⁷

Currently, there are two governmental bodies that foster intercultural and bilingual education. CGEIB, which until a few years ago was the agency in charge of the program for a sector of primary public schools and which, according to the INEE classification, would include public urban schools in Mexico City. The public urban schools receive migrant Indian children from different communities around the country. States such as Nuevo León and Guanajuato have also promoted similar programs but as yet there are no evaluations available or descriptions of these programs.

In the face of limited structural conditions to cover the needs for basic education in rural and indigenous zones, migration –abandoning the community to continue studying secondary school, high school and, in some cases, the university– is a common experience in many indigenous communities. To gain access to higher levels of education –technical or university– those who have been able to pass previous levels (basic education) have had to migrate at an early age. This means that Indian children and youth attend public schools that do not focus on the indigenous population, and do not officially provide bilingual and intercultural programs. Thus for decades, as shown by different studies, there is an official and practical *invisibility* of the indigenous population in public urban schools (Czarny 2002, 2008; Martínez Casas 2007; Martínez Buenabad 2008).

⁶Support refers to the fact that the maintenance of the institutions, as well as the salaries of the teachers, is the responsibility of the State. To date only the educational proposal of the Zapatistas in one region of Chiapas has been defined as autonomous education sustained by organizations independent of the State (González Apodaca 2004; Baronnet 2011).

⁷For example, under the last educational reform, Agreement 592 (SEP 2011) for basic education (pre-school, primary and secondary levels), refers to the constitutional changes and the rights of the indigenous peoples to receive education that respects and takes into account their cosmovisions. The design of the curriculum of that reform separates the topic of *diversity* in different ways, such as special educational needs, manners and paces of learning, and for the case of indigenous peoples and migrating Indians in the country, makes reference to intercultural education.

27.3 Indians and Schools in Urban Contexts

Changes in migratory intensity and the demand for recognition of the rights of the indigenous peoples has meant that during the decade of the 1990s public policies moved forward with new programs,⁸ including some educational programs in the cities. These programs were put together specifically for “Indians migrating to the cities”.

The topic of indigenous migration to urban centers is not a new phenomenon in Mexico. In the literature and socio-anthropological research, the notion of indigenous migration that addresses the issue of *pendular movements from outlying areas* by these groups dates back to the 1960s, as mentioned in Arizpe’s study (1978). Later on the use of the concept “migrant” was introduced to refer to the Indian population that leaves their communities and home regions and moves around the country, even crossing international borders. This constitutes a problem that has been alluded to by different indigenous organizations that operate in the cities. For example, in Mexico City the Assembly of Indigenous Migrants (Asamblea de Migrantes Indígenas)⁹ has attempted to talk to city government authorities in an effort to gain recognition as indigenous peoples with their own rights, among which is the right to an education that respects their traditions and languages, and at the same time treats them as Mexican citizens. Along these lines they point out that they cannot be thought of and treated under the label of “migrants”, as though they were “foreigners” in their own country, since leaving their communities of origin in the various states is a right that all Mexican citizens have to freely move about different parts of the country.

However, the identification of Indians living in urban contexts turns out to be a topic of particular relevance, in certain states and cities. It is clear that only some states have moved forward in this regard: studies show that an indigenous presence has been identified only in the Mexico City and metropolitan area, Guadalajara and its surroundings, Puebla and its outskirts, and Mérida with its suburbs (Martínez Buenabad 2014).

The fact that the presence of Indians has been detected in these cities does not mean that there is no Indian population in other urban areas of the country, particularly if we take into account cities in states like Oaxaca and Chiapas, where we see the largest concentration of Indian population.¹⁰

⁸ Some of these social programs have been implemented by the Commission for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples (Comisión para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas [CDI]) and various agencies that have made other proposals within the framework of the authorities of the various states.

⁹ This denomination was a way of showing and making visible ethnic differences and thus part of the search for the recognition of rights as Indian groups in the face of city government’s authorities.

¹⁰ States report that report a higher percentage of Indian population, even though they do not differentiate between urban and rural areas, are Chiapas, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Veracruz and Puebla. In these states there are no educational nor research programs on school processes for indigenous children and youth in public schools in urban areas where they undoubtedly are in attendance.

Likewise, systematic data are not available on school performance by Indian children in regular public urban schools. However, in a report on schooling for the Indian population (Schmelkes 2013) – and in spite of a lack of information on this specific population that attends regular urban schools – it has been estimated that 30% of school-age children from indigenous families in pre-school and primary school are attended in the regular school system and not under the sub-system of Indian education.

There is not much recent investigation on schooling for Indian children and youth in public schools in cities, and the studies carried out mainly report on Mexico City and its metropolitan area; Guadalajara and suburban areas; Puebla in the state of Puebla; Pachuca, in the state of Hidalgo; and the city of Monterrey in the state of Nuevo León (Czarny and Martínez Buenabad 2013). The largest number of studies of schooling for Indian children in cities are in Mexico City and its metropolitan area. These research studies are centered on the situation of school insertion for indigenous communities with the largest number of representatives in the cities, among whom we could mention the Zapotecs, Otomis, Mazahuas, Triquis, and Mazatecs (Bertely 2006; Czarny 2002, 2008; Rea 2009; Rebollo 2007; Santana 2014). They report on the complexity of the processes, as do Molina and Hernández (2006), in their sociodemographic study of the Indian population in the metropolitan area of Mexico City. These studies also point out that even under the labels of “mazahuas”, “zapotecs”, “triquis”, “otomís”, etc., these groups are not homogeneous. The common ethnic denominations refer to migrants from different communities, also the way in which they insert themselves in the city varies among the groups and within the same group. Moreover, many urban sectors are composed of second and third generations living in the cities.

These analytical references regarding the type of Indian population that resides in Mexico City are important because they allow us to propose that work in public urban schools cannot be carried out in the same way for all these groups in terms of a sole approach to implement and develop academic proposals. It is not the same thing to formulate an intercultural and/or bilingual proposal (Indian language and Spanish) at schools where the Indian population is second and third generation and born in the city, as it is for those designed for the first generation population that has arrived only recently from their home communities. Along these same lines, quite a few of the studies from Mexico City report that this population found in certain boroughs and districts where children from various indigenous communities attend school, may or may not be speakers of an indigenous language as well show different settlement patterns. At these schools we see a mixture of boys and girls recognized as “mestizos” (in contrast to “indigenous”) and also as “migrants”. In many sectors of Mexico City they are mixed with those who form part of the so-called “original” settlers and who, as descendents of the Náhuatl culture, are characterized by historical collectivities with a differentiated territorial base and cultural

identification and live in the various boroughs that make up Mexico City and its greater metropolitan area (Sánchez 2004).¹¹

All of these population reconfigurations make these schools true multiethnic and multilingual sites that go beyond the picture the censuses try to paint, and based on them, public policies attempt to design programs for peoples and communities identified as indigenous. Research on indigenous schooling in urban contexts once again touches upon the age-old topic in this field of study in the sense of how schools are used and what formal schooling means for the indigenous peoples.

27.4 The Meaning of Schooling

Research has shown that access to different levels of schooling in the regular public education system has several different meanings for members of indigenous communities. Some feel that access to higher levels of schooling for members of indigenous communities has meant the introduction of intracommunitary *hierarchization and distinctions* based on levels of schooling experience, an element that did not previously form part of epistemological horizons in many of the communities. In other words, “to be somebody” by way of obtaining academic credentials marks differences among members of these indigenous communities that plays out in many different ways (Czarny 2008; Martínez Buenabad 2008; Chávez 2010; Santana 2014). Studies in the 1980s, such as Vargas (1994), pointed out that indigenous teachers had turned into a type of “elite” within their communities, not only by becoming literate in Spanish—a sign of prestige in the national mestizo society—but also by having become *intermediaries* between the community and local and federal governments.

Over the past few years, access to higher education for those populations which historically were excluded from this level—like the indigenous peoples—has allowed for new Indian professionals to become visible. This is not only true for teachers of basic education in Indian areas, a policy that had been promoted since the 1970s, but research reports on other aspects as well. We could mention stories and narratives on schooling formulated by indigenous youth from different cultures, communities and linguistic groups, that show the advantage of becoming more professional and having access to different legitimate arenas and discourses allowing them to address and work for recognition of their rights, and denouncing inequalities, racism and discrimination (Martínez Buenabad 2011; Czarny 2012; Rea 2009; Flores 2015). In the same way, several of these professionals head civil organizations, and educational and political projects designed in their communities, where they are seeking a type of education that matches their own interests and demands.

Research has also reformulated and shown the way in which cultural identities are approached and understood in the process of their formation. The *resignification*

¹¹This line of research on the indigenous population that originally settled in the valley of Mexico City and schools is not well developed, see Ornelas (2002).

of the subjects themselves and their indigenous communities, has taken place through their every day life and interaction in cities and schools; through the use of identity and indigenous languages present in contexts with different players and with ethnic tensions (Martínez Casas and Rojas 2006; Domínguez 2010; Martínez Casas 2007). Undoubtedly language displacement faced by indigenous languages during migratory processes and population movements is a topic that merits special attention under the multilingual scenarios in the cities and particularly in the schools (Martínez Casas 2012).

Studies carried out in public primary schools in different cities where intercultural proposals were fostered and came on the scene as part of the latest educational policies¹² mention the discrimination that this population suffers, both at school as well as in metropolitan areas where they reside (Saldívar 2006; Barriga 2008). Others also show that what has been called “learning problems” attributed to Indian children are not this at all, but rather the result of cultural and communicative distance linked in some cases to the use of Indian languages by the children and the lack of knowledge of these languages by the teachers. In addition, differences in the so-called school culture and cultural practices affect different modes of learning, interacting and ways of being children in indigenous communities (Rockwell 2008). These tensions between school culture and the culture of migrating indigenous children are expected to be resolved through an intercultural approach that centers on the indigenous as “what is different”, which, ironically, tends to reinforce stereotypes. In this sense what we see is a concept regarding the attention given to a population known as “migrating Indian” and generally associated with the notion of cultural differences as a situation of “poverty” and “disadvantage” (Saldívar 2006; Rebolledo 2007; Raesfeld 2008; Czarny 2010). In addition, these studies leave open the lack of potential of this type of intercultural educational discourse by conceiving it as a compensatory action, a proposal to provide for “what is different”, and although this program is not announced as such, it suffers from a disadvantageous bias in its pedagogical proposal.

The overriding need to open educational institutions to old-new actors who now, under the theme of diversity and interculturality, demand the right to be recognized as different, poses a central challenge that this “difference” should not be translated as inequality. Also, and taking into account the poor academic results shown in the evaluations at primary indigenous schools (DGEI-SEP), where this bilingual and intercultural proposal is or is not in force, several indigenous organizations have posed the urgent need to *change schools*. This change not only refers to real conditions of equity with respect to schools with infrastructure and teachers trained to work with diversity in different contexts, but also to the fact that people should be able to contribute their knowledge to the construction of broader scope and more democratic school experiences (López 2009).

¹²I am referring to the programs mentioned in previous paragraphs and promoted by CGEIB known as the Program for Bilingual Intercultural Education for migrating indigenous children that was applied in some public primary schools in Mexico City.

27.5 Challenges for Schooling in Societies That Enjoy a Reputation for Being Multicultural and Plurilingual

Working with diversity in the field of education presents many challenges. In this case I refer to the school experience of indigenous populations in urban contexts (regular school). One level refers to the conceptualization present at schools regarding diversity centered in indigenous students. Going beyond the legal framework and policies, there is a performance criterion and agencies that facilitate or hinder diverse processes that impact life at school, learning and becoming citizens with rights. Another level refers to the reformulation of the notions of citizenship to remedy the socio-cultural fracture between Indians and non-Indians that has persisted since Colonial times in order to reconstruct the multicultural and multilingual map of contemporary Mexico. I will describe these two levels in the understanding that they integrally cover the implications for political, social, pedagogical and cultural studies.

27.5.1 Conceptions of What Is Indigenous at Schools in Urban Contexts

There is no doubt whatever that the ways of looking at the differences in the educational system, which in this paper center around indigenous peoples and basic education, have an impact on processes that are unleashed at many institutions. These processes work to both reach and diminish the potential of identities and thus open or close learning opportunities with multiple meanings.

Education under the label of intercultural as envisioned for public primary schools in some states and cities, has the indigenous population as its target, although this is not proposed for all levels of the system. Although, the obstacles these programs face can be attributed to different dimensions, the shared central issue is how the migrant Indian population in urban school settings is perceived.

Once again, it is undeniable that the topic of teachers and their conceptions are a key issue to be included in any educational program that attempts to transform and change the situation at school. Teachers from public urban primary schools who receive Indian children from diverse communities and linguistic backgrounds, recognize the complexity of schooling in a “diversified classroom”, given their particular features, whether they be physical, cognitive, linguistic, cultural or gender considerations. As has been mentioned by many critics of educational reforms during the 1990s, these reforms have made the teacher shoulder the demands for change. More abilities are needed and more time as well in order for them to do their job in the classroom (Hargreaves 1998). In spite of this, the regulatory and conceptual school structure has not changed, nor have the ways of generating participation by teachers and communities in defining school projects, among other considerations.

Teachers in urban regular schools have trouble recognizing “differences” among their students. When they are recognized as belonging to an Indian ethnic group, these differences are often understood to be “problematic” for learning. Emphasis is placed on the word “problem” when, for example, the mother tongue of indigenous children, as well as their cultures, are identified as obstacles for academic achievement.

Also, the results of intercultural educational policies for all implemented in certain schools in Mexico City where Indian children are enrolled had not been considered previously; the introduction of this topic has meant that many teachers “rediscover” both their country as well as their own origins. We start to hear comments from the teachers like “*For me the topic (of Indian peoples) affects me a lot... I was never able to accept that my grandparents come from a community...*” “*...until only a while back I thought that there were no Indians in Mexico and if there were some, they were way up in the mountains...*” (Czarny 2010: 211). These statements indicate that “intercultural” programs that center on ethnicity have had an impact on the school community and on teachers in particular. I identify at least two tendencies among teachers and administrators when they have an indigenous presence at school.

- (a) Teachers “see” communities with “low expectations”. In terms of achievement at school being Indian represents a “shortcoming”. In other words, if the children are Indian this is considered to be a stumbling block and we hear comments by teachers and administrators like “They don’t speak Spanish well and that’s why they have so much trouble”, “Their parents don’t care about school, they only want them to help out at their market stand”. These attitudes, along with the fact that they are usually poor and marginalized, increases teachers’ low expectations for their success at school.
- (b) To the contrary, teachers try to situate indigenous children and their parents in a position of “equality”. They take into account that these communities do have expectations about schooling, just like other non-indigenous children and parents. In some cases, they recognize that Indian children have the same abilities and place a high value on school as do other children and their parents. This has been expressed in statements such as “Indigenous children are like all the other children at school” or “Indigenous parents are always attentive to what the school asks them for”. Under this vision of equality between indigenous and non-indigenous children, differences are hidden or minimized.

Undoubtedly group work and collaboration with the teachers are key ingredients for educational transformation at school, where differences should not be understood as a “disadvantage”. Instead, it is important to recognize that we live in multicultural and plurilingual societies crosscut by deep social and cultural inequalities, an aspect that has to be borne in mind for the undertaking of any educational development program.

27.5.2 *Reformulation of the Perspective of Citizenship*

Instead of designing educational programs for minorities –in this case those considered to be indigenous and in public urban or general schools– what is needed is a complement in the form of policies, like the social actions by means of changes in the laws that have been introduced in Mexico over the past few decades.¹³

The Indians of the Americas cannot be treated simply as ethnic minorities, but rather as people with special rights who have been able to place their demands in international arenas and within their own countries, seeking recognition as the original settlers who inhabited these lands before the arrival of the Spaniards. The present, after 500 years of imposition first by the Colony and during the period of Independence and the establishment of national states, finally finds Indians in different contexts, both rural and urban within the country. Some are speakers of their Indian tongues and Spanish, while others only speak Spanish, but maintain Indigenous cultural practices. Therefore, to introduce an approach known as “inter”, “multicultural” and “bilingual” (Indian language and Spanish) in education, does not provide one single answer to what is a right. As some authors have proposed, what is needed is an approach –at present known for some as an intercultural approach– that will allow for the construction of what in some contexts of the region has been called democratic and pluralistic intercultural education (López 2009). This approach implies the notion of plural and democratic intercultural citizenship, where the indigenous peoples are not treated as minorities with rights but as part of a society which is recognized as pluricultural and multilingual. It follows that under this reformulation at school we are betting that indigenous peoples can contribute their knowledge and practices to a new societal formation.

There are Indian youth who want to study at schools that offer different levels, including the university, in cities or in places closer to their communities, where they can share with other non-indigenous youth what could be called a youth culture where music, internet and their bodies are languages that bring them together beyond ethnic considerations (Urteaga 2011). Thus, we speak of contemporary indigenous youth, with identities that go back to the past, but who live in the present, images that turn out to be complex even without thinking about schemes where mestizaje has played and continues to play a central role in the formation of a unique historical statement on how national identity is defined.

In the debate on indigenous organizations and different collectivities where indigenous youth participate, the right to equality is proclaimed, while at the same time they want recognition of the fact that they belong to ancestral communities. Part of the discussion has evolved around the search for a plural citizenry where “we all fit in” (Villoro 1999). Nevertheless, there is a deepening of social inequalities, expressed in part because of the lack of access to basic quality services such as

¹³For example, the Law of Linguistic Rights promulgated in 2003, under which the indigenous languages are recognized as national languages, mentions that Indian peoples and communities are entitled to receive education in their native Indian language, as well as to participate in the development of educational programs throughout the national territory (INALI 2006).

education and health, among others, as well as growing political repression in their communities. As a result, we see a greater polarization in discourse and in political and pedagogical practices which in the twentieth century have tried to reach an articulation between the State and indigenous organizations and communities. This is related to a rise in the number educational proposals generally designed for rural Indian regions under the notion of “their”, “alternative” or “autonomous” attempts to reformulate and correct inequality and cultural injustice in the field of education. These proposals range from the redefinition of academic objectives and content that includes curricular design and educational materials, to the profile of the teachers who work with indigenous groups, including how to finance these projects with greater or lesser dependency on the State.

All of the preceding reminds us that even if formally we are all equal citizens under the law, in practice socio-cultural fracturing exists. Taking this into account and picking up on what Tubino (2005) has stated, we have to highlight the fact that policies of recognition – be they multicultural or intercultural – are not enough. We must also consider distributive policies that complement them. The demand for justice and socio-cultural equity regarding indigenous schooling in urban contexts is a point that has undoubtedly become a common thread in these debates: the urgent need to recognize cities and schools as multicultural and multilingual environments that characterize present-day Mexico.

27.6 Conclusions

As described above, research on school processes for the indigenous population in Mexico is a field of studies that has developed over the past 20 years. Its development is attributable to the fact that up until the beginning of the twenty-first century the existence of Indians and communities who have settled in the cities was not officially recognized by the public education system. In spite of this bias regarding who is Indian and who is not is still present in the national imagery. The perception is that Indian people supposedly live in rural areas, are monolingual in their indigenous languages and wear traditional attire.

This is why socio-anthropological and educational research have pointed to *invisibility* as a way educational institutions deny the presence of people who belong to indigenous communities and who live in cities. Many of this population are second and third generation families and students who reside in cities and attend regular public primary and secondary schools. They do not attend schools that are part of the public educational sub-system that traditionally has provided services to the Indian population, mainly in rural areas.

Studies carried out on the presence of Indians in regular public schools in urban contexts have reported discrimination against children and adults from different ethnic groups and also those considered to be mestizo. Studies also point to the reformulation of identities of these Indian communities, allowing them to position and maintain themselves with a new life in the cities and to change modes of

socialization and language displacement processes. Moreover, teachers have been challenged to change the way they look at diversity, in this case regarding their expectations of Indian students, as well as the implications involved in generating significant teaching processes and learning.

Some analyses with regard to programs known as intercultural that provide schooling for the Indian population show that they do not always operate from a cultural relevance and equality standpoint. These proposals, when they form part of school programs in the urban contexts denominated “regular”, underscore the “cultural disadvantage” of Indian children by placing ethnic and cultural dimensions as a difference that is frequently considered problematic. Criticism of inter or multicultural approaches heard in Mexico and in Latin American have made it possible to highlight the urgent need for these proposals to advance in the recognition of rights with equity, social and cultural justice.

We need to understand the role of public schools as a means that allows thousands of people to gain access to education. Nevertheless, with the increase and spread of public education systems, different modalities have been offered, such as schools for Indians, technical secondary schools and televised schooling, that have often led to inequalities due to structural conditions affecting these schools.

The demand for *changing (transforming)* schools presents some knotty problems. While public policy and educational programs are trying to define their agendas, the fact is that Indian children, together with their families and their communities, are attending schools that are part of the national public education system and are undergoing conflictive experiences marked by discrimination yet they are also, at the same time, opening and shaping new spaces for inter and multicultural production.

The discussion remains open, as does the need for more research on the implications of what is meant by an educational proposal to provide services that take into account diversity without suppressing cultural differences and without turning them into a “disadvantage”. The field of studies on curriculum design, the formulation of course materials and proposals to work in multiethnic and multilingual societies, still maintain mechanisms that under the guise of interculturality frequently mask societal and cultural inequalities.

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Chapter 28

Public Education Policies in Chile: Tensions and Conflicts in the Ongoing Reforms

Sebastián Donoso-Díaz and Moyra Castro-Paredes

28.1 Introduction

Education has been a matter of increasing relevance for Chilean society, to the extent that today it is an unavoidable topic of public discussion. The reforms of the education sector, which started in 2014 under the new State administration, took into consideration – nominally, at least – an important part of the social movements' demands from the year 2006 and those from 2011, which efficiently catalyzed the discontent of the population with the sociopolitical model imposed by the dictatorship at the beginning of the 1980s, which was administered without sufficient corrections by the democratic governments that followed (Concert of Parties for Democracy, 1990–2009, and Alliance for Chile, 2010–2013), the first of such coalitions a center left, the second clearly a right wing.

The social covenant in force during this democratic quarter of a century (1990–2015) faced an enormous crisis, impossible to measure in its full extent, as a result of the neoliberal model that, in its most significant scopes, has increased the social inequality and inequity, involving education within this dissatisfaction, because it has not had the prescribed impact on the class mobility of the population. Thus, the imbalance between public and private education have deepened even in democracy, alongside the progress of social differences, which are also reflected in the growing gaps between urban and rural education, accounting for a structural phenomenon of inequalities of high complexity.

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Education has been the catalyst agent for the large social dissatisfaction, which has a wide variety of expressions. Nonetheless and despite the manifest crisis, education continues being for many the great hope of reaching a better quality of life in the near future – sufficient reason to explain its importance.

The student movement of 2006 put educational issues on the public agenda, achieving an important presence in Chilean politics. Another turning point was the big student movement of 2011, which resumed and deepened the previous movement's demands, many of which were fully in force – clear evidence of the public education crisis, extending the phenomenon to a crisis of the whole social system and exceeding the education sphere, although education remains the binding element.

The presidential campaign of 2013 and, as a consequence of that, the government's shift in focus from 2014, renders an account of a society that is looking for significant transformations, one of which is education. Nevertheless, there are different views on the depth and meaning of such a shift in focus. Essentially, the dilemma is either to maintain, with corrections, the market model in the Chilean society or, alternatively, introduce major transformations oriented at assuming it as a social right, implicitly demanding the installation of a new paradigm in this regard. The political debates on Chilean education during this decade have revolved around these aspects, with nuances and incidences that make the phenomenon analyzed a significant case study.

Essentially these reflect an issue in which at least three components can be identified. One, the understanding that it is not by chance that the problem has reached its present state, but that it is the consequence of a sociopolitical model that requires the market to reach, precisely, the results that have been achieved. Second, the system has reached a critical point, consistent with the weaknesses shown by the social covenant governance, that requires strategic decisions, paths which imply completely different impacts when intending to correct the market or, finally, to withdraw education from the market and treat it as a social right. Three, this disjunctive renders accounts of different content, for which there are different analyses and proposals, not completely accomplished and consistent, highlighting the role of the State, the meaning of public education and the freedom of teaching, among others.

The chapter is built from the tensions of Chilean society originating in the disjunctive orientations of the transformations of the educational sector, contextualizing them within the framework of the principal social conflicts that currently find expression. The text is sustained by the bibliographical analysis of the subject matter whose organization requires the central conflict of the tensions, the dominant logics of the proposals being discussed, and analyzing the views directed to regulate the market as well as those seeking to replace it sustained on the social right, in order to, finally, associate these matters with the theoretical challenges that burden education in its disciplinary development, but conceived of in their capability to solve the problems of the sector.

28.2 The Conflict: Adjustments of the Market Model or a New Paradigm in Education?

The student movements of 2006 and 2011 are unavoidable benchmarks in the analysis of educational policy and even more so for public education. Their ambitions and dimensions are the subject of study. Although the analysis of the trajectory of the main themes of Chilean educational policy can be referenced to the beginning of the present millennium, the social crisis of 2006 clearly exemplifies the end of what Burton (2012) called the period of “limited representation,” characterized by the hegemonic paradigm operating without counterbalance and the weaknesses of the social movements, which presents itself in the post dictatorship political model as “a total suitability between the forms of the State and the state of the social relationships” (Ranci ere 1996: p. 129), also defined by others as the unfinished transition toward democracy and its effects (Garret on y Garret on 2010).

The students’ mobilizations in 2006 broke with what had been a situation of full agreement between the groups of dominant power in society, essentially political/economical, creating as an institutional response (by the executive) the Presidential Advisory Council for the Quality of Education, whose final report (2006) presents fundamental elements to understand the recent past (since 1980) as well as current events; summarizing for Corval an (2013), the convergence of great part of “the accounts” about the educational problem include the statist-centre, the market, and the attempt to synthesize both, incarnated by the Concert’s policies. Elements of continuity are discussed within the Advisory Council – education as an instrument of equality in unequal societies, the State’s responsibility in the provision of access to education and for educational content – and also those of the changes, representing rupture and innovations such as the self-limitation of State action as provider, the cession of attributions to private actors, and the profit. Large scale transformations are also mentioned, namely: the redefinition of the relationship between the State and society regarding the provision of education, through the transfer of an institution based on the central State to the market mechanism, and the transition of the fiscal to the municipal (Corval an 2013).

The year 2006, then, constitutes the “deliberation stage” of Chilean education policy (Burton 2012), the turning point that opened the space for the “restricted representation” phase (from 2007 to the present), understood as a manifest expression of the simmering tensions which had not been recognized nor resolved before the mentioned Council (2006), during the “agreements democracy” that neutralized the existing tensions and kept political and social stability. Such tensions, expressed with renewed spirit, divided the political coalitions and social groups, on the basis of three areas which have been the source of conflict: the profit in education, the (re) definition of the role of the State, and selectivity/segregation within the educational system. Areas linked with free education (including the tertiary), were strongly upheld by the social movement of 2011.

The relevance of both social processes and their progressive impact on the political agenda of the governments since then offer glimpses that they were major transformations and may reach paradigmatic traces as education – since 2006 – became the binding element of unfinished social processes, drawing most of the public attention.

The social movement on education of 2011 questioned the market as the best organizer of the educational system. Its evolution severely undermined the market operation, but it was not enough to replace it as coordinator of new social relations. The fact that education is considered merchandise in Chile and as such is distributed according to the rules of the market is a much more difficult problem to tackle than was originally expected. It was not enough to expose the market in its pattern of relations, as it is an intricate network of social phenomena with diverse holds on political, economic, religious, and philosophical enclaves built on more than three decades of hegemonic operation. It also has an ideological/explanatory framework that protects it – until now – from the reformist brunt, including some attempts that took place in democracy, quite convincing at the beginning, and more testimonial afterwards.¹

The increasing criticisms against the market, intended to change the paradigm under which to organize and distribute education, implied that those upholding neoliberalism no longer defended the market as a guarantor of efficiency and freedom, sustaining, on the contrary, that Chilean education does not operate as the market, sheltered in the constitutional articles which regard education as a right (Article 19, N°10). Society (the State) provides education to those that cannot or are not willing to pay for it, which would be proof enough to demonstrate that it does not operate as the market. This reasoning is incorrect for its occurrence is not only politically unacceptable (those who cannot pay are left without education), but it is also at odds with a democratic society. Secondly, the fact that the State offers a basic level does not imply that those pursuing a better quality must not pay for it. On the contrary, in the educational market different “qualities of education” are traded. This means that when one pays a higher price one should get a better quality of education, which is being questioned and for which the defenders of the market do not have an answer other than the one mentioned.

Conservative groups saying “that public education is poor quality education,” sustain that changing the provision of education is not the problem, but improving the quality of free education. The neoliberal argument omits the fact that if there were no different qualities of education for which families could pay, the market would make no sense. For private education to be attractive to investors, and families to opt for paying, it is necessary to provide a low quality public education for the poor. In view of the foregoing, the dilemma takes two aspects (Sandel 2012): Can different criteria apply to the “market” for a society to distribute education?

¹ The more convincing attempts at change took place in the 1990s, with the unsuccessful attempt to change the Constitutional Organic Law on Teaching (LOCE). Those we called “testimonial” correspond to the draft bill on Strengthening Public Education from the year 2006, which had virtually no parliamentary discussion and was finally withdrawn from Parliament.

What would such criteria be? Knowing Chile represents an extreme situation in which the market distributes virtually all goods.

Within this context, in view of the demands being discussed and their incidence in the political agenda, it was possible to believe an important social change stemming from education was approaching. It would involve a paradigmatic transformation of the Chilean State, sustained in the generation by a new bond between the citizens and the State drawn from basic social rights.

In the meantime, the conservative argument in this matter was changing – point at an issue not entirely foreseen by the social movement in the euphoric days of 2011 – thus demonstrating that neoliberalism was far from “extinction,” doing away with all libertarian slogans as long as it was useful to the objective of saving the market at all costs, as its “deconstruction” is more complex than its construction. The situation gets even more complex when intending to install this transformation only from the education perspective, relevant though it is. Additionally, the market requires few and simple principles to operate, yet its replacement implies a much more elaborate and complex pattern to function. It needs precision and clarification at a higher level than just a political agreement on basic principles (as was the government programme of the current State administration – Bachelet, M. Programa de Gobierno, 2013), expressed on the slogans of the social movements in reference, though not enough to guide its implementation.

Finally, it is essential to recognize that in these decades neoliberalism positioned itself in such a way that there are people ready to defend the education market and demand “the right to pay for education,” which became “a discrimination tax” charged by the school to the families (guaranteeing the selection of the students), to ensure their offspring share just with “equals”, because in Chile the educational results for all the population have been proved beyond any doubt to be linked to the socioeconomic contribution, parallel to the insignificant difference of contribution paid in the subsidized private education over the public (Drago and Paredes 2011) and the low added value of the schools (Treviño and Donoso 2010). That is why it is so important for private schools and for families who ascribe it to this model, that there certainly is the possibility to select students.

In spite of the debates that have taken place, it is evident that discrediting the market was not enough to provoke its collapse. In Chile, after decades of supreme operation, the market is validated for many citizens that only know this rationale. Expected actors have come forward to defend it (laity and religious businessmen, politicians and private sector leaders) as well as unexpected actors, namely, some families from what has been denominated as “the new (social) emerging sectors” demanding their right to pay for education. They demand the possibility to buy education in the market, affirming that their interest does not lie in a system that guarantees a free better education. They want to make sure themselves, as they do not trust the State nor society: do the best you can, it is therefore the great success of neoliberalism.

The critics from the 2006 and 2011 movements to the prevailing model did not reach the degree of strength and coordination required to disjoint the networks of power built by neoliberalism. Their weaknesses as a social movement started when

they concentrated their demands in the field of education² (Oct/Nov 2011), assuming that “all reforms would gather” around it, which was not the case, as demonstrated by the development of the political events from 2014 to date (mid 2015). In this last period, there has been a switch in the language and content between the first and the rest of the announcements from the Government, each time looking for greater consensus from the groups of power and less reference to the initial slogans of the social movements.³

In the meantime, it is clear that the thematic links between the political parties and the social movement were devised in order to adapt the model rather than change it, integrating different social actors without having previously set up a project of a society. The education problem was limited to the educational sector, and not open to become a social decision on how to distribute the assumed public goods (Sandel 2012; Roemer 2000). Within this framework, the major social changes have been hampered. This added to the conservative’s argument, to avoid that the public education solution calls into question the market’s existence, and evidenced the legitimacy reached by neoliberalism in the daily behavior (conscience) of the people (Solano 1999). It looks like the major change – in case of indeed being the desire of the majority of the population –, is in question, until other issues are solved – amongst them the ongoing reforms and the key players’ actions in this regard.

28.3 Tensions: The Logic of the Change in Strategy

The debates about strengthening public education, it is understood, imply first defining the sense of the transformations, and then determining measures and strategies to implement it. The Chilean case does not follow this itinerary, this being perhaps a distinctive feature of the logic behind its installation. Rather, there is a mixture of political timing and the viability of certain changes, without a serious discussion of the subject. They explicitly expect to reform the market, correcting its main imbalances or making a change in the paradigm of the State, as this issue implies important decisions for the government alliance they may not face, without an important burnout cost, questioning the change in paradigm, thus causing new social unrest.

The improvement of the market attracts – initially – less tension in different sectors of the ruling powers, whereas the change in paradigm undoubtedly generates more uncertainty. The improvement is simpler to implement – deepen some

²Some specialists indicate, without necessarily having an empirical base to endorse it, that the new middle layers of Chilean society is moved by two themes: consumption and education. That would indicate belonging to the “new middle class”.

³An example of this were the initial announcements, in view of their negative to adopt reforms on profit control, about the Government purchasing private schools, which yield to pressures and was changed by a rental system and finally by a leasing system as a formula to amortize resources, all that in a 6 months period.

corrective measures to the subsidies with emphasis on the public institutions' leveling on the socioeconomic components of the population and their impact on the educational service, and adding some regulations for the private sector.

As indicated, the change in paradigm means conceiving education as a social right, which implies providing it under the sole reason of "being a citizen," namely: a person with equal rights to his peers. This is what the defenders of the market do not accept because it means its disappearance. Under the paradigm of social rights, this is a public issue, because everyone has the right to the same prerogatives. The system should organize itself to fulfill this function based on "society's wealth," expressed by the financial resources that it is capable of assigning to this task (Atria 2014).

This issue with all its nuances has not been discussed in a public debate. Although, the Government has boosted corrective initiatives to the market, directed to the private sector that receives public funding, achieving certain important changes in their behavior, leading to the passing of the Law of Educational Inclusion in January 2015, that partly regulates profits, copayment and the students' selection processes, and as a second line of proposed reforms for 2015–2016, deals directly with strengthening public education.

28.3.1 The Corrective Proposals to the "Market Model" at School Level

The orientation within this field is related to the private sector that receives public funding, which has large enrollment coverage (54 %) in Chile (Mineduc 2013). The debate in this case is not whether the private sector should exist; any attempt to put it under State control would be politically unfeasible. Furthermore, that is not the central problem: the main issue is that education is not distributed according to the rules of the market. So the idea is to fill the lack of measures that allow regulating the private providers of education with public resources, also matching their rights and duties with those of public education.

The discussion is not either on freedom of education and/or on the educational projects of private institutions, as has been stated by some defenders of the market. Freedom of education in Chile means not all the education is to be provided by the State. But, that does not mean that anything can be taught under any standard. Freedom of education must consider the educational projects of the (civil) society in their different expression, as long as they are consistent with the project of the society (Atria 2014). This is not the problem today, to insist that contributes to deflecting attention from the fact that education operates according to market criteria. The objective of the reviewed changes is to restructure the Chilean educational system, for education to cease being a commodity and become an effective right of all the citizens.

Beyond the programme proposal of the present Government – which essentially talks of changes rather than reforms, although it is referred to as one of the great reforms (MB Programme 2013) – the first law drafts deal with the debated issues and are mainly related to the privates: free schooling, understood as ending family copayment; stopping students' selection processes and ending profit-making by educational entrepreneurs, expressed finally in the Law of Inclusion of January 2015.

The principle of free schooling⁴ is closely related to equity in regards to access as well as to the educational processes, and it must be understood in terms of those objectives. In the Chilean case, free schooling is a key principle when viewing education as a social right; it is the way to make equal opportunities a reality. Replacing copayment is based, for the family – not for the educational entrepreneur who will now get his income from the State itself –, on the fact that it ended up being an efficient instrument of students selection, thus increasing discrimination and social exclusion (Valenzuela et al. 2008; Bellei et al. 2013), perverse effects conflicting with the objectives of a democratic society that finances its educational system with public resources. On the other hand, copayment or Shared-Financing⁵ has been a relevant financing instrument for private institutions; that is why the proposal assumes its gradual elimination, considering also public treasury resources. It would also generate positive externalities for the educational entrepreneurs by reducing management costs.

As indicated, its public debate was extremely ideological and, was sometimes regarded by groups from the opposition as an attempt against freedom of education, which as to substance and form is inconsistent with facts and circumstances. Opposition to this initiative from the private business sector is based, more than on its financial impact, on their understanding that in the mid-term private institutions will be forced to accept any student, independent from social condition, which will impact their educational results, leveling them to those of public schools, as a result of the “social mixture” generated by non-selection.

These effects, identified by power groups, influence the activity of private educational leaders gathering their political support to impede copayment elimination. On the other hand, this decision could also have a negative impact in the short term for the public sector, as copayment has been a barrier for the non-migration of students who, willing to move, cannot afford it and have to remain in public education. Eliminating the restriction may produce a migration to the private. In order to reduce this effect it is necessary to strengthen public education in the short term.

In view of the foregoing, the principle of free schooling is closely related to equity of access and of educational processes, central scopes in the Chilean case, because the universal coverage achieved – with the exceptions indicated – does not imply equity in the educational processes. Therefore, this is an important issue to address, for if there is not quality of education, which implies equity in the pro-

⁴This proposal understands free schooling as the provision of a service paid by the State.

⁵Shared-financing was approved in 1988, but it was corrected upward in 1993, during the first democratic government. It was defined as a copayment mechanism, structured in sections, to which schools apply (mainly privates). It entails a monthly fee per student paid by the family.

cesses, effective equity will not be achieved, with a negative incidence on the most vulnerable population.⁶

Closely related to the above is the student selection, because of its incidence in the social segregation as well as in validating profits made by some businessmen using public resources.⁷ Approved new legislation prohibits student selection up to eighth grade (from a 12-year total). It is known that restrictions have not impeded an important number of private and some public schools to select students, although this was restricted to sixth grade by previous laws.⁸ At some point the Constitutional Organic Law on Teaching (LOCE), in effect from March 1990 to August 2009, facilitated this process for privates though denied it to public schools. The latter is correct, though interesting as it legitimized private selection and avoided an eventual social conflict. An important part of the results achieved by subsidized private schools was the students' social capital, more than the teaching added value provided, the result of less poor students migrating from public schools (Treviño and Donoso 2010; Mizala and Torche 2012).

Student selection through copayment and/or merit reasons, both related to the socioeconomic background of the population, guarantees in the Chilean case better educational results thanks to the decisive effect of the "social cradle." That is why it is essential for private entrepreneurs to maintain, overtly or covertly, the selection criteria operational. Moreover, because it allows private schools, considering their better results, to charge the families an additional amount for taking part, legitimizing profits as a fair earning resulting from efficiency and educational service quality, even though this is not finally generated by the school (Atria 2014; Donoso 2013).

The third line of intervention is profit regulation, a complex criterion to install in a system characterized from the beginning by its deregulation. Although in democracy some subsidies matched their goals, during these years the private educational system, according to its founders expectations, was in fact quantitatively strengthened (enrollment from 15% to 55% and the number of schools more than tripled), enabling a significant management of resources, which led to the creation of an important group of business enterprises (Corbalán et al. 2009). Any regulation initiative in this matter is a very complex issue, as shown by the debates in this field. The Government's idea was to do away with figures such as a related company and practices like purchasing or rentals at out-of-market prices, so common in the profit making Chilean higher educational system,⁹ establishing criteria for those items, which has created tension between the government and some business groups.

⁶The review of national examination results (SIMCE) or the international (PISA), evidence processes/results.

⁷Some profit making educational entrepreneurs and educational businesses have been criticized for making profits with public resources, at school as well as at tertiary level, though the latter is forbidden by law.

⁸Selection must apply when there are more applicants than vacancies. The criticism arises as selection is related to the socioeconomic background of students' families, thus there are not real equal opportunities.

⁹www.ciperchile.cl Report on profit in Chilean higher education.

The three matters included in the law that intend to correct the market are substantive items and as such will be basic for major changes, although these require time to come into force. As can be observed, the nature of these measures, the interests at stake, the powers involved and the depth of their incidences evidence the political obstacles contained.

28.3.2 *The Proposed Change in the State Paradigm*

Changing the State paradigm should be the core of the strategy for strengthening public education; however, measures introduced in this area do not seem to be directly binding to the objective, which does not imply judging its importance either, as some of them were crucial to undertake such an enterprise.

As mentioned, strengthening public education requires direct measures to support the sector, some of them urgently, others less pressing, as well as regulating and controlling the private sector with public subsidy. Otherwise public education will not be able to do its job, given the asymmetry of rights/duties with privates. Even if the relative situation of public education may improve once the urgent as well as less pressing measures start to show their effects, including the impacts of the educational inclusion law, in order to consolidate its recovery, it is essential to implement major transformations, difficult though to install without jointly installing the basis for a change in the paradigm of the sector.

Within this framework, an unavoidable and imperative step is to increment directly and substantially the financial resources assigned to public education. The 2014 budget, tied up by the right wing government, allowed only some adjustments, although the 2015 budget made advances. However, indispensable new financial instruments are more fundamental than the present welfare subsidy system for students.¹⁰

These mechanisms must be consistent with education as a social right, that is, fundamental contributions based on the socioeconomic needs of the student population and coherent with educational objectives (OCDE 2004; Donoso 2013).

Secondly, within the unpredictable, it is necessary to provide education with a new organic institution and a normative integrated to the financial reforms, called the new architecture, to take care of “*di-counseling*”¹¹ demands from different sectors and solve structural problems at that level, otherwise the sector’s future may be in jeopardy (Bellei et al. 2010; Cepepe 2011; Elacqua et al. 2010; Eyzaguirre 2012; García-Huidobro 2010; Marcel and Raczynski 2009; Martinic and Elacqua 2010). This is, a true and real strengthening public education proposal (Donoso et al. 2015).

These changes are also an opportunity to decisively advance toward a technical and administrative decentralization of education, shifting attributions from the central

¹⁰ A detailed review of financial instruments, foundations and critical aspects is presented by Donoso (2013) Chapter III, pgs. 87–170.

¹¹ Withdraw school from council administration (translator’s note)

government to regional governments (Finot 2007), generating more autonomous public institutions linked to macro-territories, providing them with corporation governing bodies, technical and managerial capacity and competence to develop long term educational projects, and finances consistent with these goals (Marcel 2012; Bertoglia et al. 2011; Mejías and Anastasio 2008). This task is also a challenge to test the capacity of an excessively centralist country demanding transformations in this field to reach development.¹²

Third, facing project sense transformations, it is necessary to analyze some urgent and substantive matters, even though their impact may be mid to long term, namely:

- (i) Radically modify the teaching training system, considering that beyond determining socioeconomic elements in education, there is an all-inclusive problem of teaching quality in Chile, worsened by a low added value in education that implies facing this strategic problem, whose solution will impact the next decade, which is why it is urgent. This is a State concern, important for different institutional actors, and requires a solid social agreement not yet explicit.
- (ii) A second task is to design a new teaching career and school directive, consistent with the new educational normative, complex objective due to teachers' historical demands. This normative should transcend the public sector and involve privates receiving public subsidies – as used in other countries – this obviously implies a political agreement with private entrepreneurs which does not look easy.

The advantages are considerable for teacher development and stability, with a positive impact on teaching quality and school management. It is, therefore, important to move forward soon with its discussion, in spite of difficulties in their processes and implications at different levels.

On third level transformations, structural type, consistent with the proposed paradigm, should be undertaken at different fronts and matters. On the political front, it is very important that a change of this magnitude be a legitimate answer to the original problem. For this reason there should be a broad social agreement on education, reinforcing the role of the State as a democratic articulator of its citizens, from their weak situation in Chilean society to a new proper role of their social rights demands.

Consistently, a wide constitutional recognition of the right to education is necessary in this area, assigning it top priority and unfailingly committing the State to implementing it as a public law.

In the field of public management, the Chilean State is under-capacitated to efficiently meet the population's demands. The current educational institutions, more fragmented than in the last decade, evidence a patched together design of solutions more than a systemic design. In this scope it shows its weakness as a result of its

¹²In September 2014, an ad hoc commission handed to the government a proposal considering from direct election of political authorities to greater autonomy for the sector. The itinerary would start in 2015, though relevant educational measures are proposed as of 2018.

reduced size and attributions. The present model of the State is not consistent with the support required in this respect by education as a social right.

Likewise, the institutions and the State management processes should adjust to the new design of public education at the subnational level, which needs to articulate itself wisely to avoid further fragmentation and bureaucracy. Along this line, a wider technical and financial autonomy would be a strong element to reduce that possibility, but complex political issues are conjugated to make that decision in such a centralized State as the Chilean (Eaton 2012).

To take the market out of education will require significant powers to regulate offer and demand at the territorial level, not available today because of the “dogma” of not attempting against freedom of teaching besides limiting the market, widening this function to regulate offers at the tertiary level, that in the case at issue, given the wide population coverage (more than 40% of the population at respective age groups), will imply analyzing the situation in some areas with a surplus of professionals.

It is important to understand that introducing greater public regulation in different areas and at different levels does not directly imply less market – as has been pointed out by some private officials. It is necessary to transform the foundations of the model, incorporating a number of elements, otherwise the public will end up being inevitably “controlled” by the private, as has happened in these years.

Main transformations toward a new paradigm inevitably imply changing the financial system of compulsory education, public or subsidized private, considering the higher costs involved in improving quality. More resources include adjusting to operational standards costs, studies of schools according to their size, social and cultural capital of the students’ population, location and goals to be achieved. This means new principles to sustain financing and mechanisms and instruments coherent with the social right to education.

This design should be arranged by public education new subnational institutions, substituting the failed “*counciling*” (or putting education under council administration) which requires a very fluid dialog between its both components (financing and institutions). An unbalance between them could have negative consequences in the mid and long term, as the Chilean experience itself has demonstrated. New institutions will advise, by aggregate effect, redesigning the national education system, or at least its Ministry; a good occasion to update it, as its institution is behind in many aspects (Núñez and Weinstein 2010).

This matter also requires fine tuning, from the decentralizing policies, the central government articulation of functions with subnational entities, and providing them with administration and technical powers. In this perspective a pro-democracy institutional organic structure is required to manage education in its mid and long term tasks, namely: install new ways of designing and implementing education policies in a centralist country, unused to democratic management processes, besides overrating technical options encouraged in these decades. That is why it is necessary to empower the citizens’ validation practices of the mid and long term processes and strategies in the sector at various levels, subnational and national, with their respective legal support, consistent with the paradigm in its entirety.

28.4 Public Education Policy in Light of New Horizons: Challenges

Within the scenario at hand, educational policies face a growing complexity arising from the visibility and importance education has for participants, institutions, political and social projects, and citizens themselves. The appearance of some education endogenous elements taking part of the demands, aims at giving an account of new constitutive elements of the design and implementation of guidelines to install the new educational paradigm.

In less than four decades Chilean educational policy went from being thrown in the “useless junk courtyard of the State,” where it was confined by the dictatorship in structural alliance with the neoliberalism, to locate itself in “society’s prominent places” where it currently resides. The path was not easy; high costs were paid for the social devaluation education was subjected to, and for the weaknesses of the policy makers in the technical and political mastery of a complex field like this one, where its theoretical-epistemic nor its methodological understanding are enough, but it is necessary to have an empirical knowledge of its situation, considering the diversity of experiences, players and situations that explain their day-to-day routine at school and in the whole educational system. It is essential to have an intra-system experience that questions political, economic and other pressures from different power groups, including international financing agencies.

28.4.1 *The Positional Switch of Education and the New Concepts in Debate*

The relevance achieved by the educational sector has meant a substantive transformation of its focus of attention, procedures and objectives, and of the resources framework within which it operates. This has been similar to its increasing vertical and horizontal complexity, as well as to the contents and instruments it uses, to the players involved and to the public scrutiny it presently attracts.

Educational policy in the time of the dictatorship focused its action on the school, treating it essentially as an object isolated from its social context, under a management reduced to the scope of administrators, namely: a bureaucrat, not a teaching professional leader. Moreover, they were protected with security of tenure, which made dismissal impossible, even after a decade of democratic period, with the evident damage this would cause to any society subject to such rules. The slow and complex change of the educational system at the beginning of the recovered democracy was caused more by exogenous than endogenous factors, a tendency that continues today although with an emphasis on the endogenous.

The elements that have contributed to making this change more evident are society’s educational system increasingly growing unsatisfied with demands, requirements of articulating the educational system with the social covenant and society’s

governance, and availability of financial resources in volumes unknown in recent history, such as in the 1980s, when public contribution to education fell by nearly 25% (González 2003: 610). In that decade of installation and consolidation of the education neoliberal model, educational policy was mainly oriented to privatize, overtly or covertly, the educational system. There was no other policy and, within this framework, the market was in charge of its articulation. The public sector was there just to balance the market; public educational policy was reduced to keeping the system going unaltered and to synchronizing it with the privatization tendencies (Jofré 1988).

The first democratic governments tried to install some “educational dreams” begotten during the years of the dictatorship, but amongst the political demands agreed for the transition and the demands from the World Bank, the “public education *counciling*” imposed in the 1980s. Added to their own mistakes such as Shared Financing, the results were slow, supported by interesting initiatives like school reinsertion and expansion of coverage at all levels, that as a deficiency corrective methods only mitigated the negative effects of the model regarding inequality and educational segregation (Picazo 2013; Bellei et al. 2013).

In the educational field, the second democratic decade ended up with big demonstrations of social protest and less new ideas for the sector, too much technocracy in education policy-making, a limited approach toward the social movements and the acute problems faced by the system. These increased at the beginning of the present decade by the skimpy assertiveness of the rightwing government to social demands, related essentially to strengthening public education, and created the critical situation that took us to today’s turning point: improve the market or change the paradigm toward social rights.

28.4.2 New Time Limit and Components for the Design of Educational Policies

The educational system horizon has undergone meaningful transformations. Short and midterm results – not always substantive – tend to postpone long term actions. The nationally and internationally generated “learning achievements rankings” have contributed to focusing attention on short term results and have had an incidence on shifting public system concern from a full formation of their students toward a restrictive approach on learning and measurement standards.

From the turn of the millennium onward, cultural transformations in the Chilean education have been too fast, (i) almost without time to see results, (ii) without sufficient technical, empirical and scientific support, (iii) included numerous demands from different sectors (iv), plus a massive incorporation of payers with a range of viewpoints on the subject.

This situation is the result of an increased social and political valuation of education, from the State management at its different levels as well as from the citizens

themselves. It has not been by accident that the massive social conflicts during the last decades have evolved around education, evidencing its importance.

Likewise, education faces huge challenges regarding its functionality as a pro-governance agent for societies. The area complexity is expressed at all levels, in its institutions (norms, resources), in its aims and objectives, in the players from different levels, and finally, in direct demands to improve quality with efficiency/efficacy.

The context in which policies are inserted – finally taken as territory and culture – has increased its importance. In the Chilean case, this is not yet a fully incorporated element, due to the historic centralization of the macro educational political processes, in which the visualization of the territories was always “unified” as similar entities in their most relevant dimensions. It has been mistakenly established that the territory is a third-rate player; even in the most recent and massive decentralization processes it has not been a relevant player (Castro 2012).

From a conceptual stand point, the neoliberal vision explicitly sought to weaken the border between public and private education, the product of the installation without constraint of this homogenous vision, whose overt intention was to weaken the role of the State as a corrective agent for inequality, reducing its performance and diminishing its responsiveness, which enabled them to first overtly privatize and then covertly continue with the process (Ball 2009).

Accordingly, demands for more efficiency and efficacy from the most technically and politically conservative sector of society are essentially focused on the allocation of financial resources, as the need for a substantial increase is evident.¹³ Nevertheless, the provision of education with social right is also going to change the evaluation/allocation criteria, as well as the understanding of other instruments, such as national evaluation tests, mainly in the use of its information for educational purposes, frequency and public outreach, emphasizing its contribution to the design of teaching strategies, maintaining transparency and result disclosure, and reducing the ranking effect.

28.5 Final Reflection

In today’s Chilean society education is a theme with driving power, in which very different views are expressed on social sense, individual and socioeconomic development. That is to say, about the very purpose of education. However, one of its key missions, iteratively claimed at critical moments, is its contribution to governance. At present, this governance seems to require major changes to meet these needs, related to integrating democratic processes in the organization and system management, with an appropriate technical soundness in the search for relevant and

¹³ Although education expenditure in Chile is approximately 7%, public expenditure it is slightly higher than 4%, thus there is a need to increase it, not counting the debated private expenditure replacement in some areas at school level (Gobierno de Chile 2014).

efficient solutions, with pre-eminence on circumstantial factors, with major challenges on decentralizing management and decisions and, equally, on making a substantial contribution to installing in this area a society without rooted practices in this field. This means people understand the reasonableness of the State, of representative democracy, its rights and duties on the described framework, namely: a major structural change in education and of the sense of public in this new scenario.

However, the problems of the Chilean education system, deeply rooted in a very unequal and segregated society, and the weaknesses in correcting these difficulties, have led the very system to a critical point in which substantial decisions must be adopted regarding its orientation, which, incidentally, imply very different ways.

This scenario in which education reforms are installed, especially public education reforms, implies facing these conflicts and tensions, understanding that results show much more than the collapse of the model, that posed contradictions were not “system failures” but an integral part of it, and that market failures are not, essentially, malfunctioning but necessary steps to reach the results achieved. Therefore, the way the education system developed, despite the promises, was not a mechanism to moderate social immobility and elite privilege, but one of its main causes.

In this endeavor, educational policy, beyond the adopted directions, faces significant and complex challenges to integrate approaches and levels, defined as micro and macro policies, a relevant task in itself. This is directly related to its contribution to society and to the current and sought social covenant.

It is about a substantial self-transformation, as well as transforming its epistemology, its field, and, certainly, about its direct or indirect implementation object.

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Chapter 29

Evaluation and Accountability in Large-Scale Educational System in Chile and Its Effects on Student's Performance in Urban Schools

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29.1 Introduction

Over the last few decades, education systems of western countries have undergone profound changes. One of the most relevant features of the public policies implemented is the assessment of schools and students. This tendency emerges in the context of a growing pervasiveness in the scholarly field toward the “neoliberal impetus” (Ball 2010, p. 486) which has promoted a culture of competitive performance in the educational universe and has given privilege to the principles of merit, quality and excellence at the center of educational concerns.

The discourse on the “crisis of public schools” – that some researchers say must have been “manufactured” to expose education to the interests of the private sector (Berliner and Biddle 1995) – will legitimize these demands to the school of a culture of scholarly rigor, exigency, and meritocracy that, according to some critics, would have been lost and would have left nations and their citizens incapable of responding to the challenges of the growing competitive existence in the market and in society in general. Benefiting from the strong adhesion to the old school, along

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with nostalgia for the “black board” (Dubet 2000, p. 83), the rhetoric of crisis in public educational systems has become a priority in global education agendas.

In this setting, the social pressure on academic performance intensifies, transforming it into a high priority in school education. Opening schools to social and cultural diversity demands that education confront new missions, as well as tensions between objectives that are difficult to reconcile, such as the guarantee of more schools or better quality schools. In the 1980s, under the pressure of a culture of competitive performance, a reconfiguration of the public school mandate took place (Maurin 2007), with the aim of putting less emphasis on consolidating school democratization and more on the quality of academic results.

In the following piece, we develop a review of the literature produced in recent years on the policies of accountability and their impact on the configuration of the educational systems of different countries. Furthermore, we will center our focus on the Chilean school system, one in which market mechanisms have higher incidence relative to other school systems internationally, and in which there is empirical evidence on the modest positive impact of the market based-reforms on the quality of urban education, namely on the distressed urban schools serving low-income and ethnic and racial minorities, that were faced with the aggravation of their problems (McEwan and Carnoy 2000).

29.2 The Model of Accountability: Practices and Scientific Debates at the International Level

The importance acquired by the forms of regulation based on results is inseparable from the loss of confidence in the school system and the subsequent need to “diminish the opacity of the given service” (Maroy 2012, p. 64). But the obsession with the production and measurement of results is also inseparable from the affirmation and consolidation, in the educational field, of the system of “accountability”, which, in its most complete model, contemplates four stages: establishing goals, evaluating achievement, publishing their results and, eventually, determining their consequences (Herrington and Mac Donald 2001).

Imported from the business world into the schools, in accordance with the assumption that everything which works in business will also work in education and in society (Down 2009), the concept of accountability came to impregnate educational agendas of different countries, beginning in the 1970s in a process marked by two stages (Maroy and Voisin 2013): the “old accountability” (1970s and 1980s) and the “new accountability” (1990s and 2000s), both of which are distinguished “less by the principles or philosophies they invoke to legitimate themselves than by the tools that they implement” (p. 896). According to the two researchers, there are many common features in the result oriented regulatory policies adopted by various countries in the area of “accountability”, including: the objectives of “improving efficacy, reducing inequality and performance differences between groups of students (equity) [...] controlling or reducing costs, that is, improving efficiency” (p. 882); also the concept of the school as a productive organization and the centrality

given to quantified data and to the “different assessment tools to evaluate student performance (testing)” (p. 885).

There are, however, differences in the way the model of “accountability” is developed in different countries, ranging from the “harder” measures to the “softer” ones; the first, favored by Anglo-Saxon countries, provides incentives and punishments (carrots and sticks) to ensure compliance, as happens in the United States or in England; the second, more frequent in Continental Europe (Maroy and Voisin 2013) uses results as mere indicators.

Among the accountability tools, there are tests, national and international exams, school rankings, teacher performance evaluations and evaluations of learning centers. The national tests are the most important in accountability processes, since it is from the measurable results obtained from external evaluation that the parameters are defined for the evaluation of teachers, schools, and even educational systems (Lee 2008).

But the evaluation processes are not restricted to students, they are also apply to teachers and schools. The evaluation of teachers is perceived as a “(...) vital step in the drive to improve the effectiveness of teaching and learning and raise educational standards” Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2009, p. 3), which accomplishes two objectives, according to the same study: first, “to improve the teacher’s own practice by identifying strengths and weaknesses for further professional development – the improvement function. Second, it is aimed at ensuring that teachers perform at their best to enhance student learning – the accountability function” (p. 7).

As for the evaluation of the learning centers themselves, their legitimacy is strengthened by the conclusion that “school matters”, a concept that has supported movements like School Effectiveness and School Improvement. There are few countries in the OECD that do not perform systematic evaluations of their schools (Faubert 2009); these evaluations, according to the same study, focus on four fundamental areas: outcomes (mostly based on national test results), practices at the course and institutional levels, and school environment.

Regarding the consequences of evaluations, the same study points out that these vary from country to country, ranging from offering recommendations to denying funding, and even, to threatening of school closures. There is significant controversy over the impact of these assessment practices and ample literature that problematizes their pros and cons, which makes the exhaustiveness of their discussion and revision untenable.

For some of the authors, standard assessment of students allows for improved results and reduction of academic inequality, essentially because the setting of common standards forces teachers to impose uniform expectations over all students, independent of their social or scholarly profile (Hong and Youngs 2008). Other researchers like Burgess et al. (2010) account for the positive effect of league tables over academic results that worsen when they are abolished. As for teacher evaluations, opinions are divided between those who identify with a positive impact on student learning (Danielson 2007) and those who are skeptical towards the empirical evidence of such associations (Hallinger et al. 2014).

However, for some researchers, the perverse effects of various assessment tools are countless: the performance of teachers “can come to be experienced as inauthentic and alienating” (Ball 2010, p. 488); schools are pushed to narrow the curriculum (Gerwitz 2002) so that only content is assessed, leading to a devaluation of fundamental areas in a complete education, like social studies, music, or art (Osborn et al. 2000); teachers are pressured to teach to the test (Hannaway and Hamilton 2008), sometimes leading to extreme cases in which there are fraudulent practices to improve the scores of students (Jacob and Levitt 2003).

Cassasus (2010) is also against the educational model which is based on the premise that underperforming students and schools, when publicly exposed for their low results and threatened with sanctions, will feel a shame which mobilizes them towards improvement. Criticizing the model of standardized tests, he points out that the model is unable to provide valuable information to measure the quality of the education, that is to say, unable to give evidence that “the students are well educated” (p. 86) or that “they become good or bad people or citizens” (p. 86).

Besides this impoverishment of the educational mission of the school, the “neopositivist evaluocracy dominant today” (Afonso 2014, p. 488) contributes to the rise in inequality of socio-economic and racial nature (Au 2009): some schools which select students choose to exclude those who, because of their social and academic profile, could put the position of the learning center at risk in terms of rankings (Darling-Hammond 2007). Moreover, these students receive less attention from teachers who begin to see them as a threat (Cassasus 2010) and therefore, prefer to concentrate their efforts on the more promising kids who will perform better on the tests (Booher-Jennings 2005). Under such circumstances, the necessity of believing in the “utopia” (Afonso 2014, p. 502) of building another model of accountability to rescue the current “unidimensional constraints” gains force.

29.3 Lessons and Learning: The Case of Chile

Given that the Chilean school system has had generalized performance assessment mechanisms for primary and secondary education since the end of the 1980s, the learning, effects and challenges stemming from its implementation, are an opportunity not only to improve the experience of countries that are beginning to raise their levels of assessment, public accountability and standardization of outcomes in the academic system, but also those which are strengthening the mechanisms of school choice for families between different educational providers, and opening the field of children and youth education to private entities.

Chile has a school system with 13 years of mandatory education, 1 at preschool, 8 in the primary school level, and 4 at the secondary level. Secondary level is divided into two parts, the first 2 years cover a general curriculum, and the last 2 years offer the choice between scientific-humanist instruction and vocational instruction. The greater number of schools specialize in one of these two alternative options. The majority of schools, as the majority of the inhabitants, are located in urban areas, according to

Raczynski and Muñoz-Stuardo (2007), who remember that almost 40% of the population live in the capital city. In 2013, only 13% lived in rural areas (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2013). The gap between the number of students in the urban and rural schools is enormous, as the *Estadísticas de la Educación 2013* (Centro de Estudios Mineduc 2013) points out: 1.895.879 and 222.064, respectively.

On the other hand, the Chilean school system is known for having one of the highest rates of private participation in education, at primary, secondary and post-secondary levels. The process of expanding private participation began in 1981, in the midst of the military dictatorship, with the creation of a subsidy on demand paid per student and of comparable size both to private and public schools. This policy was accompanied by the transference of public schools and academies from the central government to the municipalities – administrative entities that until then did not have adequate financial or professional resources for that and did not have the necessary skills and competencies to handle public functions—and at the same time was reauthorized that profit entities could participate in the educational system (it was prohibited at the end of 1960s). This group of incentives implied that private market share went up from about 20% of the total of educational offerings to about 35% in less than a decade (Hsieh and Urquiola 2006); however, the sustained expansion of private offerings, mostly financed by state contributions into for profits (Elacqua 2011) continued growing over time and even strengthened in the last decade; while in 2004, 50.5% of urban school enrollment was in private hands, in 2013 this percentage was 62.9%, with 55.2% of this share publicly financed and another 7.7% financed only by family contributions. The Santiago Metropolitan area was particularly affected by the dramatic decrease in public schools enrollment, as Portales and Vazquez-Heilig (2014) have pointed out.

Chile has thus been transformed into the country with the second most private coverage among the countries of the OECD (surpassed only by the Netherlands), which presents a strange situation at the international level and also in the context of Latin America, where the average enrollment covered by private entities is only 19.6%. Along with Peru and Brazil, only Chile shows a tendency towards growth in private participation in the last decade United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2015).

On the other hand, the Chilean school system does have a high educational coverage, where the percentage of youth who complete their secondary education and those that continue on to post-secondary education is similar to the average of OECD countries (OECD 2014); furthermore, Chile is notable for consistent improvement in all international evaluations based on standardized tests. Because of its good results on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) exams (OECD 2010, OECD 2013a), Chile was identified as having one of the few school systems on an improvement trajectory at an international level (Mourshed et al. 2010). A similar situation can be seen in the results of the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) test of science and mathematics (TIMSS 2013) and more recently in the Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (TERCE) test (UNESCO 2015) -a test which evaluates performance in the third and sixth grades curriculum in reading, math and sciences in 15

countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Chile took first place amongst the participants, showing improvement in three of the four comparable tests applied in this study compared with the 2006 evaluation.

Despite this trajectory of improvement, the Chilean school system is characterized by an important breach in the quality of its academic results with respect to the countries of the OECD. For example, even maintaining the improvement rate observed in the last decade in mathematics and science on the PISA tests, it still would take 40 years to achieve the average performance level of the other OECD countries.

Similarly, Chile is one of the countries where socio-economic variables, at both the individual and institutional levels, explain an important part of the student performance; it also has one of the most segregated school systems in the world (Valenzuela et al. 2014; Arteaga et al. 2014). This social segregation is accompanied by a significant social and administrative segmentation of its educational offerings: public schools have a high concentration of vulnerable students, and private subsidized schools educate the majority of the middle class - even if the percentage of low socioeconomic level students grows every year while private schools take mostly students from the top 10% of the country.

29.4 The System of Measurement of the Quality of Education (SIMCE): Characteristics, Effects and Challenges in the Context of an Academic Improvement System

29.4.1 Principal Characteristics of SIMCE

The market orientation of the Chilean school system during the dictatorship was one of the main motivations for the early incorporation of massive information systems of schools' performance – the first one was in 1982, although this was discontinued until 1988 when the current measurement system, SIMCE (System of Measurement of the Quality of Education), began. This policy was based on the weak assumption that with information about the relative performance of the different educational alternatives, families would tend to reward and punish the different educational projects with their preferences, discarding those schools with the worst results.

During the 1990s, SIMCE was applied in a census form to fourth, eighth and tenth grade students, although each year it was applied intermittently to one of these grades, with curriculum coverage in the disciplines of reading, math and science. Despite the fact that the main focus of the testing was to generate information for families to guide them in the school choice process, one of the first policies that used this information affected teacher salaries. Since 1996 there have been economic incentives delivered for 2 years to the teachers of the top third of best-performing schools, relative to groups or clusters of comparable public and private

schools with fiscal contributions. The National System of Educational Effectiveness, National Performance Assessment System (SNED) gives out approximately one additional monthly salary per year to each teacher from the favored schools, and despite the evaluations of this collective incentive accounting for its legitimacy among teachers, it has not generated a process of sustained improved effectiveness in primary and secondary schools.

In regard the measurement system, SIMCE advanced in its technical characteristics during the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 2000s. On one hand, from 1999 its results at the school level have been comparable across time, and from the mid-2000s they have identified standards associated with determined levels of achievement or performance of the students—later known as performance standards—which define minimum score levels associated with determined performance disciplines. These technical changes facilitated the completion of two of its main objectives: determining the trajectories of improvement in the schools and permitting the evaluation of educational policy impact directed at groups of schools or specific students.

In the same context, from the beginning of the 1990s the standardized scores of the schools have served to identify priority schools where focus programs of technical support were directed, some of which were implemented directly by the state, others with external technical consulting. The accumulated evidence shows that these did not have an effect on the children's learning or even if they reached a positive effect, this tended to disappear after the external consultancy to the school finished, reflecting the fact that in the majority of the cases the strategies of support did not change the management nor the permanent institutional framework of the supported schools (Bellei et al. 2010).

29.4.2 SIMCE as an Orientation for Family School Selection

In the same way, the 2000s saw a substantial advance in the strategies for satisfying the main objective in the creation of SIMCE in Chile, its transformation into a mechanism of information for family decisions, regarding the performance of different educational alternatives available in the local markets. The publication of SIMCE results in public media, in newspapers, as well as on the Ministry of Education's own websites, and the development of complete data sheets on each school by the Ministry or the schools themselves, has become more complex over time. This was motivated by the assumption that the lack of information for families has explained the persistence of schools with low performance and low educational effectiveness.

These policies reached an extreme in 2010 with the creation of “stoplights”, which intended to catalogue the performance of Chilean schools through different colors (green for good performance, yellow for intermediate and red for low achievement) but which ended up reflecting social segregation of the territories where the schools were located, as well as reinforcing the social and cultural

distribution of the schools' families which determine the educational opportunities for their children. Thus, half of the counties in the country did not have any "green" schools, 90% of the poorest-performing schools were from the low or medium-low socioeconomic levels (the most vulnerable), and two-thirds of this group of schools were public, while only 10% of the best-performing schools were administered by the municipalities (Valenzuela 2010); that is to say, the measurement indicator only replicated a bias against the public and vulnerable schools, along with reflecting the enormous territorial inequality of the educational opportunities of the country, a situation that led to the withdrawal of this instrument only a few months after its implementation. Urban counties tend to present schools with a more complex social environment than rural counties, due to a number of different factors: the larger concentration of poverty and low income immigrant population, the racial, ethnic and linguistic diversity and the more frequent rates of student mobility (Kincheloe 2010).

Despite the fact that comparative evidence indicates the existence of some positive effects in the delivery of better information to families (Hastings and Weinstein 2008; Gallego et al. 2008), these effects are reduced and limited to groups of families with greater social and cultural capital who are more worried about the performance of their children, and also when the change of schools means fewer emotional and academic consequences for the children. On the contrary, for the Chilean case, there is growing evidence that it is not the results of standardized tests that explain to the main reasons for a family's choice of a particular school when starting a child's schooling or changing a child's school. The work of Elacqua et al. (2006) and Elacqua and Fabrega (2006) recognized that the distance from home and socio-demographic attributes were the most relevant attributes for the selection of basic education among Chilean families.

Recent studies about demand factors have consistently recognized the distance of the schools from family residences, discipline and social status as critical factors when choosing a school for children (Raczynski et al. 2010; Canales et al. 2015). These studies also argue that the restrictions on the supply side, such as mechanisms of selection and payment in schools with public funding, operated as entrance barriers for families from the middle class and vulnerable groups by certain groups of schools (Flores and Carrasco 2014; Carrasco et al. 2014; Contreras et al. 2010; Godoy et al. 2014). Upon being lifted these barriers would make it possible for families from vulnerable groups to choose between different school alternatives. As Valenzuela et al. (2015b) show, it happens with the widespread use of the preferential school subsidy (SEP)¹ since its implementation in 2008. Eliminating the funding shared by vulnerable families has made it possible to more than double the 40% rate of migration of the most vulnerable students from urban public schools to subsidized private schools with co-pay.

¹The preferential school subsidy (SEP) is a monthly per-capita complementary voucher financed by the state, targeted to the 40% most vulnerable students enrolled in public and private subsidized schools. It represents up to 70% more resources per student.

Similarly, the national evidence is consistent in signaling that the majority of students that change schools during the academic year change to schools of equal or poorer academic performance, reflecting that the majority of SIMCE's public information does not allow for better academic choices for many students; likewise, these studies note that the changes are more frequent among low-performing students and students who repeat grades, reflecting a high percentage of students that change schools in a reactive manner (Canals et al. 2015; Peticara and Sanclemente 2012; Zamora 2011; Roman and Peticara 2012). The fact that the results of SIMCE score at school level are public and have an impact on the ranking of schools, as well as on incentives for teachers, brings with it a tension regarding the renewal of enrollment of low-performing students and students with disciplinary problems.

29.4.3 SIMCE as a Benchmark for Processes of Scholastic Improvement at the School Level

In this sense, the national experience regarding the use of SIMCE as a synthetic indicator of school quality, or of curricular performance of the students in some disciplines, shows the injustice of an instrument that does not control for students social composition of schools, and adds to the multiple problems identified in the comparative literature when these indicators acquire more relevance in public policies.

On one hand, since SIMCE considers information such as attributes of the families of each student, allowing the comparability and control for individual attributes to determine the heterogeneity in the performance at the individual level, the enormous gap of SES between schools increase. This is replicated in accordance with institutional dependence – substantially favoring private schools without fiscal contributions above private subsidized schools, and these above the public schools. In addition to this, the difference disappears completely when you control for SES at the student and course levels. These results are consistently estimated with international PISA datasets or national test scores (McEwan 2001; Bellei 2007; OECD 2010) and have led to the conclusion that the development of schools rankings, according to their performance on SIMCE, is completely unjust. It is simply replicating a system that is based on the SES average of the school (Mizala et al. 2007).

On the other hand, many sampling and qualitative studies in the schools, as well as the recent report of the commission of experts regarding SIMCE (Ministerio de Educacion 2015), have indicated that SIMCE has become the main indicator of quality evaluation. One of the positive effects recognized is that it allows primary and secondary schools to be provided with an external evaluation regarding their advances and achievements. However, in some cases this takes the place of a school's own internal reflection regarding the processes of learning and achievements that students obtain through the school's own instruments of evaluation regarding learning, competency and values. Thus it is common to observe in the

schools – including the high-performing ones – a systematic preparation for the SIMCE test, the application in multiple disciplines of formats in the evaluations similar to SIMCE, an exaggerated extension of hours in the weekly curriculum for the evaluated disciplines, a perception of less time dedicated to extracurricular activities, and inclusively the temporary replacement of other disciplines in order to have a greater number of hours for the practice and preparation of the disciplines that are evaluated (CIAE 2014; Bellei et al. 2014; Manzi et al. 2015). Prizes and special recognition are also observed for teachers and courses that obtain higher averages on the tests relative to their peers, as well as within school sorting of teachers and students according to strategies to maximize these results (Flórez 2013; Manzi et al. 2015).

The inefficiency of SIMCE as a mechanism for school improvement can be seen in the tendency of schools with lowest performance to remain systematically in the same condition for long periods. The research of Roman and Peticara (2014) showed that the 1000 lowest performing schools on the SIMCE test in primary education – around 20% of the total schools – tended to persist in this condition systematically. In a recent report, Valenzuela et al. (2015b) concluded that only 9% of the total schools of basic education showed trajectories of sustained improvement in the last decade, both in reading and in math. The difficulty in achieving a greater percentage of schools that develop regular processes of improvement is due to the lack of the indispensable generation of endogenous abilities in the primary and secondary schools by the teachers and management teams, and to the transitory programs of support or effort that are neither sustainable nor institutionalized in the daily life of the school, tending to show non-persistent effects.

Additionally, the Chilean school system presents notable gaps in the resources and the management abilities between schools depending on the socioeconomic level of the school. Besides the enormous segregation in the social composition of the schools, the management abilities of principals and the competences and skills of the new teachers present enormous challenges, creating an asymmetric distribution of resources between schools, mostly distributed according to school average socioeconomic level and prior school quality. The consequence of this feature is the accentuation of gaps in the social composition of students in different schools.

In this context, a set of structural reforms is essential to reduce the gaps in educational performance, where the information systems should only be considered to identify the problem, its magnitude, and whether the proposed solutions are meeting their desired objectives. The implementation of the law of preferential school subsidies (SEP) has demonstrated in a robust way that allocating more financial resources to the most vulnerable schools, with greater autonomy in their use, was necessary to reduce the enormous gaps in performance between the schools according to their SES average (Mizala and Torche 2014; Nielsen 2013; Valenzuela et al. 2013, 2015a). The magnitude of the impact of this reform is observed in the evolution of the performance gap reaching well-managed schools: Haberle and Isla (2014) estimate that the average performance gap between those well-managed schools from SES Low and Middle-Low, compared to those from SES Middle-High, was reduced from 2.0 standard deviations in 2006–2007 to 1.0 in 2011–2012.

29.4.4 Intensification of Evaluations and Social Rejection of SIMCE

Despite the accumulation of evidence that realizes the weaknesses of SIMCE to orient processes of sustained improvement within schools, and the system as a whole, during the 2011–2013 period the levels evaluated and the number of tests given in the schools were increased. If by 2008 students from grades 4th, 8th, and 10th were evaluated, in the following years students from grades 2nd and 6th were included, moving from 8 to 15 annual tests, implying that for the schools, especially at the primary level, 1 month of the year was designated in large part to this evaluation process.

The intensification of the evaluation processes and the increase in the expected effects in schools due to these results, along with the growing imbalance between the evaluation processes and pressure for improvement, carried with it a growing discomfort with respect to standardized evaluations, both in students and social organizations, such as some research centers, including some of the institutions demanding the elimination of their application (Ministerio de Educacion 2015). However, the majority of managers of the education centers continue to have a positive opinion of this instrument (Manzi et al. 2015). This context motivated the development of a technical committee that analyzed the situation of SIMCE among 2014–2015 and made recommendations to the Ministry of Education for the entire evaluation process among 2016–2018.

29.4.5 Recent Reforms and Challenges: Toward a System of Quality Assurance

In the year 2011, SIMCE became part of a System of Quality Assurance in School Education, the goal of which is to improve the quality and equity of education. The system is composed of four institutions: (a) the Ministry of Education, with a governing and normative function, dictates educational policy, but is also in charge of technical-pedagogical support to schools, beyond they can contract it directly with private entities; (b) the National Council of Education, in charge of defining the curricular bases; (c) the Superintendent of Education, entity in charge of monitoring supporters and schools in such a way that they comply with the law and regulations and that they adequately use financial resources and respond to problems identified by families and students on their rights; and (d) the Quality of Education Agency, a body responsible for evaluating and orienting the educational system, for which it evaluates the degree of fulfillment of the learning standards. This is estimated based on the results of the SIMCE tests- and of other indicators of educational quality at school level, and also it estimates the indicative performance standards of their administrative owners.

It is in this way, the Agency of Quality plans and coordinates the application of the SIMCE tests, and based on students' scores by school, the Agency estimates the percentage of students that pass the Insufficient level and reach the Adequate level (the two extreme levels of performance) in each subject evaluated. With these results and other indicators,² the Agency estimates an Index of Performance for each school, which controls for the individual social attributes of the students –although not for the average SES of the school– with the goal of partially mitigating the social characteristics of the families regarding learning opportunities, and organizing the schools in four groups or classes based on their performance: High, Middle, Middle-Low and Low.

Although educational actors recognize the relevance of also including, beyond the results of the SIMCE test scores, indicators related to school processes and management to estimate the Ranking Index allowing comparisons between school performance, they do not support the extreme weight that SIMCE scores have in the total Index. The law mandates that this variable represents at least 67 % of the total, along with the inclusion of several other directly related indicators to test score, as the average and the tendency itself, contributing to increase its relative weight up to 73 % of the total value of the index.

For the improvement of education, the Agency of Quality performs Orientation Visits to the schools with the lowest performance, which should be conducted regularly and are designed to strengthen abilities of internal reflection and generate strategies to set up processes of improvement that allow them to advance from their original conditions. Schools that do not advance steadily from the Low performance level should implement a program of improvement with external support, which includes informing the families of the school's enrolled students in this negative categorization; schools remaining in this condition for 4 years more could be closed and lose official recognition from the Ministry of Education.

Given the important change associated with the evaluation system of schools, the Agency of Quality began a trial run of this experience in 2015, and instead of delivering public rankings of schools, delivered this partial information to the schools and prioritized the completion of more than 500 orientation visits to each of the schools defined in the category of lowest performance. The Agency's focus changed from accountability with high stakes to support and collaboration, based on the principle that its mission is "to improve the quality and equity of schools," which is in line with the guidelines of the OECD for these systems (OECD 2013a, b). Additionally, the international evidence notes that the focus on the generation of information in these systems should be much more oriented to the mechanism of quality assurance and of orientation of the process of schools improving and to the follow up and evaluation of the school system as a whole as well as the public policies implemented (Eurydice 2012).

²Among them are the gender equity of the SIMCE results, the school attendance and the school retention rates, the level of school conviviality, the healthy habits for life, the citizen education and participation, the level of self-esteem and motivation, and the graduation rate of students attending technical-vocational high schools (Agencia de la Calidad 2014).

29.5 Concluding Notes: Challenges for the Chilean School System and Lessons for Other School Systems

The analysis of the Chilean case demonstrates the important challenges that the system of educational performance evaluation presents for national schools, to move from a focus on information to families and accountability, toward one of more systematic quality assurance and the creation of capacities for sustainable improvement. Additionally, this experience delivers valuable lessons at the international level, given the sustained increase of countries implementing systems of quality assurance in which standardized evaluations are essential (OECD 2013a, b): for example, six of the seven Latin American countries that regularly participate in PISA feature census-like standardized tests, the majority of which were developed after 2000 (Rivas 2015).

The results of reviewing the Chilean experience show the insufficiency of information as a mechanism to promote demand and linking of families with better school choices, particularly if, at the same time, there are institutional and schools management barriers, such as selection tests, financial charges or interviews with the families of new students, intended to skim for the best students or to condition the renewal of enrollment in the same institution for incumbent students, as regularly occurs in schools financed with public resources (public and private subsidized schools). In this context, public education is incapable of complying with one of its most important challenges: guaranteeing equality of opportunities between students and eliminating any discriminatory bias in the process of parents' school choice for subsidized schools. In this sense, the recent Education Integration Law approved in January 2015 is going in the right direction. It eliminates shared financing, the mechanisms of selection and better regulates the expulsion of students from public financed schools. In this way, this law adopts mechanisms that allow for the strengthening of the public system, decreasing segregation between schools, and improving the impact of SIMCE information for families making their school choices.

On the other hand, the accumulated evidence for the Chilean case reflects that quality assurance systems should trust less in the improvement of education coming from the information given to families to choose a particular academic school, and focus more on supporting the development of the school's own abilities (Florez and Sammons 2013) on learning through best practices, and on monitoring the impact of quality and equity of different policies that seek to support education. Many of these should have a structural character for the entire academic system.

Likewise, its efforts should give a greater balance between a rise in evaluation and pressure on schools, with the policies, tools and strategies of support and development of its abilities, especially among the most vulnerable and lowest-performing schools – essentially public schools – where the closing of gaps in different result indicators, abilities and processes between different types of schools should themselves be part of the evaluation in the fulfillment of the functions and objectives of the responsible institutions of assuring quality in the school system.

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Chapter 30

The Inclusive Potential of Secondary Education in Brazil. Contributions for an Analysis of Juvenile Trajectories After Secondary School

Nora Nora Krawczyk and Edna Y. Taira

30.1 Introduction

When it comes to reflecting on the Brazilian education system, there is a consensual perception that secondary education¹ is the stage of schooling that raises the most heated debates, both because of the peculiarities of its expansion process, and in view of the few future opportunities it offers to youngsters.

Secondary education in Brazil is, and has always been, predominantly urban. In 2013, more than 95 % of enrolments in secondary education were concentrated in urban areas, mainly in the big cities. Approximately 85 % of these enrolments are in public establishments (INEP 2014).

Historically, indexes of inclusion in secondary schooling in Brazil have always been disconcertingly low, but since the mid-1990s this level of schooling has been expanding within the public education system, and in 2009 basic education became

As Oliveira Bueno affirms in this Handbook, the phrase *urban education* has not been used in Latin America in the same meaning that it has in North America and Europe. However, the author reminds us that public education in Latin America is carried out mainly in big cities and metropolises, and caters for the largest number of students. This allows us to observe important similarities between the two phrases, although they are not totally equivalent.

¹ Basic Education is the first level of schooling in Brazil. It comprises three stages: Early Childhood Education (for children up to 5 years old, in Portuguese: *Educação Infantil*), Primary Education (for pupils between the ages of 6 and 14, in Portuguese: *Ensino Fundamental*), and Secondary Education (for pupils between the ages of 15 and 17, in Portuguese: *Ensino Médio*).

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mandatory and free between the ages of 4 and 17 (IPEA 2010). This is a very important fact because it gives secondary education the status of a right of every citizen. The inclusion of Secondary Education within Basic Education, and its progressively mandatory status, demonstrates the recognition of its political significance – it is no longer acceptable to live in a country with such educational inequality; social relevance – it is a concrete and growing demand in view of the devaluation of certificates and the need to compete in a strict labor market; and economic importance – socialization and the new labor logic (Krawczyk 2008).

During the last 15 years, the country has undergone a process of expansion in the enrollment of Secondary Education, but is still far below expected values, and maintaining important rates of age-series gaps, school failure, regional and race inequalities. In 2013, we still find reasons for concern when we analyze the situation of study and work of the overall population between the ages of 17 and 28. Out of the 38,886,153 youngsters, only 50% work and only 23% have finished secondary schooling (PNAD 2013).

Looking at the configuration and consolidation of the national education systems, we observe that their history is permeated by the dispute between different social groups for the appropriation of parts of the socially constructed knowledge, for a space in the labor market and for the participation in higher education. One observes a twofold process of democratization of a certain level of schooling, and loss of its value, both economic and symbolic, produced by the devaluation of certificates (Viñao 2006; Krawczyk 2014).

The significant increase in the number of youngsters that finish secondary schooling in Brazil has produced new mechanisms of socio-educative differentiation, among which the devaluation of higher and higher certificates, a greater stratification of the qualifications required by the labor market, and the frequent changes in those same qualifications.

One of the arguments to explain the difficulty in reducing dropout rates in secondary education is the lack of motivation by the youngsters due to, amongst other reasons, the few opportunities that this level of schooling offers them later (Sposito 2005). However, little is known about the behavior of the labor market with respect to demands for schooling (competences and certification).

30.2 Secondary Education: Certification and Labor Market

The absence of this kind of analysis precludes the understanding both of the real potential of schooling in the lives of youngsters, and of how the secondary school certificate has or has not suffered a devaluation process as more and more youngsters have access to it. In an attempt to contribute to advance this question, this chapter seeks to sketch a panorama of the situation of Brazilian youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 who have finished secondary schooling in 2013, building therefore conditions to identify and analyze the relation between the school certificate and the demands of the labor market and the potential of secondary schooling

Table 30.1 Population between 17 and 28 years old, according to level of education and situation of attendance to school and labor situation (Brazil 2013)

Total population between 17 and 28 years old	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Total	38,886,153	100.0
Primary education complete or incomplete	11,303,011	29.1
Secondary education incomplete	2,753,568	7.1
Attending secondary education	3,564,505	9.2
Secondary education complete, not attending school	12,781,614	32.9
Not working, not looking for work	2,542,833	6.5
Not working, looking for work	1,252,765	3.2
Working	8,986,016	23.1
Secondary education complete, attending school	1,634,709	4.2
Higher education complete or incomplete	6,685,291	17.2
Level of education indeterminate	163,455	0.4

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

in the labor trajectories of youngsters. The study is based on statistical data of 2013, since they were the only ones made available by the Brazilian National Institute of Educational Studies and Researches – INEP.²

The source of the data is the National Survey of Household Sampling (*Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios*), PNAD, conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*), IBGE, the main Brazilian provider of data and information.

PNAD is a household sampling survey that contemplates chiefly the large metropolises or areas of greater urban concentration. Therefore, it may be inferred that the youngsters object of this study are essentially originated in public urban schools.

The National Survey of Household Sampling, PNAD, has existed since the 1970s, and has the objective of producing basic information for the study of the socio-economic development of the country. It is a system of surveys which, because it has multiple purposes, investigates several socio-economic characteristics, some of them permanent in the survey, such as general features of the population, education, labor, income and housing, and others of variable periodicity, such as characteristics of migration, fertility, marriage, health, nutrition, and other themes included in the system according to the country's needs for information.

A brief characterization of the educational situation of the Brazilian population between the ages of 17 and 28 (Table 30.1) allows us to observe that the policies of education expansion of the last 25 years have failed to deliver the universalization of secondary education. Within the population between the ages of 17 and 28, 29.1% have only complete or incomplete primary education, and 7.1% have not finished secondary schooling. Those outside the education system and with a level

²Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira – INEP. www.inep.gov.br.

Table 30.2 Employment and unemployment rates of the population between 17 and 28 years old, according to level of education (Brazil, 2013)

	Percentage
Employment rate of population between 17 and 28 years old	87.9
Unemployment rate of population between 17 and 28 years old	12.1
No education or incomplete primary education	12.0
Complete primary or incomplete secondary education	14.1
<i>Complete secondary education</i>	<i>12.5</i>
Complete incomplete higher education	8.4

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

of education up to incomplete secondary education represent 31.2 % of the population between the ages of 17 and 28. At the other extreme, with at least complete secondary education, we have youngsters who have continued studying, representing 21.4 % of the total population at this age group. Data also show that 9.2 % are attending secondary education at an age outside the expected range, and that 6.5 % belong to a group that have complete secondary education but are neither studying nor working.

In this chapter, we focus only on the 23.1 % of the overall Brazilian population that belong to the age group between 17 and 28, that have completed secondary education, do not attend school and are inserted in the labor market.

The unemployment rate in this group offered slightly more optimistic numbers in 2013, although it was still much higher than the average unemployment rate of the country for the same year (6.5 %) (PNAD 2013). As we can see in Table 30.2, the rate of employment of the population between the ages of 17 and 28 is almost 90 %.

At first sight, the unemployment rate decreases as the level of education increases. However, this relation is only observed after the complete primary education cycle. The first two segments indicate that youngsters with complete primary education or incomplete secondary education put more pressure on the labor market than those who have no education or have only incomplete primary education, with unemployment rates of 14.1 % and 12.0 %, respectively.

On the other hand, the youngsters least affected by unemployment are those with at least incomplete higher education. This indicates a higher demand from the labor market for this kind of education, and explains to some extent the increase in the demand by youngsters to attend this level of education, and the expansion of the higher education system. At the same time, this situation is important to analyze political-educational proposals of formation at secondary education level.

Table 30.3 affords some reflection on the hypotheses used to understand school dropout rates that relate the type of family with the education trajectory of youngsters, either because of the responsibility they have to assume as heads of their original nuclear family, or in view of the situation of being a parent during adolescence, considered premature.

Table 30.3 Type of family of employed people between 17 and 28 years old with complete secondary education, not attending school (Brazil, 2013)

Type of family and age group	Total (individuals)	%
Total	8,986,016	100.0
Young couple, with children and/or other relative	1,983,995	22.1
17–19 years old	37,376	0.4
20–24 years old	623,098	6.9
25–28 years old	1,323,521	14.7
Couple only	1,227,029	13.7
17–19 years old	78,924	0.9
20–24 years old	560,532	6.2
25–28 years old	587,573	6.5
Young head of family, with children and/or other relative	311,728	3.5
17–19 years old	10,162	0.1
20–24 years old	115,098	1.3
25–28 years old	186,468	2.1
Young head of family, alone or with other relative	438,879	4.9
17–19 years old	33,690	0.4
20–24 years old	207,964	2.3
25–28 years old	197,225	2.2
Youngsters who are neither heads of family nor married	5,024,385	55.9

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

We can observe that more than half of the youngsters between 17 and 28 do not have responsibilities as heads of family; neither do they share this responsibility with a partner. Around 26% of these youngsters have children, but when we split this age group in three different ranges, it is possible to see that most cases are concentrated on the age group above 25 years old. From the youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 who have children, only 0.5% are youngsters between 17 and 19, weakening the hypotheses that the need to assume responsibility for a family or for children can be a significant aspect in the decision to forego higher education. Having said that, it would be important to observe equivalent data in the same age group within the population without secondary education or with incomplete secondary education, which, however, is not the object of this study (Table 30.4).

The first questions raised when we think about the insertion of youngsters in the labor market are about their employment situation, their degree of stability in the job, and the possibility of access to labor rights. If we analyze the employment situation of youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 who have finished secondary education and did not continue studying, according to race and sex, we can observe that from the total segment of people in registered employment there are a higher percentage of Black youths (more than 10%). Even when we consider the total number of Blacks and Non-Blacks separately, we still see that there are a slightly larger percentage of people in registered employment among Blacks than

Table 30.4 Distribution of employed people between 17 and 28 years old with complete secondary education, not attending school, by employment situation, according to race and sex – absolute numbers and percentage (Brazil, 2013)

Race and sex	Total	Employment situation			
		In registered employment	Non-registered employment	Autonomous worker	Others ^a
Total^b	8,986,016	5,777,380	1,407,577	841,638	959,421
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Black	4,872,751	3,207,444	740,295	500,330	424,682
%	54.2	55.5	52.6	59.4	44.3
Non-Black	4,113,265	2,569,936	667,282	341,308	534,739
%	45.8	44.5	47.4	40.6	55.7
Male	4,824,653	2,937,268	828,333	476,603	582,449
%	53.7	50.8	58.8	56.6	60.7
Female	4,161,363	2,840,112	579,244	365,035	376,972
%	46.3	49.2	41.2	43.4	39.3
Total^b	8,986,016	5,777,380	1,407,577	841,638	959,421
	100.0	64.3	15.7	9.4	10.6
Black	4,872,751	3,207,444	740,295	500,330	424,682
	100.0	65.8	15.2	10.3	8.7
Non-Black	4,113,265	2,569,936	667,282	341,308	534,739
	100.0	62.5	16.2	8.3	13.0
Male	4,824,653	2,937,268	828,333	476,603	582,449
	100.0	60.9	17.2	9.9	12.1
Female	4,161,363	2,840,112	579,244	365,035	376,972
	100.0	68.2	13.9	8.8	9.1

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

^aIncludes statutory civil servants, domestic workers with or without registration, employers, military personnel, and other occupational situations

^bIncludes those who declined to declare race. The Black category includes Blacks, Browns and Indigenous people; the category Non-Black includes Whites and Yellows

among the Non-Blacks. When considering the total number of men and women separately, we observe a higher presence of women in registered employment (approximately 7 %).

In a more detailed description of employed youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 with complete secondary education, we can observe that 64.3 % of youngsters with complete secondary education, not attending school, were registered employment in 2013; 15.7 % had an informal job, in other words, they were in non-registered employment; and 9.4 % work by themselves – developing their own business, either alone or in a partnership, (Table 30.5). Splitting this segment of the population into three age groups, we can see that the percentage of youngsters in registered employment does not change with increased age; however, the percentage of youngsters in non-registered employment decreases and the number of youngsters working independently increases. The data allow us to observe a migration of youngsters working in non-registered employment to self-employment as

Table 30.5 Distribution of employed people between 17 and 28 years old with complete secondary education, not attending school, by employment situation, according to region and age-group – absolute numbers. (Brazil, 2013)

Regions and age groups	Total	Employment situation			
		In registered employment	Non-registered employment	Autonomous worker	Others ^a
Total	8,986,016	5,777,380	1,407,577	841,638	959,421
From 17 to 20 years old	1,938,880	1,210,711	425,965	108,576	193,628
From 21 to 24 years old	3,373,113	2,199,190	534,873	287,174	351,876
From 25 to 28 years old	3,674,023	2,367,479	446,739	445,888	413,917
North Region	673,399	341,123	137,331	84,269	110,676
From 17 to 20 years old	123,738	59,384	32,517	8,073	23,764
From 21 to 24 years old	261,406	128,326	56,868	32,837	43,375
From 25 to 28 years old	288,255	153,413	47,946	43,359	43,537
Northeast Region	2,140,840	1,001,449	512,209	280,315	346,867
From 17 to 20 years old	413,164	154,216	144,334	39,240	75,374
From 21 to 24 years old	824,990	394,168	202,099	96,632	132,091
From 25 to 28 years old	902,686	453,065	165,776	144,443	139,402
Southeast Region	4,229,823	3,059,861	539,615	322,081	308,266
From 17 to 20 years old	940,412	674,728	175,937	40,722	49,025
From 21 to 24 years old	1,577,424	1,167,298	198,858	103,527	107,741
From 25 to 28 years old	1,711,987	1,217,835	164,820	177,832	151,500
South Region	1,304,780	949,853	128,156	99,377	127,394
From 17 to 20 years old	324,864	235,514	45,743	13,075	30,532
From 21 to 24 years old	479,101	350,536	46,164	34,954	47,447
From 25 to 28 years old	500,815	363,803	36,249	51,348	49,415

(continued)

Table 30.5 (continued)

Regions and age groups	Total	Employment situation			
		In registered employment	Non-registered employment	Autonomous worker	Others ^a
Midwest Region	637,174	425,094	90,266	55,596	66,218
From 17 to 20 years old	136,702	86,869	27,434	7,466	14,933
From 21 to 24 years old	230,192	158,862	30,884	19,224	21,222
From 25 to 28 years old	270,280	179,363	31,948	28,906	30,063

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

^aIncludes statutory civil servants, domestic workers with or without registration, employers, military personnel, and other occupational situations

their age increases. This could be a consequence of various factors: they may have difficulty in inserting themselves formally into the labor market and/or they may choose an independent work and decide to set up their own businesses, or still they may enter as a third party in relationships with businesses.

Even if in the country as a whole there are a significant percentage of youngsters in formal employment, it is also important to emphasize that one of the indicators of regional inequality in Brazil is the characteristics of the labor market in each region, which can be observed by the employment situation of youngsters.

The data show that around six million people work in registered employment, with more than half of them living in the Southeast region. Looking more closely into the different regions of the country, we observe that the Southeast and South regions (the more economically developed regions) are above the average for the country in the percentage of youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 that work in registered employment; the Midwest region fits approximately the average. The North and Northeast regions have a percentage of youngsters in formal employment well below the average for the other regions, with a slight increase in the age group between 25 and 28 years old.

It is worth recalling the regional differences in terms of sector production, and their impact in the employment situation of their populations. In terms of GDP distribution in 2007, agriculture represented 5.5%, whereas industry represented 28.7% and services 65.8%.

The Midwest region is characterized by its eminently agricultural economy, producing soy, corn, rice and cotton. The Southeast region also has a high position in the agribusiness, because of its production of sugarcane and raising of cattle, but other sectors deserve notice, such as aircraft construction, the oil industry, and automobile production.

In the South region important sectors are agriculture and cattle, associated to the food, drink, and timber industries. In the North region there are electro-electronic and automobile industries, with an important participation of the agribusiness. The

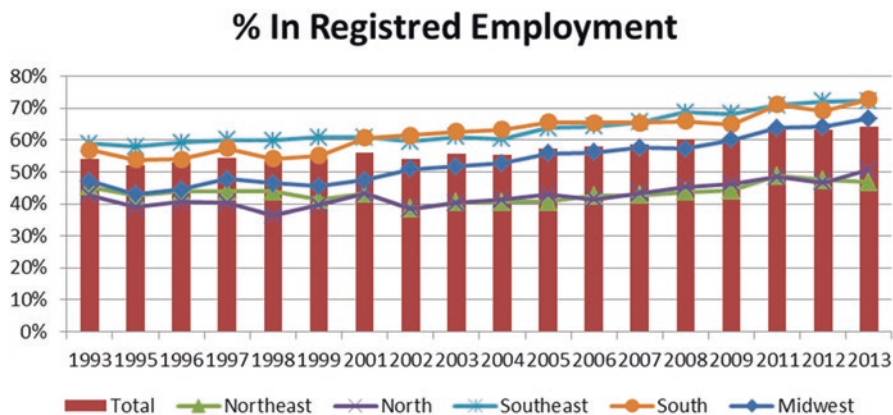


Fig. 30.1 Proportion of registered employees between the ages of 17 and 28 with complete secondary education, not attending school. (Brasil, 1993–2013) (Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD 1993–2013 – IBGE. Our compilation)

Northeast region produces sugarcane, associated with the industrialization of products based on it; of special importance are also the automobile, textile and shoe industries, apart from tourism (Fig. 30.1).

If we look at the time series between 1993 and 2013³ of the distribution of employment situation of youngsters in the country, we observe a progressive increase of the formal labor market with an important jump in 2009. Until 2005, the percentage remained between 53 % and 57 %. After 2009 there is an increase in the percentage of youngsters in registered employment, reaching 64.3 % in 2013.

Regional realities are rather unequal, but we find a trend of increase in formal employment since 2000 in the Southeast, South and Midwest regions, and later in the North and Northeast regions, where after 2008 it is possible to observe a tendency of growth in the formal labor market for the population under study here. In the Southeast, the percentage of youngsters in registered employment was 60.9 % in 2001, reaching 72.3 % in 2013. In the South region, the trend of growth can also be observed since 2001 (60.8 %), and in 2013 it reached the level of 72.8 %. In the Midwest region, there is also a trend of growth in the number of youngsters in registered employment, with 50.8 % in 2002, reaching 66.7 % in 2013. In the North and Northeast regions, we can observe a trend of growth in the formal labor market for youngsters only after 2008, and even then less pronounced than in the rest of the country. In 2008, the formal labor market in the North region absorbed 45.3 % of people in the age group of our study, and in the Northeast region this number was 43.7 % (Table 30.6).

In order to identify the types of employment taken by youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 with complete secondary education and who are not studying, we used as a reference the occupational grouping that originally employs the Brazilian

³There are no reliable statistical data for the 1980s.

Table 30.6 Distribution of employed people between the ages of 17 and 28 with complete secondary education, not attending school, by employment situation, according to regions of the country. (Brazil, 2013)

Regions (absolute numbers and %)	Total	Occupational group							Technicians	Others ^a
		Workers in the production of goods and services, repair and maintenance	Workers in administrative services	Workers in the service sector	Salespeople and workers in commerce	Technicians	Others ^a			
Total	8,986,016	2,298,356	1,924,275	1,484,162	1,509,632	826,535	943,056			
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
North Region	673,399	152,656	117,493	124,398	123,014	63,897	91,941			
	7.5	6.6	6.1	8.4	8.1	7.7	9.7			
Northeast Region	2,140,840	474,882	374,498	402,994	373,104	211,340	304,022			
	23.8	20.7	19.5	27.2	24.7	25.6	32.2			
Southeast Region	4,229,823	1,145,054	1,008,931	679,387	693,995	386,480	315,976			
	47.1	49.8	52.4	45.8	46.0	46.8	33.5			
South Region	1,304,780	366,469	281,639	160,613	220,110	118,080	157,869			
	14.5	15.9	14.6	10.8	14.6	14.3	16.7			
Midwest Region	637,174	159,295	141,714	116,770	99,409	46,738	73,248			
	7.1	6.9	7.4	7.9	6.6	5.7	7.8			
Total	8,986,016	2,298,356	1,924,275	1,484,162	1,509,632	826,535	943,056			
	100.0	25.6	21.4	16.5	16.8	9.2	10.5			
North Region	673,399	152,656	117,493	124,398	123,014	63,897	91,941			
	100.0	22.7	17.4	18.5	18.3	9.5	13.7			

Northeast Region	2,140,840	474,882	374,498	402,994	373,104	211,340	304,022
	100.0	22.2	17.5	18.8	17.4	9.9	14.2
Southeast Region	4,229,823	1,145,054	1,008,931	679,387	693,995	386,480	315,976
	100.0	27.1	23.9	16.1	16.4	9.1	7.5
South Region	1,304,780	366,469	281,639	160,613	220,110	118,080	157,869
	100.0	28.1	21.6	12.3	16.9	9.0	12.1
Midwest Region	637,174	159,295	141,714	116,770	99,409	46,738	73,248
	100.0	25.0	22.2	18.3	15.6	7.3	11.5

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

^aIncludes managers in general, professionals of the sciences and arts, agricultural workers, members of the Armed Forces and auxiliary forces, and poorly-defined occupations

Household Classification of Occupations (*Classificação Brasileira de Ocupações Domiciliar – CBO-Domiciliar*), and reassembles some occupational families, sub-groups and main subgroups.⁴

We found youngsters working in different occupational groups, with the largest numbers working in the production and/or repair of goods and services (25.6%) and in administrative services (21.4%). At the other end, the group of technicians has the lowest percentage of youngsters in employment (9.2%), an issue that we shall analyze alongside that of the income from work (Table 30.7).

The category ‘Others’ (10.5%) is composed of managers in general, professionals of the sciences and arts, members of the Armed Forces, and agricultural workers, where almost 50% of the youngsters in this group are to be found.

If we look at the different regions, we observe that throughout the country the work in the group of productions of goods and services and of repair and maintenance is where the largest percentage of youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 with complete secondary education and who do not currently study are situated, even if the South and Southeast regions have the largest percentages of all regions. In the group of administrative work, we find important regional differences: in the North and Northeast regions, youngsters have a smaller presence than in the South, Southeast and Midwest. On the other hand, among youngsters in the North and Northeast the proportion of youngsters working in commerce (salespeople or in third-party service) is higher when compared to the proportion of this occupational group in the total of all regions.

The highest average income is that of technicians, which have a smaller percentage among youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 with completely secondary education who did not pursue further studies, and that of the workers in the production of goods and services and of repair and maintenance, which bring together the major proportion among these youngsters. Once again we find regional inequalities within each of the occupational groups. Despite the fact that, for each region, the average income is higher for technicians and for workers in the production of goods and services and of repair and maintenance when compared to the other occupational groups, values observed in the North and Northeast regions are still below the national average. On the other hand, the South and Midwest regions display higher than average values for these groups. In particular, the Southeast region shows values close to the average of the country for these groups; however, the workers in the ‘Others’ group (which includes managers in general, professionals of the sciences and arts, agricultural workers, members of the Armed Forces and auxiliary forces, and poorly-defined occupations) stand out with higher average income for this region.

In all cases, average income increases with age. Surely, experience and/or years on the job are an important variable here (Table 30.8).

When analyzing the average income by race and sex, the highest values continue to be those of the technicians between 17 and 28 years old with complete secondary

⁴ See http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/indicadores/sipd/oitavo_forum/COD.pdf. Accessed on 25 June 2015.

Table 30.7 Average monthly income from main occupation of people in employment between the ages of 17 and 28, not attending school, by occupational group, according to region and age group. (Brazil, 2013)

Region and age group	In Brazilian Real of September 2013						
	Total	Workers in the production of goods and services, repair and maintenance	Workers in administrative services	Workers in the service sector	Salespeople and workers in commerce services	Technicians	Others ^a
Total	1001	1119	929	825	896	1327	1028
From 17 to 20 years old	809	912	801	718	800	955	618
From 21 to 24 years old	971	1069	944	789	900	1194	992
From 25 to 28 years old	1131	1267	1010	892	952	1564	1275
North Region	899	983	864	741	823	1188	917
From 17 to 20 years old	732	804	756	610	727	- ^b	683
From 21 to 24 years old	852	941	886	667	831	1193	740
From 25 to 28 years old	1013	1081	898	856	865	1308	1220
Northeast Region	713	811	748	600	690	914	562
From 17 to 20 years old	570	637	616	535	596	792	336
From 21 to 24 years old	689	773	734	546	687	841	567
From 25 to 28 years old	801	922	850	658	733	1033	701
Southeast Region	1085	1203	965	933	956	1329	1358
From 17 to 20 years old	883	963	837	782	850	1093	865
From 21 to 24 years old	1059	1150	994	894	960	1236	1328
From 25 to 28 years old	1220	1373	1037	1024	1030	1470	1566
South Region	1218	1267	1053	989	1047	2068	1221
From 17 to 20 years old	913	1055	901	849	895	- ^b	662
From 21 to 24 years old	1212	1250	1059	1024	1098	1695	1297
From 25 to 28 years old	1421	1413	1179	1032	1120	2953	1454

Table 30.7 (continued)

		In Brazilian Real of September 2013					
		Occupational group					
Region and age group	Total	Workers in the production of goods and services, repair and maintenance	Workers in administrative services	Workers in the service sector	Salespeople and workers in commerce services	Technicians	Others ^a
Midwest Region	1098	1233	964	861	1012	1460	1325
From 17 to 20 years old	856	960	810	760	841	- ^b	- ^b
From 21 to 24 years old	1037	1164	973	884	981	- ^b	1087
From 25 to 28 years old	1272	1421	1058	878	1168	1774	1830

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

^aIncludes managers in general, professionals of the sciences and arts, agricultural workers, members of the Armed Forces and auxiliary forces, and poorly-defined occupations

^bThe sample does not allow splitting for this category

Table 30.8 Average monthly income from main occupation of people in employment between the ages of 17 and 28, not attending school, by occupational group, according to race and sex. (Brazil, 2013)

		In Brazilian Real of September 2013					
		Occupational group					
		Workers in the production of goods and services, repair and maintenance	Workers in administrative services	Workers in the service sector	Salespeople and workers in commerce services	Technicians	Others ^a
Race and sex	Total						
Total^b	1001	1119	929	825	896	1327	1028
Black	932	1039	880	782	838	1350	836
Non-Black	1083	1208	977	893	961	1301	1275
Male	1150	1182	1023	978	1025	1613	1146
Female	827	830	883	715	811	983	751

Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation

^aIncludes managers in general, professionals of the sciences and arts, agricultural workers, members of the Armed Forces and auxiliary forces, and poorly-defined occupations

^bIncludes those who declined to declare race. The Black category includes Blacks, Browns and Indigenous people; the category Non-Black includes Whites and Yellows

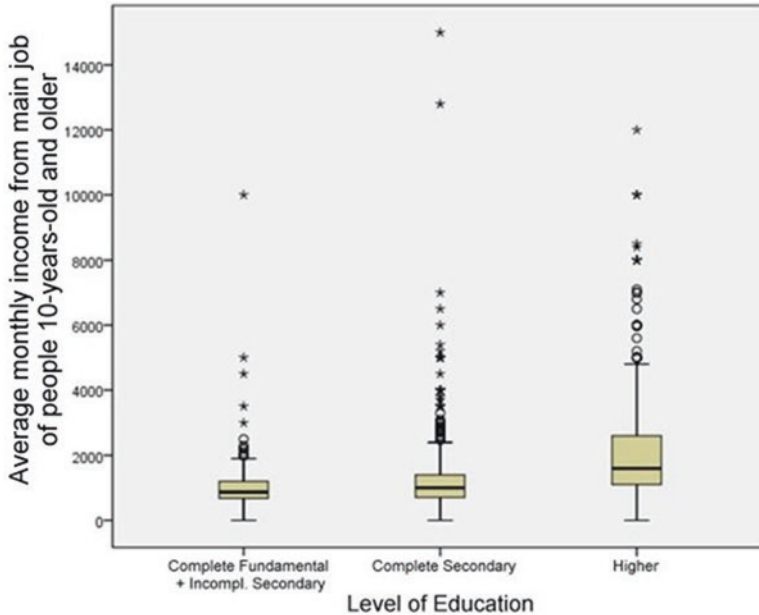


Fig. 30.2 Distribution of actual monthly average income (in R\$) of technicians by level of instruction (Box-Plot). (Brazil, 2013) (Source: National Survey of Household Sampling – PNAD (2013) – IBGE. Our compilation)

education who are not attending school. However, Black youngsters have a lower average income than other occupational groups, when compared to those who are qualified as Non-Black.

The average income of young women between the ages of 17 and 28 with complete secondary education and who are no longer studying is always smaller than that of corresponding males in all categories of occupational groups. The highest average income of young women is still that of technicians and, after that, differently from what was observed before, the second highest income is that of women in administrative services (Fig. 30.2).

Resuming the analysis of the information about the average income on the main job of employed people between the ages of 17 and 28 who do not attend school, by their level of instruction, the income increases as expected according to the level of education. But, it is important to note that if we take as a reference the overall average level of income by level of education, we observe that the difference between those with complete fundamental or incomplete secondary education and those who have completed secondary education is smaller (14.5%) than that observed between the latter and people with complete or incomplete higher education (113.4%).

The same difference, taken now between those with higher education and those who have completed secondary education, taking only technicians, is around 60%. It is not the case of asking here if the young population with higher (complete or incomplete) education who work as technicians could be devaluing the secondary education certificate (creating a trend to decrease the income of youngsters with complete secondary education) in this occupational group.

Besides, the graph shows that the difference in monthly average income among technicians according to the level of education results from the concentration of income of the 50% of these youngsters who have secondary education in the range between R\$703 and R\$1400, whereas 50% of youngsters with higher education have a monthly income in the range of R\$1100 and R\$2600; in other words, the amplitude of income variation is higher among those with more education. The graph also shows important differences among the remaining 50% in both cases. Among youngsters with complete secondary education, 20% have a monthly income of up to R\$678, equivalent to one minimum salary at the time, and another 20% with better income situations have salaries above R\$1500; among youngsters having complete higher education and working as technicians, 20% have a monthly income of up to R\$1000, and the remaining 20% with higher income in this category earn above R\$3000 a month.

Because it is an occupational category of secondary education level with a professional emphasis, it is quite possible that part of this group have a level of schooling above the minimum required. However, those youngsters who finished a professional course and did not pursue further studies may be working in jobs similar to those with higher education, and receiving a lower salary.

30.3 Final Considerations

The present text shows the first results of a research on educational and labor trajectory of young people.⁵ In this case, we have examined the work opportunities of youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28 who have finished secondary education and did not pursue further studies. The purpose here was that of, based on census and sampling data, offering elements to a more complex and detailed analysis of the role of education in social inclusion and mobility.

The majority of studies dealing with this issue concentrate on inter-generational mobility and not on mobility within a single generation, separating by level of education. They also agree that the level of education achieved by an individual is the single most important means of mobility in current societies. We considered it to be necessary to go beyond these approaches in the study of statistical data, to identify both the potential and the limitations of each level of education within a given his-

⁵Krawczyk, "A democratização do ensino médio no Brasil: análise das trajetórias educacionais juvenis e do potencial inclusivo de inovações em curso". Research productivity scholarship CNPq, 2014–2017.

toric period. In the case of our study, we referred to youngsters in Brazil with secondary education in 2013.

Analyzing specifically the potential of the secondary school certificate to youngsters is important, among other reasons, for the fact that during the last decades we have been insisting on the possibilities of this certificate to afford the youngster a better insertion into the labor market, and on the importance of expanding technical secondary education as a mechanism of mobility for the working classes. Public policies for the expansion of public and private higher education have been controversial subjects, as have also been the policies for the insertion of youngsters in the labor market.

We have chosen the age group between 17 and 28 years old because it includes the age expected for the conclusion of secondary education (17 years old) and an age group in which the age/series gap, an important aspect in Brazil, would also appear, and/or a period of participation in the labor market that might have afforded professional experience and improvement in the work curriculum of youngsters.

During the last 30 years, Brazil has been going through a clear and unprecedented process of expansion of the access to different levels of education. This has placed new conditions and demands on the population and on the labor market. At the same time, the relationship between educational policies, population behavior and labor market has been influenced by a set of circumstances that cannot be overlooked. On one side, expansion policies do not always generate the expected increase in the educational level of the population, since they are not always followed by people's motivations and possibilities to benefit from them. This is the case of Brazil where, alongside expansion policies, we observe different rhythms in the access to the different levels of education, and elevated rates of school failure, and low performance of the education system.

On the other hand, the behavior of the labor market does not necessarily follow the intention of educational policies of expansion of access and permanence at schools. On the contrary, many authors have analyzed the process denominated 'devaluation of certificates' as a consequence of an increase in the offer of workers with a given level of education, producing higher demands for the same working posts independently of the necessary competencies.

The main evidences in the present work show some behaviors of the labor market with respect to youngsters that can help in repositioning public efforts in the problematization of education issues.

From the total number of youngsters between the ages of 17 and 28, 42% study in secondary education or have already completed it, with 21.4% of the total number of youngsters having some kind of experience at higher education level. Data show that the biggest bottleneck seems to be at secondary education, either because youngsters never attended it (21.8%), because they left school before completing it or are still attending it (18.5%), or, still, because they finished it and did not pursue further studies (32.9%).

Historically, secondary education has had the peculiarity of being a producer of educational inequalities and, therefore, a factor of deepening of social inequalities,

and particularly sensitive to social, economic and political tension and changes (Fernández Enguita 2014).

As we have seen, out of these 32.9% of youngsters, 23.1% are inserted, in different forms, in the labor market. Data corroborate the idea that the population most affected by unemployment is that of youngsters. In the case of youngsters who have completed secondary education, unemployment rate is 12.5%, approximately twice the overall average for the population (6.5%). At the same time, we observe that higher education studies have a much larger impact on the possibilities of employment for youngsters, significantly more than fundamental and secondary education certificates.

It is worth adding here that we have worked with data from 2013, a year marked by low unemployment rates. Therefore, we might ask what happens to a young worker when the economic cycle is reversed, as is happening in 2015, a year that has been characterized by increasing unemployment rates. Our hypothesis is that these trends will be accentuated. In other words, that the difference between the average rate of unemployment and the unemployment among youngsters should still grow. That the level of unemployment within the groups that go from those without any instruction up to those with complete secondary education continues without major change, and that youngsters with complete or incomplete higher education present still greater advantage in terms of employability.

A similar hypothesis can be made with respect to level of income. That is, it is to be expected that in times of growing unemployment the fact that youngsters have finished secondary education continues to be of little significance to increase their income. And that this fact will only be reversed from the moment they start to pursue higher education.

Naturally, these hypotheses still remain to be proved, after data relative to 2015 become available in 2 years' time. However, what can be observed with data already available can offer a basis for a better discussion about the significance of secondary education in the life of youngsters, and about the perspectives that this level of education open for their insertion into the economy.

The conditionings of the type of family to which they belong and of their degree of responsibility towards family income seem to be rather relative after completion of secondary education. Among youngsters, only 1.4% are between 17 and 24 years old and are heads of family, living with a spouse and their children; and 2.7% are within that same age group and are heads of family living alone or with another person who is not a spouse or a child. 4.3% are between 24 and 28 years old and are heads of family living without a spouse, having children or not.

Within the segment studied here, we observed, when analyzing in more detail the relation between youngsters and work, that regional inequality is very significant. Race and sex inequalities are, generally speaking, much smaller, and, in some cases, favorable to women and young Blacks, contrary to what could be expected. We must consider, however, that our universe comprises only youngsters who have finished secondary education and have not pursued further studies, so that the present study should not be taken as revealing of the general level of inequality; other

dimensions of analysis (economic, educational etc.) would be necessary, which are outside the scope of this work.

Among youngsters with complete secondary education who do not attend school, 64.3% were working in 2013 in registered employment, but this data should be qualified after considering that more than half of them are concentrated in the Southeast region.

There is another important trend within this group of youngsters. As age group increases, there is little increase (still with large regional differences) in the percentage of youngsters working in registered employment, which may lead to infer the small influence of experience and/or age between 17 and 28 and the low mobility in their working situation. At the same time, we observe the increase in the number of youngsters working on their own, and a process of change in the profile of the worker.

Lastly, in the analysis of the participation of youngsters in different types of occupation and their average income, the most important elements to study the processes of socio-educative differentiation can be found. They are the devaluation of ever higher education certificates, and the changes and greater stratification of qualifications required by the labor market.

As we have seen, the areas of Production, Repair and Maintenance of goods and services and of secondary education Technicians are those who absorb the highest percentage of workers in the age group between 17 and 28 years with complete secondary education who did not pursue further studies. There are no data that might help us to understand the relevance of secondary education to the concentration of youngsters in these areas.

However, other data available indicate a rather perverse reality for youngsters with complete secondary education working in occupations as secondary education Technicians, proper to their certification. Their average income is much lower than those of youngsters with complete or incomplete higher education occupying the same positions as secondary education technicians.

The devaluation of certificates is not a new phenomenon in economic and social dynamics. On the contrary, it has followed the development and expansion of education systems since the second half of the twentieth century. A permanent tension exists as one level of education expands and incorporates new social segments, its knowledge and credentials losing symbolic value in society and real value in the labor market. It is a permanent tension characteristic of the relation between democracy and capitalism.

One of the relevant questions put forward by this study, which is left to be answered by future investigations, is this: to what extent has the expansion of secondary education to include new social segments hitherto excluded from the system resulted in some degree of progress to the labor market, both in the kinds of occupations and in average income? In other words, to what extent are new social segments ascending to more qualified occupations and working posts of superior hierarchy and income by the fact of having finished secondary education?

Other questions can be made to help thinking and rethinking current educational policies in Brazil. Is it correct to insist on professionalization as the driving force of

secondary education? Or should this level of education recover its function in the cultural formation of youngsters from a broader point of view, which also includes preparation for the world of labor, but without the (almost exclusive) emphasis that is sometimes argued for? These questions can also offer a point of departure for the discussion about secondary education level technical schools and what we intend to do with them.

Naturally, there is need for more studies on the school and professional trajectories of youngsters. However, it seems to us that the main objective of the present work has been fulfilled, namely, that of initiating the groundwork for the discussion with quantitative data, and of alerting to the lack of such data in a large part of the discussions happening today about the future of secondary education in Brazil.

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Chapter 31

1-1 Model and the Reduction of the Digital Divide: *Conectar Igualdad* in Argentina

Silvina Gvirtz and Esteban Torre

31.1 Introduction

Latin American education systems have entered the twenty-first century witnessing a sustained increase in enrollment in public secondary schools. According to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS), the average enrollment rate in the secondary level in Latin America increased 15 percentage points between 2000 and 2013: from 60.7 to 75.6%. Originally conceived as a space for the education of the elites, now secondary schools receive in their classrooms first generation students. This challenge is faced by most states in Latin America, and they are taking an active role in meeting it through educational investments, laws and policies.

Nowadays, because of these necessary and active policies, inequality is less related to access to education than with the school trajectory of students. The right to education is associated with the 4 – A scheme (Tomasevski 2001) that defines the obligations of each state: (1) Availability: to ensure that education is available; (2) Access: to secure access to free-of-charge education for all children and young people in the compulsory education age-range; (3) Acceptability: to guarantee a quality education; (4) Adaptability: to provide an education best adaptable to all students. However, relatively high rates of repetition and dropout and low rates of graduation are reported in most Latin American countries. Moreover, these situations have a greater impact on students from disadvantaged social backgrounds (SITEAL 2008).

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Upon realizing this problem, many countries created different policies to address it. Some of them are compensatory programs implemented when the failure has already happened (school completion programs, for example). Some of them are trying to prevent repetition and dropout through the inclusion of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in public schools. Today there is a common certainty across the education agendas of Latin America about the fact that digital inclusion implies social justice. From this perspective, digital inclusion must be thought of as a collective issue, not as an individual one. The reduction or elimination of the digital divide would not benefit only the individual through direct access to technology but also the society as a whole. The society benefits from the strengthening of social capital in the form of shared values and cultural content and from the potential of the education system for increasing labor productivity.

This chapter will focus on *Conectar Igualdad*, a program of distribution of notebooks addressed to students and teachers of public secondary schools, special education schools and teacher training colleges in Argentina in order to enhance public schools and improve the quality of education. Argentina is essentially an urban country where more than 90% of its population lives in cities (National Population Census 2010), thus education policies have an important impact on urban areas. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first will address the context of the integration of technologies as a policy that seeks to address two issues that occupy a very important place in the public agenda of the first decade of the twenty-first century: the situation of public secondary schools and the prospect of universal access to technologies Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). The second part will firstly present a general overview of the integration of ICT in public education in Latin America and then it will offer a description of the Argentinian case. The final section will describe the implications of *Conectar Igualdad* and its potential as a tool to reduce social gaps and improve student learning, using a qualitative approach.

31.2 Public Secondary School in Latin America: An Overview

Public secondary school has been at the center of the education debate in Latin America in the last decade. This importance can be attributed, in part, to the intensification of a phenomenon that has been happening since the 1960s: the increase in the enrollment rate of secondary school. Chart 31.1 shows the increase between 2000 and 2012. While Peru is the country that had a greater increment in this period (from 58,9 to 79,8), Argentina is the country with the greatest enrolment rate at the secondary school with 83,9.

Moreover, the sustained increase in enrollment reflects important progress in the democratization on access to education, as its impact was greater in the first quintile of the population, i.e. the 20% poorest population. Chart 31.2 reflects this phenomenon.

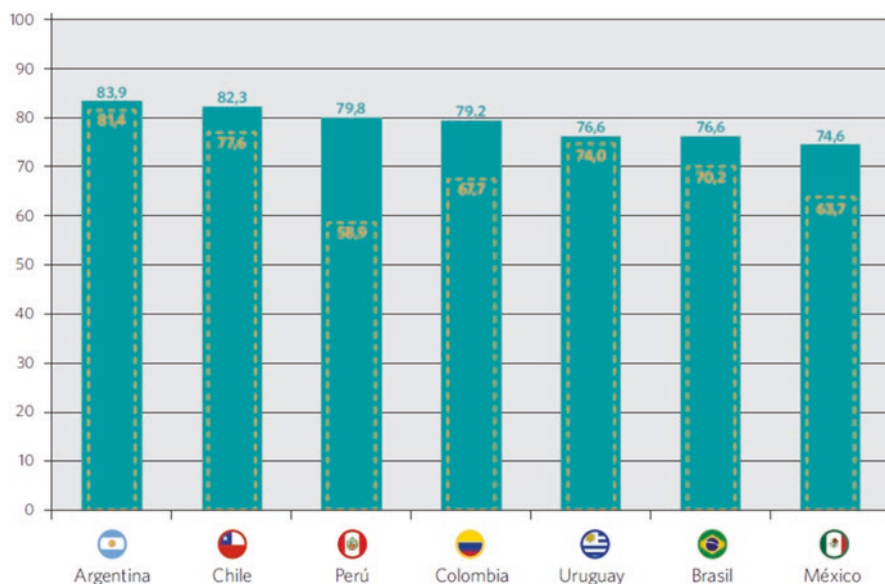


Chart 31.1 Enrollment rate of secondary school (2000–2012) – Latin America (Source: Rivas 2015)

The growth in net enrollment rates at the secondary level experienced by Latin American countries was in part attributed to national policy changes requiring compulsory education that favored the inclusion of disadvantaged groups (see Chart 31.3). Chart 31.3 shows the years of compulsory education in Latin America in 2000 and 2015. The average increase from 10 years of compulsory education in 2000 to 13 in 2015. In Argentina, these policies began with the Federal Education Act of 1993 which established the obligation of the first years of secondary education, and then continued with the enactment of the Law of National Education in 2006 which determined mandatory the comprehensive secondary level.

The combined efforts of families to provide pathways for upward mobility for their children and public policies aimed to expand coverage of education generated a strong demand which resulted in the significant increase in enrollment at the secondary level of education as was shown in Chart 31.1. In 2014, 2,786,329 students attended public secondary schools in Argentina (Ministry of Education, Statistical Yearbook 2014), where a 90,56 % of this group belongs to urban areas.

Beyond the differences between countries, secondary school was historically conceived as a mechanism of selection and social distinction. Thus, a main challenge of the region was to break the selective component of the secondary level. Many problems that were seen only in primary school or problems located outside schools today have to be assumed and confronted daily by secondary schools (Dussel 2015).

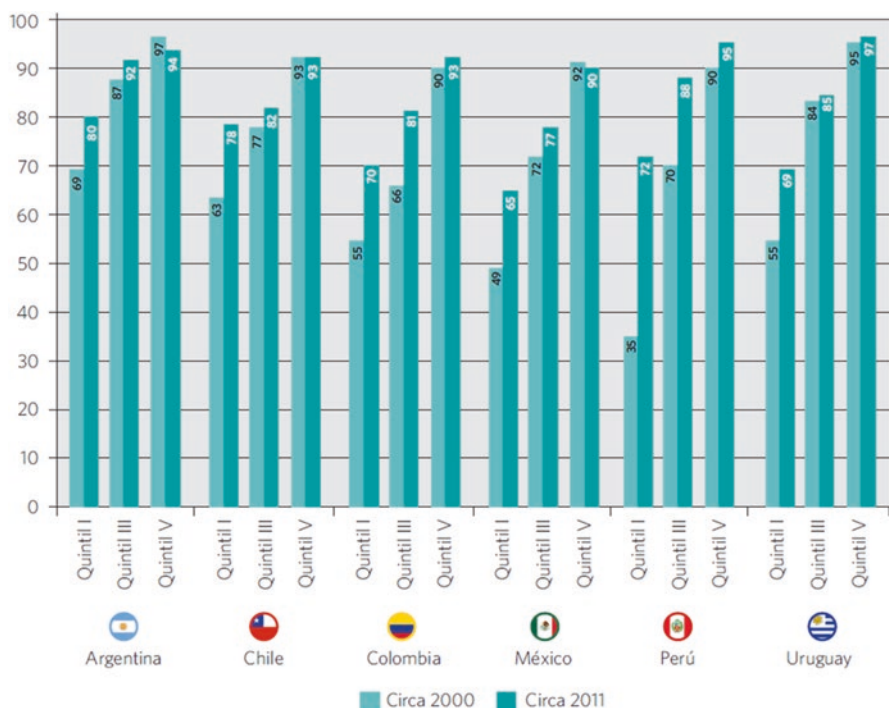


Chart 31.2 Enrollment rate in secondary school per quintile (2000–2011) – Latin America (Source: Rivas 2015)

Chart 31.3 Years of compulsory education – Latin America (Source: Rivas 2015)

Country	2000	2015
Argentina	10	14
Brazil	10	14
Chile	8	13
Colombia	10	12
Mexico	9	15
Perú	12	12
Uruguay	10	14
Average	10	13

This implies significant challenges for the educational system in terms of retention and graduation of students and the quality of learning. In fact, despite the increase in enrollment, inequality problems arose within the education system. As an example, we observe the behavior of the repetition rate (Chart 31.4) and dropout rate (Chart 31.5) in Argentina.

Repetition rates have remained fairly constant in the second Cycle of secondary school while have increased in the first Cycle during the last decade. In Argentina,

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
1st Cycle	9,36	10,38	12,28	12,82	11,66	12,18	12,45	11,81	12,40	11,43
2nd Cycle	6,86	7,58	8,07	8,09	7,62	7,73	7,41	6,70	6,79	6,18

Chart 31.4 Repetition rate in secondary school (2002–2012) – Argentina (Source: Ministry of Education, Argentina 2014)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
1st Cycle	7,5	8,4	8,5	9,9	9,9	8,7	8,4	9,3	9,6	8,6	8,6
2nd Cycle	15,5	18,9	19,8	19,4	18,6	18,0	17,4	15,4	15,8	15,8	14,8

Chart 31.5 Dropout rate in secondary school (2002–2012) – Argentina (Source: Ministry of Education, Argentina 2014)

repetition is at high levels in both cycles of secondary school and above the average rate in Latin America, 7.1 % in 2012 (UNESCO 2015). This is particularly alarming considering that grade repetition is often a prelude to student dropout.

The dropout rate had an oscillating behavior with ups and downs in the period of 2002–2012, however, it remains at high levels in both the first and second cycle of secondary school.

In a comparative study of 18 Latin American countries, Gabriela Itzcovich (2014) notes that Argentina still has a high level of discrepancy between the access to and the completion of secondary education: 32.8 %, a high percentage when compared with other countries in the region such as Chile, which has 17.7 %, and Peru, which has 20 % (Dussel 2015). The difference between access and completion can be seen with the reduction of repetition rates concurrent with the marked increase of dropouts in the second cycle. Moreover, other studies reflect how these phenomena affect differentially according to the socio-economic sector. According to data provided SITEAL, in 2008 only 13.1 % of young people from the most disadvantaged sectors finish secondary school, while the graduation rates of upper classes is 96.2 %.

These challenges were faced by most states in Latin America and they took an active role in the education arena. Specific laws aimed at the secondary level are complemented with policies that have as a main objective the reduction of inequality. In this context, the integration of ICT became part of the political agenda of most countries in Latin America. Digital inclusion is related to social justice.

This has been precisely the inspiration that has led to the creation of *Conectar Igualdad* in Argentina, a policy in which we can recognize at least two major aims. A social aim: reducing inequality in terms of access to technology for young people (“Social Justice”). An educational aim: improving the quality of public education and increasing learning outcomes (“Educational Justice”).

31.2.1 *Digital Literacy*

Technologies, in the words of Manuel Castells (1999), are not only tools to apply, but also processes to develop. It is the first time in history, the Spanish sociologist states, that the human mind is a direct productive force, not only a crucial link in the production system. In this line, Juan Pablo de Pons (2008) argues that technologies are the “creative force of the moment” and, therefore, permanently referred to the future.

It is possible to argue that digital literacy is to the twenty-first century what the literacy process was to the nineteenth century. Juan Carlos Tedesco (2012, p. 1) argues that digital inclusion policies can be considered equivalent to traditional literacy campaigns designed to universalize the ability to read and write:

Before the invention of the print it was not necessary to be literate to enter into the circuit through which circulated the most socially significant information. With the print, the need and right to read and write demanded universal policies of literacy. Today, besides being literate, it is necessary to be digitally literate to access information and to exercise citizenship. But it is not enough to have access to the instrument. It is necessary, however, to dominate the device in a way that allows each person to understand the world and to express themselves.

A report by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2010, directed by Ruben Katzman (2010), titled “Social impact of incorporating information and communication technologies in education (ICT)” warns that the centrality of the new technological skills revealed the way they promote the acquisition and accumulation of different types of capital:

- Human capital, meanwhile, technologies increase autonomy in seeking information processing.
- Physical capital, to improve opportunities for entering the labor market.
- Social capital, as a result of the operation of the interactive potential and the decentralized nature of the technologies.
- Citizenship capital, multiplying the means for exercising rights of those who are fluently transiting the digital world. (p. 6)

The impact that technological skills have in the Knowledge Society requires a reflection on the school as the privileged space to democratize access to this knowledge (Dussel and Quevedo 2010). In “Technology and school: what works and why,” Francesc Pedró (2011) has identified four groups of reasons to justify a greater and more intensive use of technology in classrooms.

The first group has to do with the demands of a globalized economy with dynamic technological developments, in which the level of training of the workforce (human capital) has great impact on the future development of countries. The initiatives of ICT integration in education that are designed mainly following an economic rationale are those that emphasize the development of ICT skills which would enable students to improve their competitiveness as workers – and thus, also improve the competitiveness of firms and the whole economy of their countries.

This approach was present from the beginning of the educational policies that contemplated the inclusion of technology, particularly in technical education at the secondary level, accompanying the development of PCs in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It is closely related to the rapid expansion of computers at work, first, and, at home, later. The incorporation of computers in the workplace resulted in a rapid demand not only of specialists in systems but also of competent users. This created a need for training for work and caught the attention of governments on the importance of their inclusion in the educational system.

The second group of reasons lies in what Pedró (2011) called “social needs” and are related to a social justice aim. The author highlights the effect that the inclusion of technology in schools can have in reducing the digital divide, i.e., the inequality in the access to technology that exists in society. This is a particularly important aspect in Latin American countries that are characterized by high levels of social inequality. In this region, public policies of universal access to technologies throughout the education system have a different weight than they do in other countries where access can occur in alternative ways (Tedesco 2007). Hence, the school is called upon to play a key role in ensuring the democratic ownership of new sources of knowledge.

School is the institution chosen to play a central role in reducing the digital divide, as responsible not only for the distribution of technological devices, but to operate on the quality of its educational use. From this perspective, ICTs are presented as a social good to be democratized by ensuring their access, and as a medium that may influence resolving some aspects of dropout, especially those related to the difficulty of broad sectors of the population who, for various reasons, face barriers in access to schooling.

The third group of reasons that identifies Pedró (2011) is related to the cultural changes that characterize the Knowledge Society. From this perspective, schools cannot remain outside the cultural transformations and must live within the digital culture, actively participating in their new formats and contents (Pedró 2011). This participation has become imperative because, as David Buckingham (2006) has pointed out, although schools have often remained immutable to the advent of technology, the same can't be said of the lives of children outside school: television, video games, Internet and cell phones are devices that have widely penetrated the daily life of children and youth. This mismatch between the use of technology in schools and outside them is what Buckingham (2006) defined as a new digital divide. Filling that gap is a task that schools must carry out. In this line, Myriam Southwell (2013) argues that it is not only to incorporate new languages and media, it is also necessary to undertake a review of the modes of use, new intellectual paths that are proposed, the potential of the new languages, the relationship with the knowledge they generate and social practices that are enabled with them.

Indeed, the fourth group of reasons is related to pedagogical expectations around the inclusion of technology in the classroom. The traditional school we know, which arose in 1880, was the unique distribution center of information – information that students could not access otherwise. The current situation is significantly different: the school no longer has the monopoly of information and sources to acquire it are

manifold. In these times, highlights Flora Perelman (2011), students conceive the Internet as a natural source of primary information. They consider the process of selecting information easy, fast, reliable and economic. And in this “face to face” says Anne Marie Chartier (2004), young accepted without discussion restrictions and verdicts of the machine, which appears as a neutral third party without emotion or value judgments, tireless in repetition, specially adapted for all managerial and automation. A scenario like this is one of the major challenges facing the school in the Knowledge Society: to process the information that flows through the Internet and teach how to discern what information is relevant and useful. In this regard, Nicholas Burbules (2011, p. 22) argues that “as students get older, they begin to find sources of information they consider valuable and useful, beyond the teacher; and in this sense, the teacher is important to help students assess their search results and make better decisions.” To successfully meet these new demands the school system must adopt new methodologies, new content, new organizational models and methods of interagency collaboration; in short, it must lay the foundation for a new school.

To summarize, we understand that digital literacy refers not only to the ability to read and write, but to create new formats from this knowledge. More specifically, the technologies allow the educational process to concentrate on complex skills: comprehension and production of written and visual texts; solving mathematical and scientific problems; intelligent processing of information; communication skills such as expression in the new formats and participation in collaborative and social networking spaces. Cobo and Moravec (2011), Chilean specialist at the University of Oxford, draws attention to the “invisible learning” (Cobo and Moravec 2011, p. 22) that technologies enable. With this concept, Cobo refers to skills such as the ability to connect contents, hypertext reading, transfer of knowledge to other platforms. Moreover, Nora Sabelli (in Gvartz et al. 2011) emphasizes that, through the integration of technology, the role of memory decreases to be replaced by the ability to “learn to learn.” (Sabelli 2011, p. 143) This is a skill indeed essential for students to construct their own knowledge within the framework generated by a school in tune with the educational needs of the Twenty-First Century.

31.3 Integration of ICT in Latin American Education Systems

In recent years, Latin America has become one of the most proactive regions of the world in relation to the integration of ICT in their education systems, in order to contribute to social inclusion, democratization and the reduction of the digital divide. This process of developing policies that promote the integration of ICT in the education sector is based on the experiences of digital inclusion that were already developing in the countries of the region (Sunkel and Trucco 2012). These experiences recognize, at least, three common elements:

- The consideration of education as a strategic area for reducing the digital divide.
- The use of the formal education system as a privileged sphere for the implementation of public policies to promote the democratization of access to ICT field.
- The recognition of the different stages and levels of development in the process of digital inclusion.

The inclusion of ICT through different modalities forms a heterogeneous mosaic. The alternatives for the incorporation of ICT (laboratory model, mobile classrooms or 1-1 model) respond, in many cases, to different stages of introduction of new technologies in the education system. Thus, the laboratory model, for example, represents the initial phase, although it may continue to live with other models. In settings where resources are scarce it is common to find staggered strategies, including the coexistence of more than one model, even in the same school. However, it is possible to observe a trend towards the adoption of 1-1 models, that is, to initiatives that promote the provision of individual devices for each student.

ICT Programs in Latin America

Uruguay announced in December 2006 the creation of the Plan Ceibal (Basic Computer Educational Connectivity for Online Learning), under the OLPC program, created by the MIT professor Nicholas Negroponte in 2002. OLPC's contribution has been very important in lowering the cost of computers. The design of an inexpensive and portable computer specially designed for students produced, firstly, important market incentives for production technology at low cost and, secondly, it allowed different countries envision an opportunity to address delivery policies mass. Plan Ceibal was developed in stages. The primary level was the originally recipient of Plan Ceibal, but in 2010 was extended to the basic cycle of public secondary schools (first to fourth year).

Peru also followed the path of the OLPC program, starting with their rural primary schools. The Huascarán Program was launched in 2001, was then merged with the Ministry of Education in 2007 and reached to distribute more than 800,000 computers. Their high initial costs and maintenance, coupled with some resistance and criticism, did slow the momentum towards universalization of the proposal.

In **Venezuela**, the Canaima project is the 1-1 model implemented jointly by the Ministry of Popular Power for Education and the Ministry of Popular Power for Science, Technology and Innovation. Initially, recipients of the program were students in public primary schools and those subsidias by the state. The first embodiment of the plan was conceived as part of the school (Canaima School Education) and the computers remained in mobile cabinets at school. The second phase of the program is known as Canaima Education "Go to my house," and the students take the computer home to provide full-time educational content and also to involve family in the learning process. To the date Canaima has delivered over 3,900,000 computer (Canaima Educativo webpage, 2015).

(continued)

Chile was a pioneer in the integration of ICT, although it wasn't under the 1-1 model. In the early nineties, Enlaces, the longest-running program in the region in the use of technology for education was launched in Chile. Enlaces evolved through different strategies, from the delivery of equipment to schools to the development of educational software. Digital materials directly related to the curriculum and courses for teachers with the same practical guidance developed. Chile concentrated its efforts on promoting educational adaptation of ICT rather than mass provision of equipment to schools and students (Jara 2013). This strategy allowed for convergence with other areas of the Ministry of Education and the focus on the pedagogical intervention stimulated innovation. However, the reduction of the digital divide was greater in countries that invested heavily in the distribution of computers.

In **Brazil**, ICT projects emerged in some states of the country or by initiative of private actors. A recent innovation is the national policy of distribution of tablets for teachers. In 2012, the Ministry of Education and Culture of Brazil launched the "Digital Education" project that distributes tablets to public school teachers. Tablets include different content as educational journals, books by renowned teachers, the main national newspapers and videos of classes in physics, chemistry and biology.

The *1-1 Model* involves a student and a computer, so that each person can perform multiple tasks; get a personalized, direct, unlimited and ubiquitous access to technology information, giving rise to a simultaneous link between them and others, in a time that exceeds that of school attendance (Sagol 2011). This modality rests on principles based on universal access to technology both inside and outside the school environment. The portability of the device favors the home use of computers both for leisure and for doing homework. OECD studies from the results of PISA 2009 reveal that the frequencies of computer use at home as part of leisure time is positively related to the acquisition of digital reading skills. This is particularly important as it allows to extend school time in countries, as Argentina, where the effective hours at school are relatively low.

Portable devices also make a contribution to the home environment as they can be used by other members of the family. Ruben Katzman (2010) argues that "the home is seen increasingly as a major site of learning new technologies, not only because under certain conditions can give children an early digital literacy, but because they can play a complementary role in transforming school virtual learning in a process that continues beyond the limits of classrooms."

At this point, it is interesting to stop at the decision of choosing laptops over other mobile technological devices such as tablets. This decision reflects the fact that devices like tablets have limitations to accomplish some of the goals expected from school, as the encouragement of written production. In some countries where

a second technological device is available to children and youth, the tablets are used both at home and at school. In Latin America in general and Argentina in particular, it is often the case that laptops are the only device to which students have access. In this context, it is necessary to provide a device that facilitates not only cultural consumption, but also production.

31.3.1 Conectar Igualdad in Argentina

In Argentina we can trace the first pilot project of distribution of computers to 2008. At that time, about 1,000 laptops were given to students and teachers from 14 primary schools in different provinces (Buenos Aires, Chubut, Mendoza, Misiones, Salta, Santa Fe, Tucuman, Cordoba and Catamarca). The schools were selected from different contexts: rural and urban; schools with multigrade classrooms and a school with an Aboriginal population. Training sessions for teachers and technological references were made and the first work proposals were evaluated by a group of specialists from the University of Buenos Aires (UBA).

In 2009, the Ministry of Education announced the program “A computer for each student” aimed to public technical secondary schools. Specific recipients were teachers and students of the second cycle of the technical modality of secondary level. In the first phase of the plan, between the second half of 2009 and throughout 2010, it reached 231,164 students and 25,680 teachers in 1,156 schools. This program is the immediate predecessor of *Conectar Igualdad*.

In April 6, 2010, President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner announced the signing of the Decree 459/10 that created the program, *Conectar Igualdad*. The articles of the decree state the scope of the program, its governance and financing. In first place, the decree establishes the creation of the program in order to provide a computer for each student and teacher at public secondary schools, special education schools and teacher training institutes. Regarding the government structure, the Executive Committee of *Conectar Igualdad* is chaired by the Executive Director of the National Administration of Social Security (ANSES), coordinated by the General Executive Director of *Conectar Igualdad* and composed of a representative of the Ministry of Education, one of the Cabinet of Ministers, and one of the Ministry of Federal Planning, Public Investment and Services. The Ministry of Education is the agency responsible for the education strategy of the program. The Cabinet of Ministers is responsible for defining the physical security of computers and school networks. The Ministry of Federal Planning has among its objectives to provide connectivity to schools through the deployment of the federal network of fiber optic and satellite service. ANSES is the agency responsible for purchasing the equipment (netbooks and technological infrastructure) and coordinating the logistics. Regarding the financing of *Conectar Igualdad*, the legislation states that the program is funded by the National Treasury and creates in the field of ANSES a budget program that provides financial assistance for the plan.

To ensure the necessary integration of technology into the teaching and learning process, *Conectar Igualdad* is based on three components:

- I. Netbooks and technological infrastructure.
- II. Content and educational software.
- III. Teacher training.

31.3.1.1 Netbooks and Technological Infrastructure

The netbooks that are distributed by the *Conectar Igualdad* are “classmates.” It is a machine designed to work in the classrooms, which means that it has a resistant casing, concave corners to resist strokes and falls, and is waterproof.

The distribution of netbooks in schools is also accompanied by the installation of an infrastructure package setting an internal network in buildings (Intranet). An essential component of the technological infrastructure is the school server to which all school netbooks are linked through Access Points (APs). The Intranet allows the access to a large set of files and contents that the server stores. This is particularly important given that, contrary to widespread belief, Internet it is not essential for schoolwork in an ICT policy. Through the internal network, users can, for example, perform collaborative tasks and use shared folders.

Netbooks have progressively incorporated improvements in both hardware and software in order to accompany the incessant technological development. Currently, netbooks have 4GB of RAM, more storage space on the hard disk, a reversible webcam and includes a TV tuner for watching the Open Digital Television (TDA) channels.

However, the evidence suggests that infrastructure investments are necessary but not sufficient, and that they need to be complemented with content, teacher training and guidance about pedagogical uses.

31.3.1.2 Contents and Educational Software

The provision of digital content is a necessary condition for the effective use of technologies in schools. According to Arias Ortiz (2014), there are different aspects related to content that important to define in an ICT program. First, it is necessary to perform initiatives related to the implementation and adaptation of the curriculum content of ICT or their cross-cutting use to support different subjects covered in the curriculum. Second, digital material for teaching and learning with technological tools should be provided including encyclopedias, manuals, textbooks, guides and videos. Third, it is useful to provide software to support teaching and learning processes including productivity applications, platforms and virtual simulators. *Conectar Igualdad* covers these three aspects.

The netbooks of *Conectar Igualdad* include numerous educational software to be used in different subjects. For example, to work in natural science classes, the netbook has different applications preinstalled. One is the Avogadro, which allows

users to draw molecular structures and chemical bonds in 3D. Molecular technology 3D visualization helps improving the understanding of the three-dimensional structure of molecules and many physical and chemical properties derived. In this sense, technological applications allow easy access and manipulation of different functional models favoring better learning of the contents of science. Using computerized molecular models, students can see an increase in their capacities to understand the concept of scientific model and to apply transformations of molecular representations of a two or three dimensional molecular and vice versa (Joselevich 2015). Simulations can turn the netbook into a virtual lab, promoting the idea of learning through research (Cañizares et al. 2008).

Another interesting software is Celestia, enabling the exploration of the universe in three dimensions and simulation of a trip through the solar system. To do this, the program includes a catalog of stars, galaxies, planets, moons, asteroids, etc. The netbook also has built-in applications to use in math classes. For example, GeoGebra, a software that combines various elements of mathematics in an interactive and dynamic way. It allows constructions with points, vectors, segments, lines and functions that can be changed dynamically. GeoGebra is a program designed as a teaching tool, seeking to promote exploration and research as a mean to learn mathematics.) The potential of a technological tool like GeoGebra is manifested in two transformations: it opens the possibility of addressing issues that would be impossible without its help and it allows to take an experimental approach to mathematics that changes the nature of learning (Novembre 2015).

The netbook also includes different multimedia tools to edit and play texts, videos and images. One of the most used applications is Audacity, a multitrack audio editor that can record live audio, convert audio files to different formats, cut and paste or splice audio tracks to mix sounds, etc. Cheese is software to manage webcam that allows to take pictures, record videos and apply various special effects.

Numerous are the resources available to each student for programming and game development. Pilas Engine is a tool to build simple games in a didactic way that is primarily intended for those who are making their first steps in programming. The netbook also has installed Alice, a software developed by Carnegie Mellon University (Pennsylvania, USA) for programming, which uses a simple model based on “drag and drop” objects to create animations using 3D models environment.

Since its origins, *Conectar Igualdad* has “double boot” as it offers the possibility of using a free operating system (Linux) or a proprietary system (Windows). In a boost to technological sovereignty, the program developed Huayra, its own operating system based on Debian GNU Linux. Huayra has three main features: it is free, public and no-cost. It is free because it is open source and allows anyone to reprogram, invent and work with more than 30,000 programs available to download and share. It is also public because it is an operating system developed by the Argentine state itself and it can be extended to the entire public administration. Finally, its installation and use is no cost to the user and free of license fees. Open source software has interesting educational potential as it gives the opportunity to use a tool, observe and learn how it is made, ensuring the possibility of modifying and appropriating it.

***Conectar Igualdad* and Special Educational Needs**

One of the principles guiding *Conectar Igualdad* is social inclusion. Through the netbooks, many young people have their first approach to technologies. A milestone in terms of inclusion has to do with the distribution of adaptive technology for special education schools, complementary to the netbooks. The kits are composed of external technical devices which facilitate access for students with special needs.

For many students in special schools, their first drawing, its first brief, his first independent communications are performed with a computer. Therefore, technology becomes an important element for their socialization. Access to information allows students to be on similar conditions to their peers, talk about the same issues and share experiences, chat, listen to music, play video games, etc.

But computers, being, in general, designed and made by people for people without disabilities, can represent an obstacle. Indeed, any functional limitation that hinders pressing, the precise movement or the vision of small elements, among others, creates a “barrier to entry” that can bind to renounce to their use. Francisco García Ponce states that:

Inclusion has to identify the digital divide present in the classroom. These barriers are related to access to devices with educational software and web browsing. Once identified, it is necessary to give an answer. Sometimes these answers go through the design of educational policies that are aimed at eliminating those digital barriers: policies for R & D in the accessibility of ICT that facilitate the implementation and use of technical assistance best suited to the characteristics of students depending on their special needs. (p. 18, Garcia Ponce 2011)

In order to overcome many of the difficulties caused by the current design of computers, *Conectar Igualdad* has incorporated different hardware devices that give access to the use of netbooks. The composition of the kits varies depending on the type of disability of students. For example, students with visual disabilities receive Braille printers. These are printers that allow any scanned text to be printed in Braille. The schools where attend students with motor disabilities receive switches, devices that simulate a mouse click and vary in shape and size to allow them to be operated with the body part that the student manages voluntarily (e.g., elbow, foot, chin, etc). These schools also receive “mouse with buttons”, a device that fulfills the same function of the classic mouse but it has four buttons to guide the cursor in their basic positions (up, down, left, right). Additionally, protective keyboards are distributed, which have a protective acrylic dividing the keys, allowing access to each other without pressing involuntarily. The comprehensive list of devices that receive special education schools is completed with computers all-in-one, projectors and screens.

31.3.1.3 Teacher Training Actions

The integration of ICT in schools makes it essential to work with key actors in the learning process and coordinate their actions within education systems. First, teachers must have the support they need to make teaching more responsive to students' needs, and should be trained to teach in the new technological environment. The teacher has been, is and will remain the key actor in the education process. At the same time, it is necessary to recognize the management role that the school principal has in the integration process of ICT at schools.

The technological revolution, says Finnish education specialist Pasi Shalberg (in an interview with the *Huffington Post* 2013), will gradually remove the monopoly of knowledge and information to teachers, and place them in a new role which involves bringing the students at its main source of curiosity and passion to discover "what they really want to be." Thus, reflecting on the role of teachers in a Knowledge Society leads us to believe the teacher not as a mere transmitter of information and knowledge.

In this sense, Michael Fullan (2013) suggests exploring the role of teachers as "activators" (Fullan 2013, p. 11) of experiences. That is, a teacher who designs learning experiences where the curriculum expectations align with the context and the personality of each student, and generates didactic situations in which students learn to critically assess the knowledge that culture offers.

A study by Damian Bebell and Rachel Kay published in the *Journal of Technology, Learning, and Assessment* (2010) concluded that 1-1 programs are effective only to the extent that teachers who carry on in the classroom are trained. The authors note that teachers are almost always those who control when and how students access technology during school hours. They must make large investments in time and effort to adapt their teaching materials to "room 1-1" practices. Consequently, to the extent that 1-1 programs increase in popularity, the quality and depth of preparation that teachers receive for their implementation will become a central element in predicting the success of the program.

Therefore, it is crucial to develop teachers' capabilities to help them make appropriate use of technology. According to Arias Ortiz (2014), there are three dimensions of capabilities that can be developed:

Capability	Description
General	Competence to operate a computer, manage files, use productivity software (word processors, spreadsheets, production of presentations) and Internet tools such as browsers and e-mail. With these capabilities, teachers can incorporate technology into their planning, administrative activities and communication with parents, students and peers
Use of specific software	The capacity to use software targeted to a specific academic area. The training focuses on knowing how to use the application and solve any problems that may arise. The time needed to develop this capacity will vary with the application, but is generally relatively short given the limited objective
General educational use	General knowledge of various educational applications that can be used for different subjects and grades, along with appropriate teaching strategies

Source: Arias Ortiz (2014)

As said before, the school principal has a central role in ensuring the integration of technologies in the context of the continuous improvement of the school. The management of this process has an administrative dimension and pedagogical dimensions.

Administrative aspects include ensuring the operating conditions of technological tools and promoting a “culture of care” of computers and technological infrastructure at school.

In the pedagogical dimension (most important), it is possible to identify three activities that school principals should do to enhance the integration of ICT. First, encouraging the use of computers at schools. Initially, it would be a basic use, a condition for achieving a more complex use. Simple practices allow exploration, with trial and error as a method to approach technologies and a willingness to share findings and experiences. Second, school principals should assist teachers in reviewing the annual planning and discussing of the possible uses of technology in their subjects. Also, it’s important to offer teacher training instances in order to strengthen skills and knowledge that new practices require. A third activity related to the pedagogical dimension implies installing institutional spaces in the school for collaborative work among teachers. Schools that share teaching materials generate better living but also enhance the possibilities for learning among teachers and students and the sustainability of the improvement process.

31.4 Concluding Remarks and Challenges Ahead

In 2012 the Statistical Office of UNESCO published the survey “Use of ICT in education in Latin America and the Caribbean. Regional analysis of the integration of ICT in education and the digital fitness” (2012). The questionnaire collected data on different areas in the countries of the region: (a) policies and program of study; (b) integration of ICT in schools; (c) enrollment in programs that use ICT; and (d) teachers and ICT. The report allows us to draw attention to the impact of *Conectar Igualdad* on the access to technology for secondary students in Argentina. In 2009, there was a relationship (ratio) of 12 students per computer in public secondary schools. Since the implementation of *Conectar Igualdad*, the picture is significantly different and Argentina is moving toward a scenario of reducing the digital divide. At the end of 2014, all students in public secondary schools had a computer, so this relationship was one computer per student. Moreover, with over 5,300,000 distributed netbooks in 11,585 public schools, *Conectar Igualdad* is the largest 1-1 initiative in the world. More than 90% of this netbooks were given to students that live in urban areas.

The evaluation report of *Conectar Igualdad* led by Bernardo Kliksberg (2015) describes the impact of the program on a specific population – recipients of the

Universal Child Allowance (AUH)¹ – regarding the access and use of technologies inside classrooms and outside them. The study was conducted in urban areas. The results presented focus their attention on the universe of households where at least one child or adolescent receives the AUH, meaning the most vulnerable families in the country and found in the lower strata of the income scale (equivalent to the first quartile of household per capita), with the implications that this entails: increased susceptibility to poverty and exclusion.

The report (Kliksberg 2015) shows that nine out of ten students use the netbooks of *Conectar Igualdad* and 77.8 % say that they use them either at school or at home. Information on the frequency of use of computers in schools sheds light on one of the challenges of the program, that is, to encourage greater school use. While a significant percentage (45.1 %) of students answer that netbooks are used every day in schools, 44.3 % once a week, as 6.6 % and 2,3 % said the use was occasional (once a month) or almost nonexistent, respectively. One interesting finding is that nearly nine out of ten students who reported using netbooks, expressed doing it at school in different subjects.

Domestic use of netbooks reaches levels of 85 % and becomes more significant the smaller the size of the town, that is, where the possibilities of access to ICT is more difficult. And although the frequency of use is somewhat lower than in school, the percentages are not negligible, since practically eight out of ten young beneficiaries used the computer program at home at least once a week, while almost half do so daily. Moreover, the fact that netbooks can be carried home has a positive externality as it multiplies the recipients of the program through access to technologies to other household members. All students included in the report declared that they teach other household members how to use the netbook.

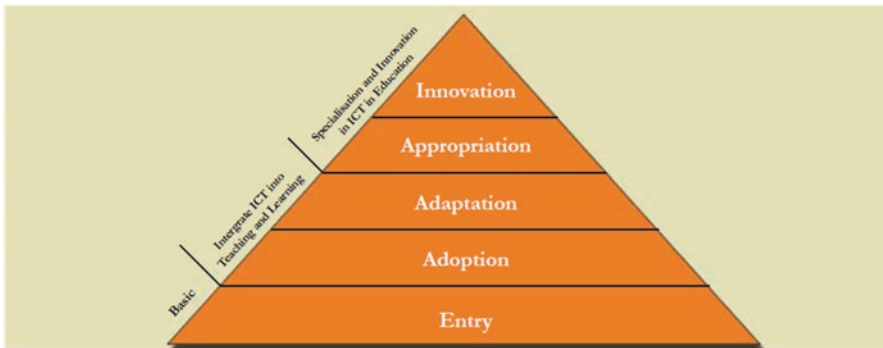
Another factor with a clear influence on the frequency of use is whether the netbook is the first technological device for the family. In the case of recipients whose first computer was the one received by *Conectar Igualdad*, the use at home is more frequent than for those who already had a computer. The difference is about 10 percentage points.

The evaluation report directed by Kliksberg also highlights a positive impact of *Conectar Igualdad* in a group of problematic aspects that are present in public secondary schools: assistance, retention and institutional environment. Receiving the netbook is a factor influencing the desire to go to school particularly among the younger recipients (12–14 years students) and among those for which the netbook is the first technological device. This population identifies the capacity of the program of encouraging school assistance, as well as reducing school violence expres-

¹In November 2009, the Argentine Government, through Decree 1602/09, implemented the Universal Child Allowance Program (AUH). The government incorporated a non-contributory subsystem intended to provide monthly cash transfers for informal or unemployed workers with children under 18 years of age. This new conditional cash transfer program reaches an important population segment mostly belonging to the lower income socio-economic strata. Their current coverage amounts to 3.5 million children and 1.9 million households.

sions, generating greater engagement with homework and promoting improvement of the institutional climate in general.

As argued in the first chapter, the integration of technology in classrooms is accompanied by large educational expectations. Technologies allow for concentrating the educational process on the development of complex skills and abilities and, therefore, are valuable tools to better serve the educational needs of the twenty-first century. Now, this process of integration of technology in schools is not manifested in a linear way. The graph below – taken from the “White Paper on e-education” 2003 the Department of Education, Government of South Africa – allows us to think this process of integration of technology in different theoretical stages:



Source: Department of Education, South Africa, 2003

The first stage involves the *Entry* of technology in the classroom. In *Conectar Igualdad* this stage consists in the distribution of netbooks at each school. There is a basic use of technological devices: the netbooks are integrated as an additional didactical resource.

The second stage involves the integration of technology in teaching and learning. It is the time of *Adoption* of technologies in the daily life of schools. Students and teachers explore the basic functions of computers and become familiar with them through a “trial and error” method.

The third stage represents the moment of *Adaptation* where technologies are integrated into teaching and learning through the use of the simplest software as a teaching resource.

The fourth stage is presented as the phase of *Appropriation* of technologies. Teachers incorporate them as a tool to enrich their practices and students use the various applications provided by the devices to enhance their productions.

Lastly, it’s the time for *Innovation* where technologies become flexible tools for building collaborative and interactive learning environments. Students develop the ability to use the most complex software and are formed as producers of information and knowledge.

What are the implications of this classification? Firstly, technologies in schools do not generate magic effects. It is impossible to expect teachers to innovate with technology without having previously transited the stages of adoption and adaptation. The presence and availability of technology in classrooms is a necessary but insufficient condition for improvement and educational change (Area Moreira 2011).

Secondly, it is also necessary to understand that the time of integration into each school can be very different. This process is affected by different factors as can be inferred from the argument of his chapter: for example, the support and leadership of school principals; the teacher training offered; the willingness of teachers to incorporate technology into their teaching practices; the prior level of digital literacy of teachers and students; and the school infrastructure.

Recently, UNESCO published a report of TERCE² where the impact of the use of technology on sixth grade (primary school) students' learning is analyzed. The report shows that the intensive use of computers (more than twice a week) has a negative impact on students learning in reading, math and science. On the contrary, the domestic use of computer promotes higher academic performance. Even if the report focused on primary school, it's interesting to make some considerations. On the one hand, the relation between use of computers and students' learning placed the discussion on: what kind of impact of technology is measurable? The idea of the integration of ICT in schools as a process with different stages brings us to expect, in a first moment, improvement in the digital skills of students. Improvement in the students' learning in reading, math and science can be expected in a second moment when the integration of ICT has reached an important level of institutionalization within schools. This conclusion takes us to another consideration. High levels of institutionalization of an ICT process in schools are directly related to the active role of school principals. Management positions are key for the sustainability of the improvement process where students and teachers are involved. On the other hand, the report on TERCE highlights the positive impact of the use of technology at home. This is particularly remarkable as the use is more intensive where the computer is the first technological device in the family.

As a final reflection we can say that, in the contemporary world, being "digitally literate" has become a key component of the full exercise of the rights of citizens. The implementation of the 1-1 Model is doing a great contribution not only in reducing the digital divide, but also in extending the time for studying. Digital inclusion is related to social justice. This is an approach based on the notion that young people have rights: the right to the full exercise of citizenship and the right to

²The Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (TERCE) is the third learning achievements study in primary education conducted by LLECE since its creation in 1994, and it's preceded by the First Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (PERCE) in 1997, and the Second Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (SERCE), in 2006., the study measures learning achievements in mathematics and language (reading and writing skills) in third grade students, and the same subjects plus natural sciences in sixth grade students in 15 countries round the region. In addition, it identifies the associated factors that influence these results.

a quality education. Moreover, this approach generates obligations for the State as it requires active policies to make them enforceable and to promote its compliance. *Conectar Igualdad* is moving in this direction.

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Chapter 32

School, Religion and Intolerance: On Laic School and Religious Conflicts in Brazil

Marcelo Andrade and Pedro Teixeira

32.1 Introduction

Religion has always been present in Brazilian urban schools. This may be one of the few consensuses on the subject among researchers and the school community in Brazil. Nevertheless, such consensus immediately falls to earth when we ask ourselves how and why religion should be present in urban schools in the first place. At this point, we leave behind the mere description of a social phenomenon and we place ourselves in the realm of rational justifications on the relationship between school and religion. To move from the description to the justification of a phenomenon means to present sufficient reasons so that it may be guided this or that way.

When we describe an event as being a person's action, we know for instance that we describe something which can be not only *explained* like a natural process, but also, if need be, *justified*. In the background, there is the image of persons who may call upon one another to account for themselves, who are naturally involved in normatively regulated interactions and encounter one another in a universe of public reasons. (Habermas 2013, p. 12)¹

Why and how should religion be present at school? Why and how the relationship between school and religion has become a topic that involves such ordinary conflicts in Brazil nowadays? And, why and how should these conflicts be immediately dealt with? These questions take us to the sphere of the ethical-philosophical foundations of the religion-school relationship. In order to justify these ideas, a speculative or even a legal approach could be opted for. On the one hand, the concept of laicity (*laïcité*) as the removal of religion from public institutions, including urban

¹ NT: translated by Hella Beister and William Rehy.

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schools, could be insisted upon. On the other hand, it could be argued that Brazilian laws are contradictory as, at the same time, they state the laicity of urban schools and ensure the provision of religious education.

However, the option is to enter into this debate by using the analysis of reported real life events on the phenomenon of religious intolerance. According to Habermas (2013, p. 3), intolerance – and its most visible aspect, fundamentalism – “is an exclusively modern phenomenon”. With causes and effects that are too contemporary, though. In this sense, although religious intolerance may supposedly take us back to ancient times, it is a challenge we face more and more these days. And we enter into the debate about school and religion based on the reports about intolerance, because we consider that they bring some possibilities to discuss both theoretical concepts and judicial decisions regarding the topic.

In this sense, this article is organized into five distinct parts. Firstly, it presents some historical notes about the school-religion relationship, focusing on religious education as a curricular subject, taking into consideration its impact on Brazilian education laws and regulations through history. This is a brief historical background designed to understand the present moment and to base the reflections on the school-religion relationship. Secondly, it presents recent events about the difficulties in dealing with different beliefs and disbeliefs in the routine of urban schools. There are reports about religious intolerance which will be taken as valid experience to be told and understood (Larrosa 2002). Thirdly, it seeks to understand how religious intolerance has been gaining power and why it has been growing in the daily routine of Brazilian urban schools. In this sense, it is highly important to learn with what has been experienced and told. Fourthly, an analysis is given of the challenges of the concept of laicity (*laïcité*), its potentialities and limits, as well as an intercultural education proposal. It is worth highlighting that this analysis takes into consideration the advocacy of laicity as a starting point and it believes in an intercultural dialogue as a possibility of overcoming intolerance in the daily routine of schools. Fifthly, we discuss the concepts of “ethics of minima” as a justification for religious tolerance. This article’s aim is to show that the philosophical-ethical reflection about tolerance, besides giving support to this analysis about the presence of religion in Brazilian schools, shows itself as a possible way to understand and take action against religious intolerance, which challenges schools today.

32.2 School and Religion in Brazil: Historical Notes

According to Cury (2004), the controversy about religious education in urban schools is not exactly a new topic in the Brazilian education. If one establish a very brief background about the church-state relationship, with a special focus on formal education, it is possible to see that the presence of religion in school education has been constant over the centuries (Cury 1993).

Brazil has inherited its first experiences of formal education from the Portuguese colonization, under the direction and conceptions of the Society of Jesus. In a sense,

the aforementioned society started the umbilical relationship between school education and the Christian religion in the history of the country. In the mid-seventeenth century, with the Pombaline Reforms² and the expulsion of the Jesuits (1759), there was an attempt to separate school from religion and make it more illustrious and modern. However, only by the end of the nineteenth century, 130 years after the attempt of the Marquis of Pombal,³ there was the juridical separation of church and state. Brazil became an officially laic state when it adopted the republican form of government, having this act been regulated by the Constitution of 1891.

Nonetheless, the advocacy of a public and laic school for all would strengthen with the “Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova” (Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New Education)⁴ in 1932, in the beginning of the twentieth century, a time when there were historic discussions between “liberals” and “catholics”. The first were in favor of laicity in public educational institutions; the latter defended the perpetuity of the catholic religion origin as a formative force for new generations and under the control of the state. In this historic debate, intellectuals such as Anísio Teixeira⁵ and Fernando Azevedo⁶ were erroneously called communists and materialists.

The catholic congregation won that battle, making its opinion prevail in the education laws and regulations at that time. Thus, the 1934 Constitution, already with a “New Republic” look, once again validated the connection between church and state in the education sector. Brazil witnessed then the rise of an authoritarian state and a church that once more recovered its free and direct access to power, after having been trying for 40 years to establish a laic and positivism-inspired republic.

²This the educational reform implemented by the Marquis of Pombal in 1759 throughout Portuguese lands. Among other initiatives, the Marquis of Pombal expelled the Jesuits from Portugal and its colonies, implementing an education system without the presence of religious orders.

³Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699–1782), the Marquis of Pombal, was a Portuguese statesman. He was Secretary of State during the reign of Dom José I (1750–1777) and was considered one of the most controversial characters in Portuguese history. He was a representative of the enlightened despotism in Portugal and started several administrative, economic, social and educational reforms based on the Enlightenment ideals.

⁴The Manifesto expressed the view of a segment of the Brazilian intellectual elite who, albeit with different ideologies, intended to interfere in the organization of the Brazilian society starting with education. It defended, among other proposals, a school which was public, full-time and laic with a renewed methodology and in contrast with what used to be called “traditional school”. It was written by Fernando de Azevedo and signed by 26 intellectuals including Anísio Teixeira, Afrânio Peixoto, Lourenço Filho, Roquette Pinto, Delgado de Carvalho, Hermes Lima and Cecília Meireles.

⁵Anísio Spínola Teixeira (1900–1971) was one of the main Brazilian intellectuals in the twentieth century. He was an educator, a school administrator and a writer. As a fundamental character in the history of education in Brazil, in the 1920s and 1930s he disseminated the postulates of the Escola Nova (“New School”) movement, which had as a principle a reflective and practical teaching over a bookish and memory focused teaching.

⁶Fernando de Azevedo (1894–1974) was a Brazilian professor, educator, critic, essayist and sociologist. He was one of the main articulators of the “Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova” (Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New Education) (1932).

According to Cury's (1993, 2004) analysis, by examining education laws in the last 60 years, in addition to the Brazilian education historic milestones, it is possible to see that religious teaching at urban schools has been through little legal changes, but it has gained a lot of strength. In the last 10 years, it has been one of the most controversial and recurrent topics among Brazilians.

Thus, according to the LDB⁷ published in 1961, religious education is presented as a common thread from a confessional-theological perspective and is explicitly considered a school subject. According to the LDB published in 1971, this common thread about religious education – already established in the curriculum – tries to take an anthropological and axiological perspective, recognizing religion to have a human and evaluative dimension. The present version of LDB, published in 1996, formally takes the phenomenological perspective as a common thread of religious education, which confirms the tradition of understanding education and religion as articulated dimensions.

If, in the Brazilian context, the relationship between religion and education is historical, consolidated and legitimized by current laws, why would this topic be new? The hypothesis here is to consider intolerance as a phenomenon that has strengthened and has to be better understood. Maybe it is not new as something unique. But it has certainly been a current, recurrent and worrisome topic.

32.3 Religious Intolerance in Brazilian Urban Schools: Experienced Events

We are going to present some events which were widely reported by the print and broadcast media in Brazil. They tell us about adverse experiences involving religion in urban schools, according to some students and their families. In fact, they are more than adverse experiences. They are actually instances of religious intolerance as a *relatively new* phenomenon in the school context. We use *Relatively new* since they entertain a doubt and because it is impossible to dispel it at the moment. In other words, it is not possible to determine if religious intolerance at school has truly increased or if it is simply more reported nowadays. It is a simple question which is difficult to answer. Anyhow, it is important to analyze the reports about these events and to understand what is possible – especially for teachers – to do in such situations. It is worth reminding once again that what is being considered is religious and fundamentalist intolerance as current phenomena, which is a challenge nowadays (Habermas 2013).

It is well known that there are limits to an event analysis because the work done is based on experienced events which are reported as versions, and not on the absolute truth. There is a series of variables that should not – and, in fact, are not intended to – be controlled, since they are reports about experiences. It is not in our interest

⁷Lei de Diretrizes e Bases (Directives and Bases for National Education Law, the bill that regulates education in Brazil).

to investigate what has happened in order to “sift through the facts”. According to Larrosa and Kohan (2002, p. 5), reporting an experience does not show the truth of the facts, but it “is what gives meaning to what is written”. When people write about circumstances reported as experienced events – by them or by others – they seek to understand and transform what they know and not exactly report what happened. “What motivates us to write is the possibility that this writing, this experience in words, enables us to break free from certain truths” (Larrosa and Kohan 2002, p. 5).

In this sense, the events are presented through an exercise of summarization and were transformed into brief accounts. It is well known that in every report there is a dispute over whether exaggerations and/or omissions occur in the reports. In addition to the disputes, it is assumed that the analyzed events may teach something about the relationship between school and religion. Thus, the questions presented to the analysis of the events are: Can we “break free from certain truths” with the religious intolerance cases at school, which are reported as significant experiences for those who tell them? If so, what lessons can be learned from them?

Having clarified that situation, the events will be analyzed and possible focal points among them will be sought. The intention here is also to understand our place and what we do in education, for as Larrosa and Kohan (2002, p. 6) indicate, in a parallel between writing and education,

What makes education make sense is experience, not truth. We educate in order to transform what we know, not to teach what is known. What motivates us to teach is the possibility that this act of education, this experience in action, allows us to break free from certain truths, so that we can leave behind what we are in order to be something else in addition to what we have been.

Then, we set out to report the six events involving religious intolerance in school everyday life. They are cases of proselytism and religious harassment against atheists, nonbelievers, Jewish and Candomblé⁸ practitioners. The events report conflicts that place teachers, principals and employees on one side and students and their families on the other.

The first event happened in 2009 in Aimorés, Minas Gerais. A 17-year-old high school student was suspended from an urban school because he was wearing a cap. According to the student, he was not suspended because the cap was not a uniform item but because he had not taken it off when the class was saying the Hail Mary prayer, which happened every day during the first class. The prayer was said through the school PA system and everybody should leave their heads free from accessories. The student was removed from the classroom under laughs from schoolmates, was suspended for a day and missed a chemistry test arranged for the first class. The student’s mother, a catholic, went to the school to try to understand the punishment inflicted upon her son. The principal insisted that there had not been any form of religious intolerance, but the school rule (“you should take off your hat at prayer time”) had been applied. Students were allowed to wear caps at school, but not at prayer time. The student claimed that making somebody pray at an urban school

⁸ African-Brazilian religion, originally practiced by slaves.

was forbidden and the headmaster told him “there was no such law”. The student, who dates the parish youth group coordinator and would have already been visited by the parish priest, claimed that he respects his girlfriend’s, his mother’s, his family’s and his teachers’ faith. However, he felt humiliated when he was removed from his classroom for not taking off his cap in reverence and was aggrieved for not being able to take the test.

The second event happened in Rio de Janeiro in 2011. A 13 year-old student was attending an art class and had made an Egyptian pyramids model. He was talking to his classmates when the Portuguese teacher, who had entered after the art class, removed him from the classroom shouting names such as “Satan” and “Son of the devil” at him. The attack “seemed” nonsensical, since there had been no previous or explicit conflict between the student and the teacher. The student was wearing beaded necklaces, which is a symbolic representation of the Candomblé Orishas,⁹ under his uniform. By wearing an ornament that openly manifests his religious faith, the student would have irritated the teacher, who was a Protestant. She forbid him to attend her classes and got her other Protestant students not to talk to him anymore. Little by little the student lost the will to go to school. He failed that year and had to change schools. According to his mother, this event modified her son’s personality and left its marks on his school record. Before taking the case to court, she tried to solve the problem at the school but the administration was silent according to her. Then she decided to go to the police station to file a police report against the teacher.

The third event happened in Miraf, Minas Gerais, in 2012. A geography teacher at an urban school decided to start her classes saying the Lord’s Prayer. One of her students decided to keep silent. When she noticed the student’s reaction, she told him, according to some reports, that “a young person who doesn’t keep God in their heart will never be anybody in life”. The 17-year-old student said that what she was doing was illegal according to the Constitution. Then, the teacher replied that “there wasn’t such law”. Both had a strong argument and the case ended up in the school administration office. Due to his resistance to pray, the high school student became a victim of some classmates, who started picking on him saying he “belonged to the devil”. On one occasion, the young man recorded part of the prayer on his cell phone and made it available on the internet. It is possible to hear the Lord’s Prayer in the video. At the end, instead of saying “but deliver us from evil”, some classmates said “but deliver us from [student’s name]”. After having heard of the video his mother went to the school. According to her, the teacher excused herself saying that what she had meant was to warn the young man he would not be anybody “spiritually”. “My boy has always been a good student, an ethical kid with moral values. I even cried when I saw the video”, said the mother, who is a Kardecist.¹⁰ The principal said the teacher was “misunderstood” and she always had the “good habit” of praying. It was agreed the teacher would not teach this group the first class

⁹Transcendental entities that influence Candomblé believers’ lives and attitudes.

¹⁰Kardecism is a religious doctrine developed by Alan Kardec, who lived in France during the nineteenth century. It believes in the existence of spirits and reincarnation.

anymore. Consequently, he would not have to hear the Lord's Prayer, which was a part of the teacher's routine avowed by the school administration.

The fourth event happened in Brasília in 2012. According to some parents, an urban elementary school in the North Area of the capital operated "as a religious school without families knowing anything about it". The children had to pray before classes, sing religious songs, thank "our Father in heaven" and bless the food and the teachers. Some parents denounced the school administration to the Department of Education. The principal admitted that the kids were motivated to say a "spontaneous prayer": "Every day one of them is responsible for thanking God for something". The school administration was reported for subjecting kids to religious proselytism without parents being consulted on, and not being concerned with their beliefs or disbeliefs. One of the parents could not understand why the day care center taught his daughter that God was male and the world's creator. It is not what he had planned to teach her. A student's mother thought it strange when her son started singing Christian songs. Some parents, however, defended the school and signed a petition asking that prayers should be kept. One argued that "love is built" at school and nonbeliever parents wanted to stop that. The day care center was part of a pilot plan that would include other six urban elementary schools. All of them, after investigation, were reported for the same problem, which demonstrates that maybe it was not an isolated attitude coming from certain teachers, but actually a guideline that probably came from the childhood education political administration in Brasília.

The fifth event happened in Engenheiro Paulo de Frontin, Rio de Janeiro, in 2014. A ninth grade Jewish student was being forced to say the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of classes. It called attention of the media when the president of the Israeli Federation of Rio de Janeiro submitted a request for explanation to the school administration as well as the Department of Education. The request was based on the family's report that their son was being subjected to proselytism. According to the father, his son started to have problems at school, but the family could not identify what it was exactly. Eventually, the boy came back from school and said he could not stand having to pray every day anymore. The boy was criticized by his colleagues when he refused to pray with everyone else. One of the school officers asked him to get back to the prayer, claiming it was "a universal prayer and that he could certainly say it". Although the student had claimed several times that it was a Christian prayer and it did not represent his particular faith, she insisted that he had to stay during prayer, which gave rise to more criticism from the other children. In the end, the case was reported to the Child Protective Services and to the police. The school administration informed that prayer was an optional activity that some employees, teachers and students would engage in. They reinforced that it was not an activity imposed on everybody. However, in an agreement with the Department of Education, the boy's family decided on his changing schools and keeping his name undercover.

The sixth event happened in Rio de Janeiro in 2014. A 12-year-old boy was initiated into Candomblé and, according to his *Babalorixá* (higher priest in Candomblé), he should wear white clothes, beaded necklaces and cover his head on the following days. He wore the beads under the school's uniform which did not seem like a

problem to the family, since other children wore colorful pants, sneakers and other types of accessories (necklaces, bracelets and rings). However, the boy was not allowed to enter school allegedly because he was not wearing the uniform properly. “The principal, with her hand on the boy’s chest, said he couldn’t enter wearing his beaded necklaces, which were under his shirt”, claimed the mother, who was accompanying her son to school. According to the family’s report, the boy cried a lot and did not go to school for 30 days until he got transferred to another one in the same neighborhood. The Public Defender’s Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro, via its Human Rights Center, is working on the case. Social movements groups and religious freedom leaders held a demonstration in front of the school on the following days, but there was no official statement from the principal, even though the family received support from the Department of Education.

Are these events isolated cases or could they be interpreted as the current state of the relationship between school and religion? Apparently, there are lessons to be learned from these cases and that is what this third part of the article is about.

32.4 Reporting and Learning with Experienced Events

Considering the given events, what can be learned from what was experienced and reported? In a letter to her professor Karl Jaspers, Hannah Arendt talks about reporting and learning with experienced events:

I can understand history only from the perspective which I occupy myself. I try to interpret history, try to understand what is expressed in it, from the perspective I have gained through my own experience. What I am able to understand in this way, I make it my own; what I cannot understand I reject. If I have understood your view correctly, then I have to ask: How is it possible, on the basis of this view of the interpretation of history, *to learn something new from history?* [...] To submerge oneself in history would thus mean no more than finding an abundant source of appropriate examples.¹¹

Larrosa (2002, p.21), in turn, defends that the reporting of experienced events tells us about “what goes past us, what happens to us, what touches us”. The report of an experienced event is not about what really happened, but what touches us. This is the analysis work here: to understand what touches us in these events. “Never have so many things happened, but the experience is rarer each time” (Larrosa 2002, p. 21). The proposal is to focus less on what happened and allow experienced and reported events to touch us more, to tell us about a phenomenon that cannot be reduced to these six specific cases. To that goal, it will be necessary an exercise of interpretation, in addition to information and opinion.

The modern individual is informed and, moreover, plenty of opinions. It is somebody who has a supposedly personal opinion, which is also supposedly his own and, sometimes, supposedly critical of everything that happens, of everything he is informed about. Opinion and information has become essential for us. In our arrogance, we spend our lives giving

¹¹ Correspondence between Arendt and Jaspers, extract from Adler (2007, p. 33).

opinions about anything we feel informed about. And if one does not have an opinion, if they do not have their own point of view about what is going on, if they do not have a ready assumption about anything that is presented to them, they feel fake, as if something essential was missing to them. And they pretend they have to have an opinion. Following that process, information becomes opinion. However, this obsession for opinion also nullifies our possibilities for experience. It also makes sure that nothing happens to us. (Larrosa 2002, p. 22)

In this sense, more than give simple opinions about the abundant information related to the events reported here, there will be an attempt to listen to them and dig them out for convergent interpretative clues. Thus, from Arendt's perspective, it is necessary to "submerge in an abundant source of appropriate examples". And, as an interpretative work, it is necessary to question what these cases may teach us. It is possible that there are a number of different ways to interpret them, but six aspects have touched us more deeply.

Firstly, it is possible to admit the hypothesis that religion is present in urban schools, from elementary school to high school, disregarding religious education classes. The experiences reported here happened in core subject classes: Geography, Portuguese, Art and Chemistry, as well as at playtime, lunch break, breaks in between classes or at the beginning of activities early in the morning. Even though religious education is a complicating factor for the discussion of the experiences that have been lived in schools, the objective of this article is to shift the attention to the presence of religion in school routines (Andrade and Teixeira 2014). It is not concerned, for the time being, with the disciplinary knowledge of religious education. What it is concerned with is the experienced and reported events by these students and their families which are about how religion has been dealt with in school routines. In other words, in addition to the quarrel about the curricular teaching of religious content as a specific subject, religion is present in the everyday life in schools.

Secondly, it is possible to admit, once again by what was experienced and reported, that religious faith has been a reason for an increasing number of cases of intolerance in the routine of schools, involving several different individuals: teachers, employees, students, family members and authorities (police, Child Protective Services, Public Defenders). In all the experienced events reported before, it calls the attention that at first the families tried to negotiate the end of religious proselytism and/or asked for the religious harassment to stop. According to Camps and Valcárcel (2007, p. 127), religious intolerance "defies reasoning" and "is a problem of lack of moral sense". In other words, it is the interruption of the most basic moral values that were built throughout history for, according to these thinkers, religion condones neither intolerance nor hate speech against different faiths. However, this has been a painful experience reported by children, adolescents and young people and, in an effort to protect them, families try to negotiate at first and then move on to reporting them to the competent authorities (Silva and Ribeiro 2007). It is also worth highlighting the absence (or the collapse) of school authorities to deal with the situation and the increasing judicialization of the events involving religious intolerance. It seems that teachers, employees and principals dismiss the reports of

students and their families and, even worse, it does not seem to be any teaching about or learning from the reported events. The families defended their children through a lawsuit and/or transferring them to other schools. What does it tell us, as educators? Why can't we consider them, as well as learn and teach by using them?

A third aspect to consider from the reported events is that intolerance is mainly revealed as a confrontation between Christianity and the other religious beliefs or disbeliefs. In other words, the reports speak about the resistance of certain Christian groups in face of non-hegemonic ways to experiment and experience faith and knowledge expressed in schools (Habermas 2013). It is worth reminding that Voltaire (2000), in the eighteenth century, had already claimed that Christianity, both catholic and protestant, is organized in the West as a competitive, expansionist and proselytistic religion. These conclusions were presented in *Treatise on Tolerance* in 1763, due to innumerable cases of religious intolerance that had scandalized the Enlightenment thinkers in Europe (Locke 1965). Proselytism is not exclusive of Christianity, but in the Brazilian context and especially in our urban schools, the Christian religion is the one which has had difficulties to deal with other religious beliefs or disbeliefs most of the times (Silva and Ribeiro 2007).

Fourth, it is possible to notice, by analyzing some events, that the presence or prohibition of the expression of religious faiths in school routine is not consensual among teachers, students and families. Those who try to question the hegemonic religious expressions are stalked, ridiculed and nicknamed "children of Satan", "people without love" and "people without God". Sometimes, those who wish to impose the hegemonic religion offer the argument that they have the right to religious expression. Oro (2012, p. 183) claims that historically in the Brazilian context both Kardecists and Protestants have always advocated and benefitted from freedom of religion, because they saw in it the possibility to challenge Catholic hegemony. On the other hand, practitioners of African-Brazilian religions and nonbelievers are among "the most reticent about the free exercise of religion" (Oro 2012, p. 185). That happens because they know the freedom given to others could be, in fact, a chance for the minority groups to be persecuted. In the reported events, it is worth noticing that five out of the six cases involve these two groups. Thus, if only minority groups – such as atheists, nonbelievers, Jews or practitioners of African-Brazilian religions – need to negotiate their presence in schools and/or report proselytism and religious harassment, it seems clear that urban schools allow only religious expressions from the hegemonic groups (Catholics and/or Protestants), with the consent of other students, teachers, employees, principals and families and, as shown in one of the cases, with the support of those responsible for the educational public policies.

A fifth aspect calls the attention for bringing out into the open the deficiency of republican experiences (Larrosa 2002, p. 22). It refers to the fact that school personnel, mainly teachers and principals, deny students their rights to freedom of religious expression and claim not to be aware that religious diversity should be respected in urban schools. In other words, they do not know that schools, being a public space and for all, should be laic (Cury 1993, 2004). They also deny that forcing children, adolescents and young people to accept a certain religious expression is a disrespectful, immoral and illegal attitude (Camps and Valcárcel 2007). It is also

worth reminding that, as Andrade and Teixeira (2014) warn, the experienced and reported events have nothing to do with religious education as a curricular subject which would be offered to those who freely wanted it. In our point of view, what makes these experienced and reported events more worrisome is the fact that intolerance is shown as a pervasive practice which permeates different aspects of school life, regardless of a curricular subject and with a high level of unawareness coming from school personnel about their moral (Camps and Valcárcel 2007) and juridical (Cury 1993, 2004) duties towards the defense of religious plurality in school routine.

The sixth aspect refers to a question which deserves emphasis: why is religion in schools and why does it provoke intolerance? We dare to ask this question in a different way: what is religious intolerance taking the place of in schools? Is it occupying some kind of “empty space”? Is it there because we do not offer something that should be in schools, but is not? Our hypothesis – and in this article we present it as just a hypothesis – is that religious fundamentalism is in schools in the absence of a more resolute discussion about ethics, moral, justice, tolerance, freedom and equality. Religious intolerance has its place when there is an absence of a philosophical (Habermas 2013) and sociological (Oro 2012) discussion about the religious phenomenon and occupies the place of a clearer educational project to foster ethical and moral values (Camps and Valcárcel 2007). The argument for the presence of religion in schools – especially, religious education – is also invariably based on the fact that it supposedly corroborates a teaching of values, disguising how perverse and in favor of fundamentalism, proselytism and religious minorities harassment this argument can be. The key question to ask the advocates of religious education in urban schools is: who should define which values will be used in schools and will be legitimated in the curriculum, which should be to all, with all and for all? We do not argue that religion should have the prerogative to teach values and we insist that we have enough curricular subjects (philosophy, sociology, history, art, literature, among others) to teach these values and to also question fundamentalism, proselytism and religious harassment.

To interpret these events is trying to give a different meaning to the educational experience, its times, its individuals and its knowledge.

In the generalized destruction of experience logic, I am more and more convinced that the educational apparatus also works more and more in order to make it impossible for something to happen to us. Not only, as I said before, by the perverse and generalized performance of the information/opinion combination, but also by its speed. We spend more and more time at school (university and teacher training courses are also part of school), but we have less and less time. [...] And the curriculum includes more and more and is, however, briefer and briefer. Consequently, in education we are also always in a hurry and nothing happens to us. (Larrosa 2002, p. 23)

It is worth questioning if we are inclined to consider the reports of religious intolerance in school. And, more importantly, if we can protect those who tell us their experiences of blatant violations to their right of being free and having different religious beliefs or disbeliefs. If it is true that religion is present in schools, independently from religious education, it is also true that it has been the reason of

persecution and humiliation to several children, adolescents and young people who profess a different faith from the majority or who do not profess any particular faith. Trying to consider and interpret these events – both experienced and reported –, will be necessary to move on in the conceptualization of laicity, as proposed below.

32.5 Potentialities and Limits of Laicity in the Brazilian Context

In this third part of the text, the objective is to analyze some conceptualizations which have contributed to overcoming intolerance in the urban school routine. This will be done by listening to and interpreting the reported events and by considering the necessary and urgent complaints. In this sense, there is no doubt that the concept of laicity has been tremendously useful. We want to examine it and identify its potentialities and limits. The objective here is to take laicity as a starting point and to assume interculturality as our proposal.

Therefore, in order to justify the arguments here presented, it is worth noting that different Brazilian researchers in the education area and renowned advocates of urban education have defended laicity (Cury 1993, 2004) and the end of religious education in urban schools (Caputo 2012; Cunha 2013). We fully support the legitimacy of what they defend and we believe it is fundamental to add to the discussion about laicity in urban schools an approach that also supports interculturality. In our view, this analytical perspective offers an understanding of secularity and laicity in a more compatible way to the demands of religious diverse societies, such as the Brazilian one (Jacob et al. 2003).

We will try to show why we understand that the advocacy for laicity in urban schools has to be linked to an intercultural analytical perspective, in order to overcome intolerance as one of the challenges that urban schools face nowadays. However, before proceeding to the defense of interculturality, we will have to carefully discuss the concept of laicity.

Laicity (*laïcité*) is a polemic term which was coined in the modern era. It has a strong liberal inspiration and, it seems, has little support from a significant part of the Brazilian society, who still defines itself as deeply religious, according to different surveys (Jacob et al. 2003; Oro 2012). So, we believe it is appropriate to understand why and how the concept of laicity is born in the Western world and how it becomes one of the most controversial banners in the discussion about the relationship between school and religion. The analysis exercise defined here should follow two guidelines. On the one hand, to understand the historical birth of the concept and, on the other hand, to understand its potentialities and limits in order to make us understand and take action in a context that is characterized by religious diversity, but also by religious intolerance, fundamentalism and proselytism, as we tried to demonstrate with the experienced and reported events in the previous section.

Laicity is strongly influenced by the birth of the concept of secularization, although they have historical and semantic differences (Glasner 1996a, b; Habermas 2013). According to Glasner (1996a), laicity was coined with a meaning close to secularity, that is, as a “doctrine of non-interference” between church and state. Sarmiento (2007), in turn, helps us understand that the State laicity, which comes from the idea of secularism, works in two ways. On the one hand, it protects the different religious denominations from the state abusive intervention and, on the other, it protects the State from improper influences from any religious groups. Secularization does not move in an exclusive or unequivocal way as one could erroneously believe at first. Secularization is not only about protecting the state public sphere from the influence of religion, but it is also about protecting the religious private sphere from state interference. From this point of view, secularity and laicity depend directly on the concept of religion adopted. In other words, they work as two sides of the same coin (Glasner 1996b).

To Berger (1985), taking a specific point of view from the Western world, secularization is the process which takes society and culture from the dominion of religious institutions. From a sociostructural point of view, it comprises three decisive actions: (i) separation of the church and the state; (ii) expropriation of church’s lands; (iii) emancipation of education from clerical power. From a cultural and symbolic point of view, it is also reflected on the removal of religious themes from the arts, philosophy, literature and, last but not least, on the ascension of science as an autonomous and entirely secular view of the world.

The word “secularization” initially had the juridical meaning of being a compulsory transfer of church possessions to the secular public authorities. This meaning was changed with the appearance of cultural and social modernity as a whole. Opposing views have been associated to “secularization” since then. It will depend on whether the successful control of the clerical authority by the secular power is placed first or the unlawful appropriation. (Habermas 2013, p. 5, emphasis in original)

Berger (1985) adds that there is still a subjective dimension to this process which results in the secularization of the consciousness. In this way, in the modern Western world, an increasing number of individuals conceive reality without having to resort to faith interpretations and they guide their private lives without or with very little interference from religious organizations. In summary, religion is more and more restricted to its specific practice, that is, the union (or reunion) between what is human and what is transcendent. In this conception, religion (*religare*, reconnect) would do what is particular to it or what no other aspect of human life could do; and only to those who would freely and privately look for it.

We must not forget that the origin of secularization takes us back to the Enlightenment. It was the first movement to propose that science and reason should substitute religion’s “superstition” and “magic” (Peres 2006). The Enlightenment was an European thought movement characteristic of the second half of the eighteenth century which comprised not only philosophical thinking, but also the arts, political theory, legal principles and epistemology (Marcondes 2002). The idea of the Enlightenment itself indicates – through the metaphor of light and clarity – an opposition to darkness, obscurantism, ignorance and superstition. In other words, it

is opposed to the existence of something occult and obscure and emphasizes the need for reality, in all its aspects, to become transparent and lucid, in the sense of more intelligible to reason.

Thus, the most important element of the Enlightenment is individual consciousness, which is considered autonomous in its capability for knowing what is real. Therefore, knowledge, science and education are its weapons. In this sense, the Encyclopedia's project of synthesizing the knowledge of that age making it potentially accessible to all individuals (or consciences) is very representative of this concept. It precisely bestows on knowledge the capability for freeing the human being from the shackles that are imposed on them by ignorance and superstition (Marcondes 2002). Here, as we know, is the famous and historical dispute between how religion and science understand the world. And this dispute not only involves consciousness, but, above all, epistemology and education.

The idea of humanity's rational progress – here also called Enlightenment – is, therefore, one of the central characteristics of the Enlightenment movement (Habermas 2013). On the other hand, the elements that would prevent such progress should be identified for they oppose reason. Among these elements is mainly religion, once it subjects the human being to its irrational beliefs and to a kind of authority that is external to the individual consciousness, that is, to the Church, which is an organization based on superstition or, at best, on non-rational principles.

Therefore, according to Marcondes (2002), the Enlightenment thought appears with a very strong laicist or secular characteristic or, in other words, with an antireligious characteristic. It is important to notice that, little by little, one of the repercussions of the Enlightenment is the questioning of authority and the role of religion in everyday life, in the most prosaic routines and in the individual consciousness, which turned out to be one of the central features of the modern world. Then, the human being becomes the measure of all or almost all things in the world. In a certain way, this movement will result in the bourgeoisie ascension, more rational and individualistic. It also resulted in the fall of the absolute monarchies whose power was legitimized by God, which was an external force to the individual consciousness.

When describing post-secular societies Habermas (2013, p. 5) presents two different readings about the relationship between faith and reason which are both mistaken:

According to one version, religious ways of thinking and living are replaced by rational, but in any event superior equivalents; according to the other version, the modern ways of thinking and living are discredited as being possessions that have been purloined illegitimately. The ousting model suggests itself as an interpretation of the demystified modern age that is optimistic of progress, while the dispossession model suggests itself as an interpretation of the theory of the decline of the homeless modern age.

According to Habermas (2013, p. 6), “both readings make the same mistake” because they consider secularization a zero-sum game between faith and reason. On the one hand there are the productive forces of science and technology. On the other hand there are the conservative forces of religion and the church. In this game there

can be only one theory as the winner and, according to the philosopher, this is the mistake of a dualistic and simplistic opposition, even if the “liberal rules of the game” clearly favor “the driving forces of modernity”.

It is worth noticing that the revision of dualistic and simplistic readings between faith and reason has been recurrent among some thinkers. Berger (1985, 2001), for instance, demonstrates a change of mind in his writings. In *The Sacred Canopy* (Berger 1985) the author presents the theory of secularization as an unavoidable process to the Western world which would consequently imply a more and more significant decrease to religion. Years later, however, in *The Desecularization of the World* (Berger 2001) he recognizes the limits of his previous argumentation. In this sense, he emphasizes that modernity and secularization would be a phenomenon quite restricted to the West. This specific function of religion as something which should deal only with the supernatural, ethics, the idea of God and salvation is specific of the modern Western world.

In a revision of his first argumentation, Berger (2001) claims the belief that modernization leads to the decline of religion, which is found in the Enlightenment and in the sociology of religion works from the 1950s and 1960s, would be mistaken. Secondly, he claims that the world today, with a few exceptions, is “as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places, more so than ever” (Berger 2001, p. 10 1999 p. 2). He admits then that modernity has had secularizing effects, but it has also provoked powerful movements of counter-secularization. Besides that, secularization on the societal level is not necessarily linked to secularization on the level of individual consciousness, as the Enlightenment had predicted. Berger (2001) seems to call the attention to a typically Western phenomenon, that is, the coexistence of strongly secularized societies and deeply religious individuals, without meaning something necessarily contradictory.

Thus, Berger (2001) proposes what he calls the process of desecularization, in other words, the inverse process to secularization, which would be religion taking back the place which it has never truly left. He points out two basic reasons for this phenomenon: (i) modernity tends to undermine the certainties people had throughout history (which is quite uncomfortable for some) and religious movements that promise certainties are more attractive and comforting than the insecurities of the individual consciousness and (ii) a purely secular view of reality finds its principal place in a cultural elite which, predictably, influences people who are not members of this elite, but is still restricted to some social circles.

From this point of view, religious movements with a strong counter-secular tendency may then attract people with grievances which sometimes are clearly not motivated by religion, but are ideological or identity-related. Berger (2011) exemplifies this phenomenon through the radical Islamism in several African and Middle-Eastern countries and the fundamentalist Evangelical boom in the last decades in the USA and other American countries. All the evidence suggests that such phenomena are not only religious, but they also involve many other aspects of life. Religion per se could not be the only reason. According to Habermas (2013, p. 4 p. 328) there are “orthodoxies” in the Western world and in the Middle-East among Christians, Jews and Muslims, and “if we want to avoid a clash of civilizations, we

must keep in mind that the dialectic of our own occidental process of secularization has yet not come to a close”.

Berger (2001) also makes a counterpoint which shows exceptions to the secularization theory. The first case is that of Western Europe where a strong secularization is verified in what concerns clerical behavior and the codes of personal behavior imposed by the Church. The second case is represented by an international subculture which comprises people with higher education level in the Western world model. This subculture has been until today the main vehicle of Enlightenment and progressive beliefs and values. Although their members are relatively few they are very influential because they control the institutions that “officially” define reality, mainly the education system, mass media and the highest ranks of the legal system. However, once again it is worth reminding that this subculture’s convictions are restricted to the intellectual elite, howbeit powerful and influent over other social groups.

However, Mariz’s (2001) criticism of Berger (2001) problematizes the concept of desecularization. According to that sociologist, if the decline of religion did not come to pass, it would not be appropriate, initially, to propose a term such as desecularization. This should be reserved for very specific situations in which secularization had effectively been implemented and reversed. Berger (2001) would not deny then the process of secularization per se, but the belief that modernity will necessarily generate the decline of religion as a whole and in different levels, both social and individual. According to Mariz (2001), it makes more sense to think about the process of secularization as a movement full of ups and downs. Thus, a strong religious feeling could be understood as something that has never been eradicated from society and there are no reasons to say 1 day it will be.

Taylor (2010) also agrees that the idea that we live in a secularized and laic world is a big mistake. The Canadian philosopher analyzes, with a few reservations, the modern advocacy of a secular world and a laic state. In *A Secular Age*, Taylor (2010) analyzes first the claim that we live in secular times; and second, why we changed from a kind of society in which it was almost impossible not to believe in God to one in which faith represents only one among many possibilities in human life.

Taylor (2010), a philosopher who dedicates his time to understanding multicultural societies, presents three possible ways to understand secularity. The first one is the traditional separation between church and state, characterized by the principles of modern rationalism and liberalism. It is worth reminding that it is from this point of view that the discourse of the laicity of the state and its institutions (school; Legislative power; juridical deontology) originates. The second one defends that secularity consists of forsaking convictions and religious practices as the only things that would give meaning to social life. Thus, it is possible to observe a certain decline of religion and its practices, but not necessarily of non-institutionalized religious faith. Finally, the third way to understand secularity, to which Taylor (2010) is especially dedicated, is the understanding of faith as one among many other identity related elements. It is one option among others that give meaning to life, the world, human relations and society.

Taylor (2010), strongly criticizing the Enlightenment, assumes a critical intellectual attitude towards modern values, but not forgetting to address them for what they have as their best, most reasonable and, last but not least, most inevitable. According to our analysis, the most important is the fact that the philosopher does not assume a merely controversial attitude against secularization or the dramatic rise of new religious phenomena, Berger's (2001) desecularization. Taylor (2011), who corroborates Habermas' (2013) opinion, disagrees with the position that defends that only pure (or laic) reason should have a place in the public sphere. He claims that such proposition is based on the assumption that the "secular language" is "spoken" by all and then everybody could discuss and be convinced through the use of it. "Religious language", in turn, would operate outside this discourse, bringing assumptions that would be uncommon to it and only religious people would accept them. There would be, in this sense, an epistemological difference: on the one hand, secular reason, which everybody uses and may reach conclusions that are understandable to all; on the other hand, religious reason, which would not be able to be used by all and would only convince those who have already used it. Thus, Taylor (2011) and Habermas (2013) agree that dualistic oppositions between faith and reason, so much evoked to delimit modernity, do not work anymore in post-secular societies (Habermas 2013) or in a supposed secular era (Taylor 2011). Now, why is this argumentation important to this debate? Simply because these non-dualistic distinctions between faith and reason threaten the concept of the laicity of the state and, consequently, of a public and laic school, as we will see next.

From this point of view, Taylor (2011) warns that neither could a law be justified with arguments like "*the Bible says...*", nor could it have arguments like "*Marx said that religion is the opium of the people*" or "*Kant demonstrated that the only thing that is good without qualification is the good will...*". Thus, the state cannot be Christian, Muslim or Jewish, but it also could not be Marxist, Kantian or Rawlsian. The state will certainly have to take decisions which will reflect its citizens' opinions (Christians, Jews, Muslims, Marxists, Kantians, Utilitarians or of any other worldview), but these decisions could not be reached by giving special recognition to any of them. Taylor (2011) admits that the state – and schools are included – has an extremely difficult mission in present times (a non-secular and nonreligious age). However, he defends this is the job of the contemporary state. In other words, more than being laic, the state should be the one to listen to everybody and consider the best arguments, a priori not disqualifying any of them. Taking the same point of view, Cortina (2005) adds that the only arguments to be disqualified are those which disrespect the minimal ethics socially agreed upon in favor of human dignity.

Taylor (2010, 2011) and Cortina (1996, 2005) go beyond a mere objection to laicity or religion because they consider, on the one hand, that this is the ethical attitude that is more appealing to rational and reasonable people and, on the other hand, that religious experience presents a certain setting that is, in fact, already part of a world (insufficiently or not at all secularized) which few of us would be willing to completely renounce.

Thus, in a deeply multicultural (Cortina 2005) and multi-religious society, it seems that the concept of laicity shows, on the one hand, potentialities and, on the

other hand, argumentative disadvantages. In our judgement, however, laicity should be more and more reinforced by operation of law, which corresponds to the first sense of secularization given by Taylor (2010) as well as Glasner (1996a). In other words, church and state need to be separate in order to guarantee their autonomy and isonomy in their specific spheres of citizen and religious lives. Nonetheless, our argumentative choice is not only juridical but, above all, philosophical-ethical as well as pedagogical.

Thus, following Berger's (2001), Taylor's (2010, 2011), Cortina's (1996, 20005), and Habermas' (2013) argumentation, we consider religion – or its denial – to constitute the individual's identity. In this sense, it is impossible not to also think of our schools routines. A teacher and/or student who enters the school space will not abjure – and it would not be convenient that they did – their religious beliefs or disbeliefs. We believe that when one enters the school space he or she is entirely there, with their skin color, gender, sexual orientation, generation, culture, origin, political and pedagogical convictions. Thus, we recognize that there are argumentative potentialities in secularization as a legal defense of a laic school, but, at the same time, we understand there are argumentative limits, from a practical point of view, to defend a “colorless”, “non gender”, “asexual”, “pedagogically neutral” or “politically impartial” individual. In other words, the argumentation of a supposedly neutral individual, based on the ideals of modern liberalism and of individual consciousness may lead to a concept of laicity as a form of “religious neutrality”, as if it were possible for someone to totally abjure their religious beliefs or disbeliefs in order to have a place in the public or in the school space.

Finally, we would still like to put forward the hypothesis that the term “laic” could be understood as “without religion” or, maybe even worse to maintain minimum social coexistence, as “anti-religious”, which would place us in direct confrontation to those who sincerely express their religious faith in an age that, according to Berger (2001) and Taylor (2010, 2011), has nothing to do with secular. Nonetheless, we hope it is clear that – when advocating that someone may express their identity as it is – we are not advocating racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia or political repression. Thus, in the same sense, when we present the limits to identity neutrality from a religious standpoint, we are, under no circumstance, advocating religious intolerance, fundamentalism and proselytism in urban schools. This is the complex task that schools have nowadays, as Taylor (2011) warns.

Our choice has been to discuss how religion is present in schools. As we have tried to show, it is present in schools apart from any legal regulation about, for example, religious education as a school subject. We believe in the multicultural dialogue among the different identity expressions found in schools, that is, the dialogue among the different possibilities to understand genders, sexualities, ethnicities, cultures and generations. And among these different identity expressions we also recognize religion. Thus, the focus has been the intercultural dialogue in order to guarantee religious tolerance. Therefore, it will be necessary to make the last movement intended in this text, which we will present next: the advocacy of tolerance as an intercultural ethical minimum.

32.6 Tolerance: Our Belief in an Intercultural Ethical Minimum

We have to admit that intercultural education is our main assumption at this moment. We understand interculturalism as an educational perspective based on difference, be it gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, origin or religious identity differences. In this sense, we consider “difference as the Gordian knot” (Semprini 1999, p. 90) of the discussions about interculturalism, which we believe is an indispensable guide of an educational proposal to our times and to pluralist societies, as the Brazilian one.

Thus, we endorse Candau’s (2002) perspective, in which the concept of multiculturalism produces but one evidence: we live in a pluralist world. Interculturalism – which could be described in different typologies or shades of meaning – in turn, is more than an evidence, for it presents a proposal: in multicultural societies it is necessary to establish interaction, dialogue and exchange among the different coexisting – and, why not, competing and divergent – groups in the public space.

We are aware of a highly pertinent critical analysis of our belief: in multicultural societies not all groups and individuals are prone to dialogue. Dialogue has its limits. The indisputable question is: if not by dialogue or argumentation, what would be the alternative to different and divergent groups or individuals coexist and interact in the public space? It definitely would not be violence. Thus, we have a few alternatives such as juridical coercion. However, if we advocate pluralist as well as democratic societies, it is an ethical impossibility to discard dialogue as a method and as an aim. Then, we insist on it as a method and as an aim, that is, as a morally justifiable alternative to be able to coexist – albeit not without conflict – for those who legitimately advocate different, divergent and opposite identities in a pluralist society. In fact, like in many other topics in dispute, if dialogue fails, juridical coercion is the subsequent alternative.

Nonetheless, understanding how the interaction and the dialogue should be, may lead to a proposal about interculturalism before resorting to juridical coercion. Thus, assimilationist, formalist, differentialist, critical or revolutionary conceptions among others could be argued about. Being aware of these distinctions and specific disputes over a field of research, we believe that, for now, it is important to point out that we understand interculturalism as a process that seeks – through dialogue and having it as a goal – to establish processes that promote equality as a right and the acknowledgement of differences. It is neither about equality as uniformity nor difference as discrimination. But it is about “the right to be different when equality homogenizes us” and “the right to be equals when difference makes us inferior” (Santos 2003, p. 56).

Having considered these preliminary clarifications, we will focus on why and how we understand the importance of the concept of tolerance to be able to reconsider the dialogue as an alternative in face of the religious phenomenon which is present in schools nowadays, in a multicultural point of view. In this sense, an aspect that deserves emphasis is the necessity of the educational sector think about what

the minimum values and attitudes to be taught in urban schools are. Which values and attitudes do we already share to be able to live in a pluralist society? Which values and attitudes can or should we establish minima of common understanding about in order to make a proposal of intercultural education?

Educators should also know which are their “decent minima of morality” when they are conveying values and attitudes, most of all in what concerns urban education in a pluralist society. Because it is certain that as educators they do not have legitimacy to convey only the values that seem appropriate to them. [...] Would it not be urgent to find out which values we may share and that are worth teaching? Is it or is it not urgent to find out the “decent minima” of values already shared?¹² (Cortina 1996, pp. 57–58)

We wish to establish, then, a link between these questions and the previous considerations in the first part of this text. In other words, how these questions help us re-signify the advocacy of secularization and laicity as well as their potentialities and limits in an intercultural approach. We have already said that the concepts of secularization and laicity help us partially, but in our view they face limitations that in a perspective that aims at going beyond the discourse of modern rationality may take us to aspects of the discussion about the school-religion relationship which are rarely considered. Thus, the problems about the shared minima seem to be appropriate in order to avoid two errors. The first one would be to minimize the role of the school as a public space in which religious discourse enters with an uncommon strength. The second one would be to identify the arguments about secularization and laicity, which are based on the logic of modern rationality, as the only possible ones to solve the religious conflicts that schools face nowadays.

Thus, we believe it will be important to understand what the common minima we share are. It seems essential to devise strategies which will guarantee these requisite moral minima, that is, the few ones which reveal something that is fundamental. And what is fundamental, actually, is no small thing. In fact, it is the most important thing (Andrade 2009). According to the minimalist – and never simplistic – aphorism “less is more”, in other words, less can be fundamental or indispensable, that which by no means can be missing. Only in this specific sense does the argument of Cortina (1996) about the decent minima of morality make sense, because they indicate some principles to be respected in order to behave with justice in a pluralist society. When we say “decent minima” we are fundamentally facing a question of justice, in other words, how to equally meet the different demands and necessities of multicultural societies.

According to Cortina (1996, p. 57), the task of “establishing a decent minimum of shared values so that decisions are respectful of plurality” is found in the distinction between “ethics of justice” and “ethics of happiness”. In this sense, it is important to establish the distances and convergences of what is just and what is good. “It

¹²It is important to notice that, according to Adela Cortina (1996), “decent minima of morality” are related to the moral duties of justice, that is, morally valid standards that are historically and socially established. It has nothing to do with the word “decent”, which is usually used as “moralism”. In her other works, the philosopher also uses the term “morally demandable minima” as a synonym of “decent minima”.

is almost impossible to determine what is just if we do not have a previous idea of what a dignified or good life is. In this sense, if we disregard the demands of justice it will be impossible to outline an ideal of happiness,” (Cortina 1996, p. 60). Without denying the interconnection between good and just, the Spanish philosopher defends the delimitation of the concepts. She argues that just has to do with what is requisite and, as such, becomes a moral obligation to any rational being who wants to think and act morally, “whence we may conclude that morally just is that which satisfies what can be made universal” (Cortina 1996, p. 62).

What is morally just is necessary and, thus, can be made universal to every rational being who intends to be moral. From this point of view, necessary and universal mean mandatory, which is requisite and not contingent. In turn, good is what causes happiness, that is, self-fulfillment for reaching the aimed goals, intentionally or not. Good cannot be required from other rational beings because it is fundamentally a subjective fulfillment. As we know, what is good for one may not be good for the other. What brings happiness to some may not bring to others. Good, in this sense, is in the sphere of possibilities and never in the sphere of requirements.

Ethics of justice or ethics of minima are concerned with the dimension of the moral phenomenon that can be made universal, in other words, of those juridical responsibilities that can be required from any rational being and that are only effectively constituted of minimum requirements. On the contrary, ethics of happiness intend to offer the ideals of a dignified and good life. Such ideals are hierarchized and encompass the collection of possessions that men enjoy as the source of the greatest possible happiness. Then, they are ethics of maxima, which advise us to follow the model and invite us to take them as a code of conduct, but cannot require to be followed, since happiness is a subject to be advised about and invited to, not to be demanded. (Cortina 1996, p. 62)

Coming back to the religious phenomenon in urban schools, we may understand it as a type of “ethics of happiness”, in other words, as an invitation and advice. It is a set of values which are publicly presented as rules of conduct that work as self-reference. Because of that, if pursued according to individual free will, it will provide self-fulfillment and happiness.

The crucial question is: would the urban school be the ideal place where this invitation to happiness could or should happen? The answer seems to be a strong ‘no’ for several reasons. The main one is the fact that there are other public non-state spaces more appropriate and specific, such as religious temples, in which religion can present itself as an “ethic of happiness”. Moreover, there is no consensus among the several individuals involved – public administrators, teachers, families and students – about which religious discourses could or should be presented in schools. However, this lack of a consensus view will be considered and solved next.

Nonetheless, can the school retire into itself pretending not to see the religious phenomenon and intending to have a secular and laicist attitude as if such posture meant neutrality or the denial of the religious phenomenon in a democratic state and in a non-secular age (Berger 2001; Taylor 2010)? It seems that once again we will have to answer with a resounding ‘no’ both because of a practical impossibility and an argumentative incoherence. First, because religion – as a socially valid discourse (Taylor 2011) – will claim its public legitimacy in all public spaces. Second, because

if we defend, in an intercultural perspective, that each and every identity – ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, generation, origin – has to be received in the school space, then religious identity could not be banned from this public space based on the argument of secularization and of a laicist state.

If this question was simpler and more direct – whether religion should be present in the urban school space – we would be facing an *aporia*. In other words, it does not seem that either a positive or negative answer is completely valid or completely reproachable. Thus, we notice that the presence of religion in urban schools will have to be delimited but by the use of other arguments, since neither the advocacy of its presence in schools nor the advocacy, on its own, of laicity as neutrality seem to appropriately solve the problem. In this sense, the tension between “ethics of justice” and “ethics of happiness” turns out to be once again a feasible alternative, since it does not deny either the juridical laicity of the state (and, certainly, of the urban school) or the validity of the religious discourse in public spaces, but in turn imposes limits to such presence, as we will see.

It is worth noting that religion, as an ethic of happiness, should not be demanded or imposed anywhere, let alone in the school space. No one can demand that someone should act in this or that way because “we are all God’s children” or because “we are all brothers and sisters in Christ”. Religion and its different expressions may be understood then as possibilities and as an ethic of maxima, of invitation and of advice and anyone can either accept or refuse an invitation. However, we understand religious tolerance based on the minimum demands sphere. In other words, we understand it as a minimum agenda of justice which is necessary and morally demandable to coexistence in pluralist societies, especially in urban schools. Ethics of justice is not a piece of advice but a moral commandment, that is, a rule which cannot be refused without relinquishing our own moral and human conditions. Thus, what is inhuman and undignified is not to say ‘no’ to a religious invitation but to impose one’s religious conviction by intolerance.

We do not wish to state that minimum demands are better than maximum possible ones, or the contrary. What we advocate is that a minimum agenda for action should be sought and understood as an obligation of the ethics of justice; and because of that, it is demandable from any rational being who intends to be moral in a pluralist society. We believe much more in a dialectical relationship between the just and the good, the demandable and the possible, the minimum and the maxima, than in a dualistic opposition between these concepts. However, we insist that it should not be morally demanded that we fraternally love each other because “we are all God’s children” or because “we are all brothers and sisters in Christ”. These maxima could only work as invitations and pieces of advice in their own spaces, which we regard is not the urban school. On the other hand, such discourses should be neither prohibited nor disqualified a priori because of the arguments already presented by Taylor (2011) and Japiassu (2009).

Thus, the alternative once again seems to be the search for the “decent minima” already shared in a pluralist society. In this case, between believers and non-believers, Theists and Atheists, Kardecists and Candomblé practitioners, fundamentalists and Pentecostals etc. Would it be possible to find “decent minima” among

such diversity and – even more – such divergence of religious conceptions? Here is the question that each and every religion that wishes to be in the pluralist public space should answer. In other words, there should be both availability and commitment in the search for common decent minima. Otherwise, there would be indeed a reasonable argument to defend the removal of any religious group that wishes to force itself on others by coercion, by persecution, by discrimination or by intolerance.

It is worth reminding that “tolerance has its limits” (Cardoso 2003), that is, defending tolerance is not allowing racism, sexism, homophobia or religious intolerance. If a certain religious group does not want a public debate about its ethics of happiness, but it wants in fact its imposition, it should be removed from the public space because the option here, as already discussed, is the public dialogue and the search for coexistence. Tolerance is, in fact, one of the golden rules of public dialogue (Andrade 2016). Without it, the option of the search for shared “decent minima” makes no sense and those who break this golden rule are not worth of the debate.

In this sense, the best to do is to devise strategies that guarantee tolerance as a minimum requirement – in the sense of being fundamental and indispensable – for coexistence. Tolerance proposals stop being an invitation or piece of advice – which we agree we should not let go of, for the happiness dimension is inherent to human beings – to find some morally demandable solution in the socially equitable contract sphere.

It is worth noting that a question could now be raised: why tolerance as a minimum agenda? Why put faith in this value-attitude? We provide the answer to these questions: because intolerance has become a common practice when faced with diversity. Tolerance as a value-attitude towards diversity shows itself like a minimum agenda which is urgent and absolutely necessary in multicultural societies characterized by prejudice and several types of discrimination (racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, religious intolerance). “When we talk about tolerance it is actually intolerance we are dealing with”, states Augras (2007, p. 78).

The concept of tolerance is more and more at the top of the agenda because intolerance towards diversity has been recurrent in the history of humanity and in our society until now. We are undeniably characterized by diversity and, however, it seems like we do not know how to deal with it. “Intolerance is not only a question of not being able to tolerate divergent opinions; it is aggressive and frequently destructive in its hate towards the diversity of others” (Menezes 2007, p. 46).

Menezes (2007, p. 41) recalls that the term tolerance occurs for the first time among the Enlightenment thinkers. Locke was one of the first to talk explicitly about the theme in “*A Letter Concerning Toleration*”. The concept was formulated in the aftermath of the religious fights, the reciprocal massacres between Protestants and Catholics. The free-thinkers, who were followers of the Enlightenment, felt discriminated and persecuted by all forms of fanaticism. They were the ones who mobilized the public opinion against the horrors of intolerance by proclaiming the right to disagree.

The concept of intolerance has to be placed in its historical perspective in order to gain its own importance. In fact, tolerance occurs historically as a fight against intolerance and, such as the fights against discrimination which came later – the black movement, the feminist movement etc. – it has a clear activist attitude. It is not the first attitude. It is, first of all, a reaction against a given situation; against intolerance; it is the protection of one of the most sacred human rights; the right to diversity. It is equivalent to declaring that what is really intolerable is intolerance. It is a reaffirmation or a repositioning of the individual when faced with intolerance, which wishes to deny them; when the individual validates themselves against their denial, they do it as a right to be who they are; and they refuse to give the intolerant the right to deny them. (Menezes 2007, p. 42)

The concept of tolerance appears as an answer against intolerance to difference. Thus, it is fundamental that when we discuss tolerance we think of the nature, the causes and the consequences of intolerance. Menezes (2007, p. 45) states that “intolerance not only rejects the opinion of others but also its existence or, at least, what is worth living for: the person’s dignity and freedom”. Intolerance towards what is different has imposed a number of abuses and merciless massacres to stigmatized groups who carry a supposedly shameful and socially rejected sign. Remember black slavery, the Jewish Holocaust, the submission of women, the criminalization of homosexuality, and the persecution of the temples of African-Brazilian religions, among others.

Eco (2001, p. 114) calls our attention to wild intolerance, the kind which has no explicit reason or doctrine to support it:

Intolerance is placed before any doctrine. In this sense, intolerance has ideological roots and is manifested among animals as territoriality. It is based on emotional relationships which are often superficial – we do not tolerate those who are different from us because they have skin of a different color, because they speak a language other than the one we understand, because they eat frogs, dogs, monkeys, pigs, garlic, or because they have tattoos...

Intolerance researchers are often occupied with doctrines about difference, but not enough with wild and murderous intolerance, because it escapes from any possibility of discussion and criticism for the reason it is not a rational but a visceral value. It is generally angry, uncontrolled, inexplicable and impulsive. “The most dangerous kind of intolerance is exactly the one which shows up in the absence of any doctrine and is driven by elemental instincts” Eco (2001, p. 116).

Concerning the presence of religion in urban schools, the defense of an education towards tolerance is more about the defense of ethics of justice minima. Religious intolerance happens more often than we imagine in our schools. The age of children and adolescents, the religion and the reason of the conflicts may vary, but these conflicts happen on a daily basis.

Nonetheless, we believe it is necessary to coordinate in a more powerful way the ethic based on justice demandable minima and on the decent minima already shared. Notice that the argument for the ethics of demandable justice minima does not seek to convince us that we are all equal or that we should love each other. It “only” defends – and this is no small thing – that we tolerate each other, that is, that we can coexist without conflicts that lead to physical abuse and the discredit of others. This justice intervention would be framed in an argumentation that claims for a minimal,

albeit urgent and necessary, behavior. This is about ethics of justice minima, that is, the ones which are morally demandable.

We do not intend in any way to provide a magic formula to fight religious intolerance, which has challenged our schools, but only to highlight how a certain discourse can emphasize the arguments that seek to accommodate possible attitudes. An educational strategy of tolerance leads us to acknowledge that the feeling towards others may not even be the best, but that we should always be committed to the best attitude. Whenever we tell a child or adolescent not to feel anger, hate, disgust or rejection for others we are actually asking them not to feel something that they probably cannot or may not know how to control. We hate others. We feel disgust and rejection sometimes. To repress is not the best strategy in education. It would be better to recognize such circumstances, accept them and, despite them, pledge to seek the best attitude in the relationship with others. This is expressed in the fact that I do not need to like or love or accept somebody, but what I need to do is to respect and treat them with dignity.

In this sense, we take education out of the exclusive scope of ideals (happiness and advisable maxima) and we begin to try to also understand it in the scope of attitudes and real everyday life (justice and demandable minima). This is not about an option between the dreamed of ideal and the possible real, between teaching values or teaching attitudes. It is about coordinating these two dimensions. Finally, contrary to what people may commonly think, tolerance is no small thing. In fact, it is fundamental. And maybe it is even more necessary and urgent than what is initially imagined, because it seeks to touch our actions and attitudes – as an ethic of justice which is morally demandable – and not exclusively our feelings and intentions – as an ethic of happiness which is morally advisable.

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Chapter 33

Public Policies on Deaf Education. Comparative Analysis Between Uruguay and Brazil

Leonardo Peluso Crespi, Juan Andrés Larrinaga,
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33.1 Introduction

In this chapter we present the forms taken by the education of Deaf people in Uruguay and Brazil and the scientific debate – political and philosophical as well – that is instituted around. We understand by Deaf people those who speak a sign language as their natural language (Uruguayan Sign Language – LSU, for Uruguay and Brazilian Sign Language – LIBRAS, for Brazil), and an oral language (Spanish for Uruguay and Portuguese for Brazil) as a non native language, due to their inability to listen; and who develop their processes of identification and make their linguistic communities around a Sign Language (Erting 1982). Being Deaf is primarily an identity, not a peculiarity of the body.

Even though Brazil and Uruguay experienced similar problems, the organization of the education of the Deaf was quite different throughout history. In this sense, this work intends to describe the educational models at different levels of education in both countries, and then analyze how their evolution interacts with three formations: the theories that deal with the relations of the Deaf with language; educational and linguistic ideologies that exist on the Deaf and their language, and public policies that they spawn; and legal frameworks that address the issue of languages, the Deaf and education.

Thus, in this work we want to underline two tensions currently apparent in the arena of struggles of Deaf education. On the one hand we are talking about the

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tension between the (neo) oralist proposal and the bilingual-bicultural proposal. By oralist proposal we mean the one originated at the infamous *Milan* Congress, held in that city in 1880, which completely prohibited sign language and its use in the classroom. Sign language was seen as *gestures* that were even labeled as erotic and their approach consisted in denying and/or rejecting the importance of sign language in the constitution of Deaf subjectivity. This oralist model argued that Deaf people should be trained in lip reading and articulation to speak and write an oral language, as *normo-hearing* people. Therefore, this form of oralism is an educational proposal that is to be placed as a clinical perspective which aims to cure the Deaf and to work to make them similar to *normo-hearing* people.

The bilingual and bicultural proposal, meanwhile, approaches the Deaf in terms of linguistic minority. It promotes a bilingual and bicultural education in which sign language is defined as the first and natural language of the students (as well as minority language that underlies Deaf identity) and the oral language is seen as a second language, very difficult for the Deaf to access above all in its oral channel (as well as the majority language, historically associated with literacy and activities of social prestige). This model is, from the theoretical and political perspective we assume in this paper, the only one which guarantees respect for linguistic and socio-cultural differences of the Deaf. We also show how, in some contexts, pseudo bilingual education proposals have been developed, which transform sign language into an educational resource that is a tool to facilitate Deaf students' access to the majority culture and oral language.

Within the frame of the tension between the oralist and the bilingual-bicultural proposal, another tension emerges, dialectically related with the first one: the struggle between Special Education and inclusion.

Special Education has been understood historically as an area of education which includes what the system calls *disabilities* and it was developed, due to its specialization and need of contact with health centers, in urban areas, mainly in the capital of the two countries focused in this chapter. In this educational framework, sometimes, the boundaries between education and therapy are faded out, and generally it is a strongly stigmatized educational space. So much so that many families struggle to avoid their children attending such schools. Even though Special Education has the advantage of offering its students a specialized education focused on the needs that are attributed to these *different* bodies, this advantage seems canceled by the fact that this *difference* is mostly seen as a deficiency and a disease (a *disability*).

Contrary to Special Education, inclusive and/or integration models also exist. These models foster the elimination of such specialized spaces within education systems and promote attendance of all students to the same schools and classes. By doing that, education spaces gain in de-stigmatization, but students lose in specialization and in the possibility of developing positive and counter-hegemonic identities.

Despite the differences of ideological and theoretical views of the Deaf and, therefore, of the educational objectives developed in both perspectives, it is recognized that the education of the Deaf in Uruguay and Brazil has always been offered, exclusively, for urban schools. This is so, for several reasons. From the oralist

perspective, developed in the frame of Special Education, schools for deaf people were founded in capital cities to have better contact with specialized health centers. School and health centers catering for the deaf were developed in parallel and received students from diverse backgrounds. In both countries, boarding schools were instituted in which deaf students from distant places could stay throughout the week, and if they came from very distant locations, they could stay throughout the school year. These spaces were an important context for the transmission of sign language and Deaf culture. At present there are no longer boarding schools, but still under the oralist perspective the deaf must go to capital cities to be attended.

In the case of bilingual and bicultural schools, the reasons why Deaf education is essentially urban are different. In this bilingual and bicultural education, school must maintain close ties with the Deaf community, which only thrives in urban environments. Besides, bilingual and bicultural Deaf education also requires that the schools have a significant number of Deaf students who can build together the Deaf community within it. Therefore, this kind of education needs several Deaf students and a permanent and fluid exchange with an external Deaf community.

For this chapter, a qualitative methodology is adopted, which allows a survey of institutional contexts that deal with the Deaf in the three branches of education of our public system. Then, we rely on official documents, on publications made by the institutions involved and on our participant observation. We also analyze the legislation – of both countries – that deals with education and languages, as well as the statements made by recognized national and international organizations that, in turn, influence the educational proposals for the Deaf. We intend to show the ways in which the institutional framework, the legal framework and the dominant ideologies shape a public urban education system for the Deaf that is generally fragmented and inconsistent, and whose development and evolution underlies the different education models for this group.

33.2 The Deaf in the Three Branches of Education System

33.2.1 In Uruguay

Uruguay is a small country, divided into 19 departments, each of which has a capital. Montevideo is the capital of the homonymous department and of the country. Half of Uruguay's population lives in Montevideo. This situation imposes a highly centralized logic in terms of public policies, public education policies for the Deaf included. Thus the first steps in education for the Deaf took place in Montevideo. Thus Deaf education was created in an urban context.

All educational policies in Uruguay from Elementary to Secondary School depend on the National Public Education Administration (ANEP), which is a decentralized institution that belongs the Ministry of Education and Culture. In this context the educational system is divided into: Elementary (0–5 years) and Primary

(6–11 years), and Secondary (Basic: 12–14 years and Higher: 15–17 years). A Tertiary stage (18 and over) is offered by the University of the Republic – the only public University of Uruguay -, which is completely autonomous from central government. Education in Uruguay is compulsory through Secondary Basic.

At the primary level, the first institution that operated in Uruguay for the Deaf, obviously in Montevideo, was called *National Institute for the Deaf-Mute*. This Institute was founded in July 1910 in the orbit of Special Education. In fact it can be said that its foundation was part of the consolidation of this area within the ANEP. Prior to this, some Deaf students went to Buenos Aires (Argentina) or Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) to enroll in specialized institutions that already existed there. The *National Institute for the Deaf-Mute* started working with teachers who had been specialized in Buenos Aires and brought a strong oralist model, heir of the Milan Congress. Subsequently other three schools for the Deaf, in different departments of Uruguay were founded. So, at present there are four schools for the Deaf, distributed in capital cities situated in the four corners of the country. In the other departments of the country, groups for Deaf students were open in some regular schools also situated in important cities, mostly capitals. All four schools and the groups for Deaf students were oralist until the late 1980s. After a long debate, an official document was published in 1987, in which the theoretical foundations and some methodological guidelines of the current proposal of bilingual education for the Deaf were set (Uruguay 1987, 2008, 2009; Behares 1989; Behares et al. 2012).

At present, the public system is torn between an education proposal that aims to be bilingual and bicultural against a neo-oralist proposal (misnamed inclusive), which maintains some vestiges of the old oralist school.

The bilingual and bicultural model takes different forms depending on the educational stage in question. In primary school, both in the four schools for the Deaf and the Deaf groups within regular schools, hearing and Deaf teachers work without interpreters offering a bilingual curriculum, with varying degrees of success. Although these are bilingual spaces, they remain within Special Education (for disabilities), because the education of the Deaf began in this area. This mark still stands, even though the education of the Deaf has been moved, discursively, away from the clinical approach and *disability*.

At the secondary level in various departments (starting in Montevideo), the possibility of Deaf students attending classes with interpreters was set. This cannot be considered a true bilingual and bicultural education but, at least, Deaf students can access the information in the curriculum in their own language (Larrinaga and Peluso 1997, 2014; Peluso 2010).

In Montevideo, and exclusively in the first 4 years of secondary school, there are Deaf classes, in contexts that serve their linguistic diversity. Some subjects are taught by hearing teachers who do not speak LSU, but with an LSU-Spanish interpreter; other classes have hearing teachers who speak LSU and dictate their classes directly in that language; and still other classes have Deaf teachers. There was also a change in relation to the languages to be taught: the Deaf classes started to have LSU as a subject – equivalent to the subject Spanish that deals with morphosyntax

of the Spanish language for the hearing students. These Deaf groups started to have Spanish language as a second language and English as a foreign language (both oral languages taught exclusively in their written form). In turn, for hearing groups of the same school, LSU teaching has been implemented as an extracurricular subject since 2004. In the last 2 years of Secondary in Montevideo there are still very few Deaf students and they attend classes with hearing students. In that case all classes are given in Spanish and the Deaf have an interpreter.

In the remaining departments of Uruguay, where there are fewer Deaf students and where the attendance of Deaf students to the Secondary is much more recent, there are no groups for them. From the beginning to the end Deaf students are integrated in classes with hearing students and an interpreter. As the tradition of Deaf education in Secondary is very recent, it has not been affected by the medical-clinical discourse and the oralist tradition. Therefore, it has remained outside the Special Education.

At the tertiary level, the University of the Republic has Deaf students and interpreters since about 2003. The entrance of Deaf students into the University of the Republic and the subsequent demand for interpreters clearly respond to the educational policies carried out in the previous education stages. Deaf students began to graduate from Secondary and had a need to continue their studies with interpreters. At the beginning many isolated experiences in various University services were made, without any planning, but from 2006 onward the interpretation service became a central policy of the University (Alvarez 2013). Thus, the University has now a permanent team of interpreters.

This is a significant change: in the 1980s Deaf people were not expected to study at the University and, if so, it was not imaginable they could have their classes in LSU. Today the University becomes another stage of what they expect – and also the community expects – in their education.

In 2009, the University started offering the degree in Interpretation LSU-Spanish (TUILSU). This degree puts LSU inside the University as an object of study and teaching, and Deaf culture as well. This is different from what happens in other studies at the University in which the LSU is simply a vehicle for transmission of curriculum content. In 2016, and as effect of a change in TUILSU's curriculum, Deaf students will be able to study in order to become translators (UdelaR 2014).

But it is not enough to say that the Deaf have become students, with linguistic rights in the three levels of the national education system. The Deaf are also involved, since the beginning of bilingual education in primary school, as teachers in this area. First, in the 1980s, they were hired as instructors to take over the teaching of LSU and Deaf culture in the schools for the Deaf that had turned bilingual. Late last century, they entered as teachers in Secondary schools to participate in the bilingual teaching experience, teaching the subjects LSU and Deaf culture. At the University, TUILSU hired Deaf teachers who deal with tasks of teaching, research and extension and have fostered the development of a linguistics of LSU in our country.

This entrance of the Deaf and their language into the University of the Republic, as students and teachers, is very relevant to their community. On the one hand it is

important for the process of intellectualization of LSU that will occur, naturally, in certain scientific areas. On the other hand, entering the university is certainly revolutionary in the expansion of the Deaf community in terms of the incorporation of new spaces of socialization, with all the social and identity effects that this entails. But it also has a political value, both toward the outside, for its effects on the display of the LSU in new areas socially valued, and toward the inside for the concomitant change in their possibility to occupy new spaces to which LSU had no access.

At the same time the bilingual model was introduced, Uruguayan public schools also adopted the integration model that a Deaf child – isolated from its community – to the majority, in a class for hearing students, without sign language and supported by a *special* teacher in the use of the oral language. This model grew stronger because many parents did not accept their Deaf child's going to a School for the Deaf after it become bilingual and perhaps, also, because these schools remain within the orbit of Special Education.

The cochlear implants as an equipment for the Deaf and the concomitant medical discourse which states that the implant should be accompanied by a strong training in Spanish without contact with LSU – because LSU could be harmful – further fostered the inclusion/integration model as an educational methodology. Many parents, especially those of middle and upper classes choose to educate their children outside the public school system under the regime of integration.

Also some parents choose integration within the public system, having had their children implanted. As noted in Peluso and Vallarino (2014), implanted and integrated students in the public system have very high failure rates, and many of end up going to the school for the Deaf.

This model, which was called neo-oralism, represents the most radical form of oralism. Its aim is only to teach non hearing students Spanish language, but unlike the old oralist school, which to do so joined the Deaf in the same space and ended promoting LSU transmission, the integrationist or inclusionary proposal isolates, explicitly, the Deaf students, not allowing their interaction and, therefore, obliterating any possibility of transmission of the Deaf language and culture.

There is, therefore, an important debate within our public education system about the two current models, developed in two fronts. On the one hand there is the debate between bilingual education and neo-oralism, in which the principal issues are what languages must be taught and what conceptions about the Deaf are implied: the Deaf as speakers of a minority language or the Deaf as sick/disabled people to be cured, in the sense of turning them pseudo-hearing. On the other hand, there is the debate between Special Education and integration. This debate goes beyond the issue of the Deaf and it is located in the discussion about the *school for everyone* that implies the idea that specialization or differentiation of school contexts could be the basis of discrimination or inequality. This discussion probably also involves a comparison of both models in terms of economic costs for the system.

33.2.2 *In Brazil*

The Federative Republic of Brazil is a country of vast territory. It is divided politically and administratively in 27 federal units (26 states and the Federal District), which have significant differences in territorial, demographic, economic and socio-cultural terms. Given the country's characteristics, it is impossible to generalize educational activities in the different states and municipalities.

The educational system is divided currently into basic education, compulsory and free from 4 to 17 years of age, and higher education. Basic education is made up of the early childhood education (children under 5), primary (initial: 6–10 years, late: 11–14 years) and high school (15–17 years), which may still turn into a technical vocational training.

Deaf education began in 1857 with the creation of the Imperial Institute for the Deaf-Mute (since 1957, the National Institute of Deaf Education, INES) in city of Rio de Janeiro. Deaf education again is an urban policy. The Institute received students of both sexes as a boarding school and had a grant from the Empire, which also provided scholarships for those students who could not pay for education. There is no record of teaching methods and various contents taught in this period; it is known only that in this space, Sign Language was allowed (Rocha 2008). This situation began to change in 1897, when, influenced by determinations of the Milan Congress and other European institutions, the Articulated Language course became mandatory. In 1911, during the First Brazilian Republic (1889–1930), the Pure Oral method was imposed in the institution (Rocha 2008).

Deaf people from other provinces of Brazil lived a different reality because there are no records of education assisting students with disabilities (where the Deaf would have been included) until the mid-1920s. In 1930, the civil society began to organize the creation of associations and special charities focusing on education of the disabled in some capital cities, and in the public sphere there was the planning actions for the creation of special classes within mainstream schools (Jannuzzi 2004). Special schools and institutions specialized in the Deaf, public and private, began to appear in 1950 also in important cities, but they followed the same ideology that pervaded the work on INES, as Special Education, at this time, understood that the focus of any service should be at the disability. Few actions or changes occurred in educational terms and, therefore, therapeutic practices maintained strong predominance in relation to education. The normalization of the disabled, then was sought so that they could live as normally as possible. In the case of Deaf students, that involved the learning of oral language and then written Portuguese.

In this context the school integration movement advocated the acceptance of the disabled in school and in society considered it necessary to establish a link between the regular system of education and Special Education through the planning of complementary services, to ensure the permanence of these students in the regular system (Jannuzzi 2004). However, due to little integration between the two systems and the small number of trained teachers, the initiatives did not yielded the expected results.

The integration of Deaf students in regular education was justified by the belief that their daily contact with hearing children and teachers could contribute to their oral language acquisition, since they were required to use only this language at school. In addition, they would be encouraged to face their difficulties to keep up with school activities designed for hearing students, a fact that would contribute to their future integration into society.

Despite the integrationist movement, special classes for the Deaf in schools for hearing students were maintained in many public facilities. This was a more economic organization for the states than the creation of special units for the Deaf. In those special classes, students with different ages were enrolled, and the teacher had to manage with the different educational levels of the students. At times, the children attended remedial classes to improve in the subjects that were more difficult to them (Harrison et al. 2005).

The special schools for the hearing impaired gradually expanded the educational levels offered. These, however, had a reduced curricula as compared to the same grade of regular school and used simplified educational materials, both in terms of content and in the language used. They understood that Deaf children, because they are disabled, were unable to learn the same way that hearing children learned if the processes were not adapted to them. In the 1980s, these schools, initially oralist, became bimodal, i.e. although the emphasis was still on oralization processes, they started to use signs removed from sign language, which were organized in grammatical structure of Portuguese.

This situation continued during the 1990s, when studies about Brazilian Sign Language (Libras) started to be known and so were the discussions about bilingual education which was being used by a small number of Special schools for the Deaf, though partially. It is also in this period that discussions on the inclusion movement began in the country, forcing schools to meet the challenge of setting up to meet the diversity of students. This movement held that it was no longer up students to fit in the normal patterns.

During this period, the new Law of Directives and Bases of National Education – LDBN (Law No. 9.394/96) establishes that special education, as a form of primary education, should be preferentially within the regular school facilities, offering specialized support services when necessary. The law admits, however, that this education may also be held in classes, schools or specialized services, when the integration of students in regular classes of mainstream education is not possible, according to the specific conditions of students (Brazil 1996, Art. 58). These same provisions are still in the latest edition of the Law, published in 2014.

Several other laws and some government programs have been created over the years following the publication of LDBN, aiming to transform education systems in inclusive, ensuring access and persistence of students with disabilities in regular schools. However, despite the federal government's efforts, it was acknowledged in 2007 that the transformations that occurred were still very insufficient (Lodi 2013). Thus, in the same year, a working team was appointed to review the National Policy for Special Education, in force until the present day, which advocates the inclusion of all students in mainstream schools, offering specialized educational services to

students enrolled in public schools. This move led to the closure of special classes and of most of the public Deaf schools in the country.

In order to ensure the education of Deaf students, this policy provides for the presence of translators and interpreters of Libras – Portuguese (TILS) at all levels of education, understanding that in this way, bilingual education for the Deaf is guaranteed. However, this policy disregards the development of language/appropriation of Libras by Deaf students (who come to school, most of the times, without ever having had contact with this language), the differences, inherent to each education level, and the level of knowledge that TILS should have to act in different stages of education (Lodi 2013).

In this sense, we question if there was really an ideological shift in the way the Deaf are conceptualized by the current Special Education policy. This policy disregards the process of appropriation of Libras by Deaf students, which should be provided in the established relationship with Deaf adult users of Libras. So, the educational system denies, covertly and from another discourse, the possibility of participation and equal learning between Deaf and hearing, a principle of inclusive education. The difficulties faced by Deaf students who continue in school without a shared language with their teacher and with colleagues (and often with TILS). Further, depending on age, there is not a clear idea of the role of the teacher and the TILS, and students turn to the fact of being Deaf as a handicap. It can be seen therefore that the hearing loss overcomes the perception of the Deaf as users of another language. The disability discourse prevails in the educational organization of these students.

A contradiction is recognized, however, with the provisions of the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO 1994), document that interacts with Brazilian national special education policy, insofar as this one recognizes the linguistic difference within the classroom and so, the most appropriate education to the Deaf should be the one organized in special schools or classes or units in mainstream schools (Lodi 2013). This orientation, we have to point out, is also present in the Federal Decree No. 5,626/05, with regard to the education of the Deaf in early childhood and early years of elementary school. This document also ignored in the inclusive approach that most states and municipalities are developing.

The few remaining Deaf schools in Brazil, public and private, gradually adhere to the bilingual education approach and strive to implement it, through the hiring of Deaf teachers/instructors to work in these spaces, but they still have, however, an ill-defined role in most cases. Other initiatives, contrary to the provisions of National Special Education Policy, but following the provisions of Decree No. 5,626/05, also began to be developed within a few public schools, especially in cities where the schools for the Deaf have become extinct. Though still few in number, these initiatives seek the implementation of spaces in which Libras constitutes the language of instruction and interaction (then classes that are not for the hearing), respecting thus the intrinsic linguistic and sociocultural differences of Deaf students in kindergarten and the early years of elementary school (Lodi 2014).

In 2000, with the publication of Law No. 10,098, the Government undertook to eliminate barriers to communication in order to guarantee the right of all to have

access to information, education, work, culture, sport and leisure. Then, the presence of TILS in all social spaces where there are Deaf people became guaranteed, a fact that made it possible for many Deaf to enter higher education – undergraduate, and graduate *lato sensu* and *stricto sensu* – in various public and private institutions of the country.

With regard to the Brazilian public universities, other debates have been appearing, particularly concerning the need to include Libras as a compulsory discipline in teacher training courses and for those who will become speech therapists, and as optional discipline for the other university courses (Brazil 2005); TILS hiring for the Deaf freshman in college (Brazil 2000); and the creation of courses for both the training of TILS and for the teaching of Libras as first and as a second language (Brazil 2005). Important to note in this process, is the opening of a course aimed at training teachers of Libras and then Deaf culture, offered primarily for Deaf (BA in Libras) in 2006.

Since 2011, through the *Program Living without Boundaries*, the federal government stipulated the creation 27 university BA Degrees in Libras and 12 courses of Bilingual Education and the opening of 690 vacancies for Universities and Federal Institutes of Education to hire professors and TILS (Brazil 2011). These universities and institutes have prioritized the offer of undergraduate courses and training courses for interpreters- translators (BA), which has entailed the hiring of Deaf professors and hearing professors fluent in Libras in public spaces of higher education. Although still in progress, the visibility of Libras in academic spaces has had a significant increase.

33.3 Critical Analysis of the Processes and Perspectives in Public Education for the Deaf in Brazil and Uruguay

Education for the Deaf in Brazil and Uruguay went through similar but also different processes. In Brazil it began half a century before than in Uruguay and, due to the historical moment in which it occurred, this beginning was linked to an educational proposal that included sign language in the classroom. We can even find, in that period, the first studies and notations of Libras (Gama 1875), while for LSU in Uruguay, it took about one more century (Behares et al. 1987).

The prohibition established by the Milan Congress in 1880 (Congresso de Milão 1880) had an impact on the education of the Deaf at the global level, so it obviously affected our countries. Thus, in 1910 when the education of the Deaf in Uruguay began, and in 1911, when a major transformation of the education of the Deaf in Brazil occurs, the approach taken by Public Education to the Deaf in primary level in Brazil as well as in Uruguay was marked by a clear oralist proposal. It was understood, as noted, that the only language was the spoken language (Spanish or Portuguese depending on the case). Therefore, the Deaf were to be trained in its use both in the oral modality and in writing. Obviously this is strongly anchored in

conceptions of the human being, of language, but also in the fact that in these new countries citizens who did not speak the national language were seen as a threat. The old modernist model was followed: one nation – one language.

The global oralist model put the Deaf together in schools or institutions that specialized in their approach. These institutions were placed within the area of Special Education, which is the area in which our public education systems put students diagnosed with disabilities. Thus, Special Education acquired the mark of disability, clinical discourse pervaded the approach, classrooms became *resource rooms*, and finally a stigma was imposed on students belonging to this area: that of the *abnormal*.

In this period, legislation on the Deaf and their languages was scarce which put them at risk of being legally declared unable. That is no longer possible for the Deaf in the Brazilian legislation, but endures with attenuations in Uruguayan law.

In the late 1980s, but mainly during the 1990s, two antagonistic models that also oppose the proposal of the oralist school become consolidated in the field of Deaf Education: the bilingual model and the integration model. The first one came as a consequence of the political struggles of the Deaf and of important works in linguistics of sign languages and cultural studies that took to the Deaf community as a research topic. The second one came as a consequence of the integration educational models that were first imposed after the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO 1994).

Uruguay's public education adhered strongly to the bilingual model, while maintaining schools for the Deaf within Special Education. Simultaneously, the integration model has been consolidated outside the public system and in opposition to it. The integrationist model is the dominant model in the private system.

In contrast, Brazil officially seems to have chosen the integration model. Therefore, special education becomes integrated within the normal/regular schools and their proposals, at all educational levels, promoting the assistance to students with disabilities as a complement to regular education. However, although most schools for the Deaf have disappeared, there are classes for the Deaf that aim at following the bilingual model.

Also, in Brazil and in Uruguay intermediate proposals appear as there are classes with interpreters, which would be placed conceptually somewhere between bilingual education and integration. In Uruguay, this proposal appears in first year of secondary school, but keeping groups only for the Deaf that sometimes have a hearing teacher and an interpreter. Starting in the last 2 years of secondary school, and at the university level, Deaf students are integrated in hearing groups, with an interpreter. In Brazil, this proposal of integration of Deaf students into classes of the hearing with an interpreter has been implemented throughout the educational levels.

In secondary school and at the university level debates are different. As we no longer have the critical period of development that challenges education's early years, the discussions fall into less essential cores, such as the rights to have an interpreter in the education area. In Uruguay there is no longer the problem of special education at the secondary level and the same is true in Brazil at the level of

higher education. At this level of education both countries have very similar realities as they struggle to have Deaf students in the various educational contexts.

At the public university level, Brazil currently has many Deaf students and many Deaf professors as an effect of the federal incorporation of Libras in the curricula of all teacher training programs and speech therapists' programs and the possibility to follow a BA in Libras. In Uruguay there are no such university spaces for LSU and Deaf culture. Just next year, 2016, Deaf students will be able to enter TUILSU in order to become translators which will be the only public university area that will aim to the Deaf, their language and culture. So in Brazil there are already several Deaf doctors and masters, while in Uruguay the first university graduates are coming out. In Uruguay the tradition of postgraduate studies is very recent (e.g., the School of Humanities and Education established the first PHD program in 2014 and the School of Psychology in 2015), but we do not think this has been a decisive factor in this lack of Deaf graduates from Uruguay.

The education programs and changes described dialectically interact with processes occurring in the ideological, discursive, political and legislative fields. If we compare the array of laws in Uruguay and Brazil, we see the relationship with the public policies imposed on Deaf education. In both countries and almost simultaneously, laws recognizing the respective sign languages as languages of Deaf minorities (Uruguay 2001; Brazil 2002) are enacted. With the enactment of these laws, the governments echo the perspective that the Deaf are speakers of a sign language and undertake certain actions, among which the promotion of bilingual education.

It should be noted that this occurs in two very different traditions of language legislation regarding the explicit determination of an official language of the country. While Brazil declares that Portuguese is the official language of the country (Brazil 1988), Uruguay takes Spanish for granted without explicit mention. Uruguayan legislation never made explicit mention of an official language until LSU was recognized as the sign language of the Deaf communities. This is why in Brazil there exists a certain official primacy of Portuguese over Libras, especially in terms of writing, which does not occur in Uruguayan legislation, where the languages are at the same level – the primacy then occurs in the ways that groups become related, but not at the legal level.

However, at the time sign languages are recognized in our countries, new laws and documents dealing with the Deaf and disabled people and their languages as compensatory devices are issued (Uruguay 2010; Brazil 2008). These laws/documents end up promoting social inclusion practices seen mostly in terms of integration and the search for the *cure* of a disability and, ergo, extermination of the Deaf as speakers of a sign language.

This contradiction that appears in our legal systems, which is expressed in very similar ways, shows the contradiction in ideologies and discourses that deal with the Deaf and their languages. They are at the same time included within the territory of disability, of the incapable or unfit, on the one hand; and on the other they are seen as a minority, speakers of a minority language, ranking with indigenous groups in Brazil or Lusophone groups in Uruguay. Is it an issue of language rights or one of disability and disease? It is in this contradiction that the education of the Deaf

unfolds in our countries, with frankly opposed models as integration versus the truly bilingual and bicultural education. But there are also models where this contradiction is embodied without being resolved, where everything is entangled and sign language ends up being a teaching device, useful for better transmission of curriculum content.

Finally, in this chapter we have shown the development of educational ideologies and policies related to the Deaf and their languages and cultures in our two countries, which have much in common even though they have had little communication at that level. We also point out how this development is strongly related with the development of linguistic ideologies and policies about sign languages and the concomitant legislation.

We believe it is necessary to establish, in the field of the Deaf Studies, further discussion and communication between those who plan educational proposals, those who are carrying forward language policies and the Deaf communities, who are, ultimately, the aim of these proposals and suffer or enjoy them, and that in most cases, paradoxically, can not intervene.

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Chapter 34

The Teaching Profession in Latin America: Change Policies and the Challenges of Poverty and Exclusion

Cristián Cox, Carlos E. Beca, and Marianela Cerri

34.1 Introduction

Education and its development go hand in hand with the improvement of living conditions in society. During the last quarter of a century in Latin America, such conditions have significantly improved along with economic growth and democratic development. Three decades have already elapsed since the end of military dictatorships in a region once characterized by its democratic failure, and from the beginning of the 1990s the economy has evidenced sustained growth. In the 2000s, this growth averaged 5 % of the per capita GNP per year. In the same period, most of the countries in the region moved from an “average” to a “high” level according to the United Nations Development Program, human development indexes (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a). Evidence of growth and improvement in the human development indices has not, however, changed the fact that the region still shows the largest inequality in income distribution in the world (CEPAL 2014).

In spite of structural inequalities in the last two decades there has been a marked progress in the proportion of the young that complete primary and secondary education. In primary education the percentage of youth that completed this cycle passed from 60 % in 1990 to 94 % in 2012. In secondary education, the percentage of the 20–24 years old that completed their studies went from 26 % to 59 % in the same period (CEPAL 2014).

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Public policies throughout the region have in the last two decades prioritized education, increasing sectoral expenditure from an average of 4.5 to 5.2% of the GNP between 2000 and 2010 (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a) and creating numerous improvement programs and reform initiatives relating to educational systems' governance, the role of the public and private sector, centralization and decentralization, the curriculum, the social distribution of learning outcomes, and teaching policies (Schwartzman 2015; Schwartzman and Cox 2009). At the same time there has been a visible shift in the general aim of educational policies, from expanding access and achieving universal coverage, (reached for the primary level by 2000), to an emphasis on the quality of the learning opportunities offered by the school experience to all. This quality agenda places teachers at the very core of policy considerations.

There are marked differences in socioeconomic development across the countries in the region, which makes generalizations problematic. Variations in per capita GNP (2014) range from US\$ 16,360 and US\$ 14,900 (Uruguay and Chile) to US\$ 1830 and US\$ 2190 (Nicaragua and Honduras).¹ The poverty rate in Latin America reached 28.1% in 2013 (down from 43.9% in 2000), whereas extreme poverty stood at 11.7%. These percentages involve 165 million people living in poverty, out of which 69 million are in extreme poverty. Here again there are large differences between countries, with Uruguay and Chile exhibiting 6.6% and 10.3%, respectively, in contrast to countries such as Nicaragua and Guatemala, where poverty rates are as high as 87.8% and 83.9 (CEPAL 2014).

We see the requirements of an education able to break the cultural reproduction of poverty and exclusion in urban contexts as inextricably linked to the capacities of teachers and these as dependent on the recent evolution of the teaching profession in Latin America. We thus shall attempt to characterize its distinctive features and account for the pressures for change it is undergoing. The strongest and most unequivocal of these pressures arise from public policies, which are increasingly shifting from the 'easy' policies of expanding access and its accompanying building of schools and creation of teaching jobs, to more demanding ones such as those aimed at quality and its requirements of changes to institutions and practices (Navarro 2006).²

This chapter will first make a general sociodemographic characterization of the teaching profession in Latin America and then will make reference to initial teacher training. The third section will describe the constitutive features of continuous teacher training in Latin America. The fourth section will describe how regulations relating to the teaching profession have gradually evolved and what key trends may be identified in this crucial dimension of educational quality policies. In each of them we shall raise linkages with issues of urban education. A closing section offers a reflection on the trends observed in the teaching profession in the region as well as in the policies aimed at improving and transforming it.

¹ See: <http://datos.bancomundial.org/indicador/NY.GNP.PCAP.CD>

² The marked diversity in the socioeconomic and educational development levels among the countries in the region affect the generalization about the shift from an access to a quality agenda. Some Central American countries, as well as Andean countries, still have challenges to meet in terms of school coverage and permanence among rural children – still a sizeable proportion of enrolments.

34.2 Teachers in Latin America: Sociodemographic Features

There are approximately 7.8 million teachers working in the school system (pre-school, primary and secondary levels) in Latin America and the Caribbean. Out of this total, 14.6% are engaged in early childhood education, 37.8% in primary school, 26.6% in lower secondary school and 21% in upper secondary school, even though the names and durations of these levels vary across countries. In some cases, the primary and secondary level structure is 6–6 years, in others it is 8–4, and still in others it is 9–3 years (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a).

A characteristic trait in Latin America, as in the rest of the world, is the feminization of the teaching force: 71.6% of teachers are women, a percentage which rises to 95.8% in the case of early childhood education, stands at 77.6% in the case of primary education, and at 59.3% in the case of secondary education (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a).

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the student-teacher ratio in 2010 was 19 students per teacher in primary education and 16 students per teacher in secondary education. Under these regional averages, there is a vast heterogeneity of situations. Some countries such as Nicaragua have nearly 30 students per teacher both at the primary and secondary level, while Cuba features nearly 10 students per teacher in both levels (UNESCO-OREALC 2013b). In the case of early childhood education, the situation is extremely heterogeneous depending on the country and the age of the children. Thus, in the case of 3-, 4- and 5-year-olds, student-teacher ratios range from 10 to 12 in Cuba and Venezuela, respectively, while in Guatemala they stand at 35–40 students per teacher, and in Chile the regulatory framework allows up to 45 students per teacher (UNESCO-OREALC 2015a).

In the case of early childhood education staff, there is a considerable gap between those working with 0- to 3-year-olds and those working with 4- to 6-year-olds. Those engaged in working with younger children are themselves observed to be younger, less experienced and less qualified; while those working with the 4- to 6-year-old population tend to be better qualified, more experienced and older (UNESCO-OREALC 2015a). In general, older, more experienced teachers concentrate in urban areas and younger, less experienced ones work in remote or rural areas (Bruns and Luque 2014).

As to the quality of the teaching staff preparation, aggregate regional information shows that in 2010, 78% of primary school teachers and 70% of secondary school teachers had certified teacher training (UNESCO-OREALC 2013b). The TERCE³ survey given to 3rd and 6th grade teachers whose students took the 2013 test shows that 82.1% and 85.7% of the teachers, respectively, had a teaching degree.

³The survey given to teachers participating in TERCE forms part of the Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (TERCE) implemented by UNESCO-OREALC in 2013. Its main purpose was to assess the quality of education in terms of learning achievements in countries in Latin America and the Caribbean and to identify the associated factors. TERCE measured learning achievements in Language and Mathematics in the third and sixth grades of primary school, plus Natural Sciences in the sixth grade (UNESCO-OREALC 2014b).

Teachers in the region share the view that their work is not sufficiently valued by society, an opinion evidenced in the political world and in the media, beyond the appreciation they generally receive from their pupils, parents and school communities in general. In addition, teachers are becoming ever more aware of the increasing demands of society on schools, so that while practitioners are required to produce better learning outcomes, they are forced to take on roles other than teaching, such as care, health, nutrition, containment, guidance, drug and alcohol prevention, among others (Tenti 2009).

The transition to a professional conception has become difficult in the region due to the social pressure to expand educational services, a phenomenon that characterized the closing decades of the last century. This often required that teachers with significant training deficits be hired in countries such as Argentina, Brazil or Mexico, among others (Tenti 2009).

34.3 Initial Teacher Education

As in any profession, the training of teachers is intimately related to the views about the profession held by practitioners and society. In the case of the teaching profession, there are different views coexisting in the region: the teacher as a 'missionary', as a technical, as an artist, as a worker and the teacher as a professional. All these definitions have a significant presence in the region, although the view of teaching as a profession dominates the official debates, policies and regulatory frameworks (Louzano 2015). The growing presence of the view of the teacher as a professional does not imply that the other views have disappeared or that all countries follow the same conception of professionalizing teaching, or even that several views do not coexist within a country. Perhaps the greatest challenge currently facing teachers' union organizations in the region is a new identity narrative which, without rejecting the original tradition, incorporates the professional view as foundational, i.e. one that is functional to the requirements currently made of school teaching by society. In other words, to face the transition from a semi-profession to a profession, with distinctive high-level knowledge and competencies, with significant autonomy, and with control over a domain of practices undisputed by other professionals.

In relation to the initial training and certification of Latin American teachers, the situation varies widely according to country and also within single countries, depending on the education levels for which prospective educators are trained and the type of teacher training institutions. Thus, the training of primary and early childhood education teachers is in many cases provided by the so-called higher normal schools (Mexico), or by higher teacher-training institutes (Argentina, Peru), or by secondary education normal schools (Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras), while in other countries training is mostly provided by the universities (Brazil, Chile). By contrast, the training of secondary school teachers is mainly provided by the universities, although in some cases it is also provided by higher teacher-training institutes.

Considerable differences are also found in the duration of studies, possibly linked to different levels of depth of knowledge. In some cases the duration is 4–5 years for all levels (Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Peru), while other countries make a distinction between training programs for primary teachers, lasting about 3 years, and for secondary teachers, which require a first degree (*licenciatura*) and a longer duration (Colombia). For the training of secondary teachers, as is the case worldwide, the coexistence of two models in different countries or within a country is worth noting: the concurrent model, which trains teachers from the time they graduate from secondary school (*bachilleres*) integrating discipline and pedagogical training; and the consecutive model, which offers 1 or 2 years of pedagogical training for first-degree graduates in specific disciplines. One of the most salient features of initial teacher training in Latin American countries is its low academic selectivity and the low level of preparation of those entering pedagogical studies. This phenomenon has to do with the low value that societies attach to the teaching profession, as is evident from low salaries, among other factors; this deters many young people with a vocation and a good school-performance record from taking up a teaching career. Consequently, it so happens that normal schools, higher teacher-training institutes and universities admit students with serious shortcomings in terms of knowledge and basic skills (language, mathematics, and general knowledge) which are essential for taking on higher studies (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a). This situation is intensified by the expansion of secondary education and subsequent growth of higher education, which is strongly channeled through teaching careers, traditionally considered to be less demanding.

Another characteristic of teacher training in the region is the poor quality of training programs and formative processes which, in the case of universities, assume academic-like features which make it very difficult to center on practical training and relate to the demands of actual school life. Although there is a tendency to give more weight to practical training and to bring it forward from the beginning years of study, it is clear that there is a long way to go in this direction. Thus, it is often the case that primary education teachers graduate without sufficient mastery of strategies, methodologies and tools for teaching the basic skills of reading, writing and mathematics.

The mentioned increased capacities of the schooling systems of the Region to include new social groups in secondary education has transformed the pedagogical requirements of this level, without the teacher education institutions having answered consistently to these new and demanding requirements. On the contrary, what predominates is a generic preparation that does not take into consideration key features of the contexts and student bodies with which the future teacher will have to work. A major review of the issue by UNESCO, concludes that “a critical issue in teacher education is the achievement of capacities and attitudes that allow them to understand the world of poverty and generate learning in students from those contexts” (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a: 53).

For Ball and Cohen (1999), teacher training should be “practice-centered given that although disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge are fundamental, they are not

capable of prescribing an appropriate teaching practice for each context” (Louzano 2015). According to this author, true professional education should be able to train in the practice of a profession and, in the case of teaching, this would mean “to experiment with the tasks and ways of reflecting which are typical and essential of the teaching profession” (Ball and Cohen 1999 p. 12). Therefore, teaching education programs should be underpinned by “pedagogies” that enable such experimentation and reflection (Louzano 2015). Levine’s (2006) assertions about Education Schools in the United States are applicable to Latin America when, as a conclusion of a study on such institutions, the author states that although some programs integrate theory and practice, most of them prioritize academic studies over practical work. Not only do students spend a short time at schools, but there is little connection between what they see there and what they learn at the university. Also, many of the schools where teaching practice takes place are not suitable and, as teacher trainers’ involvement with them is minimal, student teachers are not supervised in their practice (Levine 2006 cited by Louzano 2015).

On the other hand, the lack of specialization in the training for primary education teachers seriously jeopardizes teaching in the higher primary grade levels where discipline contents are more complex. By contrast, in the training of secondary teachers, education in the disciplines becomes more important, but tends to become dissociated from discipline-specific didactics and teacher training, which is undervalued (Avalos 2011; UNESCO-OREALC 2013a; Louzano 2015). At the specific core of professional knowledge in this sphere is an overlaying of discipline-related knowledge (associated with each content area of the school curriculum) and pedagogical and didactic knowledge (or the knowledge of those training to be teachers) and the appropriate ways of teaching). The difference between good, average and poor opportunities for learning how to be a teacher lies in the quality of each of these components and how they are interrelated. The concept of ‘pedagogical content knowledge’, coined by American Lee Shulman, is enlightening in this key dimension of renewal (Shulman 1987).

One issue worth discussion is the weak preparation of teacher educators and the low selection requirements in the context of expanded higher education. The pre-eminence of faculty hired for a given number of teaching hours and the hardly existing full-time staff positions hinders the creation of work teams with a shared view of the training that should be provided. In the case of universities, pedagogical training ranks lower than other disciplines and there is no recognition of the scientific and academic validity of pedagogical knowledge (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a; Louzano 2015).

In the context of social inequality that characterizes the region, a critical problem is teachers’ insufficient preparation to foster learning among poor urban and rural students, who have greater difficulties as shown by measurements of learning outcomes in the various countries. Likewise, despite efforts made in many countries, limited progress has been ascertained in training for intercultural bilingual education (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a; Darling-Hammond and Lieberman 2012).

Finally, regulation of the sector by the State is weak: this is a complex issue in countries with a high incidence of private higher education and high degrees of

university autonomy. Thus, the paradox arises where states set curriculum frameworks and student learning expectations, but have no say in how the teachers responsible for curriculum implementation and learning outcomes are to be trained. In this regard, the already mentioned formulation of standards and accreditation systems for teacher training institutions and programs becomes especially interesting.⁴

In response to some of the challenges confronting the countries in the region with respect to initial teacher training, different initiatives have developed such as strategies to attract good college students to teaching (Chile and Peru); development of graduation standards and/or assessments (Brazil, Chile, El Salvador and Mexico); and a guiding institutional framework for teacher education (Argentina) (UNESCO-OREALC 2014a). The majority of these new instruments distinguish the centrality of context for the effectiveness of education in general and teaching in particular, a development that signals towards a renewed and more potent recognition of the particular requirements and supports demanded by the education of the poorer and marginalized in the region's cities.

34.4 Continuous Professional Development

As is the case the world over, Latin American teachers generally have access to various types of professional development opportunities, although this varies according to the country, and participation depends on personal conditions and options. According to data from the TERCE survey (UNESCO-OREALC 2015c), 79 % of Grade 6 teacher respondents completed a 60-h or longer professional development activity in the last 2 years.⁵ This participation is markedly lower when the areas considered in the TERCE tests are involved, where it reaches 24 % in Language, 31 % in Mathematics and 15 % in Sciences.

The large number of teachers and the costs associated with wide coverage programs, as well as teachers' difficulties in finding time to participate, have resulted in lowered attention being given to this important dimension of teaching policies (Terigi 2010; Barber and Mourshed 2007; UNESCO-OREALC 2013a).

Just like in the case of other professionals, collaborative learning among teachers has a powerful impact on skills development, on the configuration of beliefs and values, and of habits which have a strong bearing on professional practices. In the case of teaching, the need for this kind of learning becomes stronger because it is a

⁴Chile is a country which has progressed in the formulation of initial teacher training standards, see "*Estándares orientadores para egresados de carreras de Pedagogía en Educación Básica*" (MINEDUC 2011).

⁵For comparison purposes, it should be borne in mind that according to data from the TALIS survey given to lower secondary teachers from 33 OECD countries and others, 88 % of the teachers report having participated in a professional development activity in the previous year (OECD 2014).

collective type of work. Student learning is the result of interventions by a group of teachers who either diachronically or synchronically works with the same students (Avalos 2007).

The central idea of collaborative professional learning is to recognize that teachers learn from their instructional practices: they learn how to learn, to search, to select, to experiment, to innovate, in short, how to teach. To achieve this, collaborative professional learning combines different strategies that involve actions between peers, such as learning new ways of teaching and evaluating, the reflection on what happens in the classroom, and the formulation and review of institutional education projects (Calvo 2015).

According to Little (2001), Hargreaves and Shirley (2012), and Hargreaves and Fullan (2012), the hallmark of the new professionalism is team work and team learning. According to the latter, *professional capital* is largely a function of *social capital*,⁶ that is, of the teams, networks and relationships in which each teacher's performance is embedded. The concept of professional communities of learning, where collaboration is a systematic process whereby teachers work together interdependently with the purpose of impacting classroom practices to elicit more effective learning, is widely disseminated. 'Communities of learning' are directly a high expression of 'social capital'. From this new perspective, collaborative professional learning as a strategy for teachers' professional development is associated with larger goals relating both to the institution and the education system, and feeds back into school practices and assessment (Calvo 2015).

Recent international literature coincides in ascribing special value to professional learning tailored to the needs of each educational community, as well as to learning stemming from collective reflection, from a critical exchange of experiences between teachers, and from a joint search for better strategies to solve problems as they arise in day-to-day instructional practice (Calvo 2015; Fullan 2010; Vaillant 2009; Villegas-Reimers 2003).

Several authors have also highlighted the low impact of public policy-driven actions in countries in the region (Avalos 2007; Martínez 2009; Voelmer 2010), whether on account of the small number of teachers involved or of the predominance of academic offerings based on traditional courses unrelated to the school context. The persistent application of traditional training methodologies does not contribute to a critical reflection that may relate with the participants' experience and motivations. Even the recent use of new technologies to create online training courses offering massive coverage tends to propose general content which do not meet the schools' specific needs. The existence of incentives rewarding attendance at training courses rather than effective learning does not contribute to the impact either (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a).

On the other hand, the lack of awareness of teachers' diversity both in terms of training and of the various stages of their professional pathway and the contexts in

⁶It also depends on the 'human capital' and 'decisional capital', that is, on each teacher's talents and training, as well as the experience he has accumulated in action, which allows for informed decisions to be made 'on the spot'. See Hargreaves and Fullan (2012).

which they serve is worth highlighting. Continuous training programs tend to be designed for large heterogeneous groups of teachers, without consideration for their personal differences. It is difficult to find in the region, for example, sustained support programs for the incorporation of beginning teachers. Recent research stresses the fact that the guidelines given to beginning teachers by specialized mentors or school directors have a significant influence on the construction of their professional identity and on their motivation to move forward in their profession. On the contrary, the lack of said support contributes to a passive adaptation to traditional teaching routines or to young promising teachers abandoning classrooms or the profession, because when confronted with such difficulties they prefer to look for more attractive professional horizons (Marcelo 2009; MacBeath 2012).

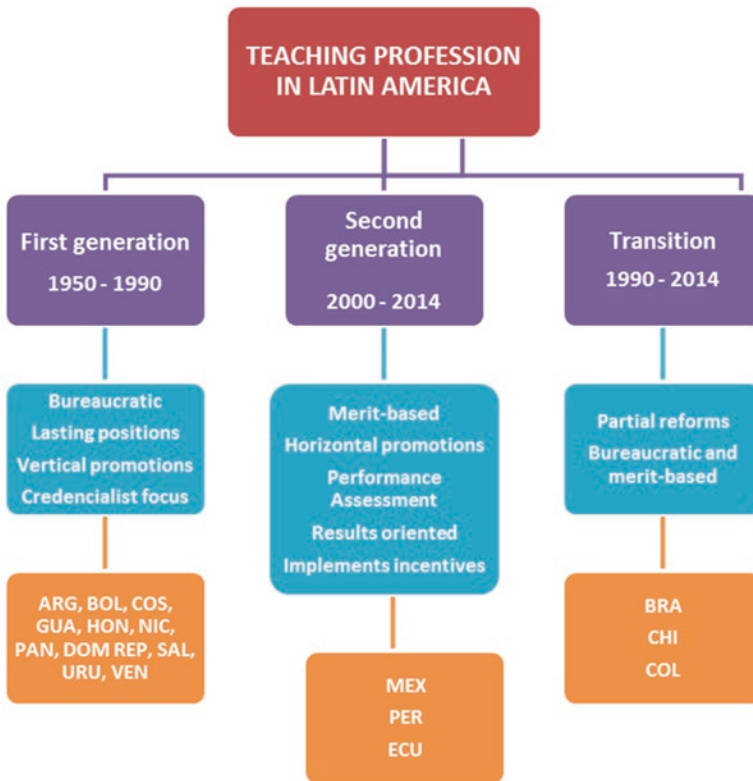
A characteristic trait of education systems in Latin America is the lack of relevance of many course offerings for in-service teachers. At the core of this problem is the fact that teacher development actions arise from the confluence of individual teachers' demands and the offerings by numerous public and private agents, which are not always guided by the learning needs which are a priority for teachers and the schools where they work, nor do they prioritize collaborative learning which is much more demanding to organize and effectively provide.

The same shortcoming observed in initial teacher education is verified here: there is a deficit of opportunities for professional development that is relevant for, and specialized in, contexts of urban poverty and marginalization. This deficit is quantitative (insufficient opportunities) as well as qualitative, in the sense that there is an evident lack of accumulation and convergence on which are the best approaches in terms of effective pedagogies and contextual supports. Risking oversimplification it could be said that the pattern of existing practices here present two approaches: one that poorly identifies the specificity of the contexts of poverty and exclusion and their translation into educational requirements, homogenizing conditions and types of students to general features of the national educational system; the other that rightly focus on these contexts' specificities, but translate into pedagogies that in their respect and celebration of these contexts language and culture, do not produce learnings that transcend them, thus paradoxically reproducing the closure they purport to break. There are no visible traces yet, neither in the policies nor in practices of teacher professional development (nor in initial education), of the 'third position' which in our view represent the theorization of Basil Bernstein in Britain and Lisa Delpit in the USA, on the relationships of poverty with the languages of power and knowledge which the schooling experience should provide access to (Bernstein 1975, 1999; Delpit 1988, 2012; Bourne 2004).

34.5 Professional Teaching Career and Working Conditions

A fundamental dimension within an overall view of teaching policies is a teaching career, understood as the set of regulations relating to the exercise of the profession (entry and permanence), working conditions, promotion, salary and incentives

structure, performance evaluation, professional development opportunities, and retirement conditions at the end of the career path.



Teaching Careers models in Latin America. Source: Ricardo Cuenca (2015)

The above typology of teaching careers provides a framework for the analysis of some specific elements such as career access mechanisms, work promotion strategies, teaching assessment processes, and procedures for exit from the career.

Political-legislative decisions and the implementation of teaching careers have been strongly marked by dialogues and conflicts with teachers’ unions, which in most countries in the region are strong and hold significant social power. Thus, by virtue of prolonged teachers’ strikes, many governments’ initiatives to advance career processes, including performance evaluations, have been frustrated. On the other hand, initiatives arising from a wide-ranging social dialogue, including teachers themselves, have been more easily implemented (Palamidessi and Legarralde 2011).

The construction of attractive teaching careers is generally considered from the perspective of teachers’ labor rights, but the truth of the matter is that there is another dimension that makes this issue a crucial element of educational policies. In fact, it

is not viable to think of improving the quality of initial training, or raising entry requirements for a career in teaching, unless such professional career is able to motivate young candidates with good academic prospects and aptitudes to go into teaching. The creation of adequate professional development opportunities requires the existence of certain working conditions guaranteed by the regulations governing a teaching career.

In general, selection methods continue to be the traditional procedures (UNESCO-OREALC 2006, 2013a; Iaies and de los Santos 2010), with the most prevalent being merit-based prequalification, followed by competitive examination. However, more recent teaching careers such as those of Mexico, Ecuador and Peru expressly provide that competitive examinations should be supplemented with actual demonstrations such as sample lessons and personal interviews.

Holding a degree is the most important requirement. In most countries, those who can access the career are professionals holding a teaching degree. In other cases, it may be that under special circumstances individuals with no professional degree enter the teaching career. At the same time, in a few countries supplementary rules provide for professionals in discipline areas other than education to specialize in teaching (Cuenca 2015).

Work promotion strategies are a core aspect in career development. Vertical promotion (UNESCO-OREALC 2006; Vaillant 2011) continues to be the preferred promotion strategy among Latin American teaching careers and includes mobility toward leadership roles (school directors, assistant directors, etc.) or outside the school (supervisors, monitors, etc.). Horizontal promotion is understood as an improvement in a classroom teacher's economic or working condition. Salary increases due to special allowances for specific work locations (rural or border areas), temporary leadership responsibilities or an improvement in professional education form part of horizontal promotion (Cuenca 2015).

The above referred norms that regulate teaching in Latin America, consider teaching in general and do not take into consideration the particular and highly demanding conditions in which teaching takes place in contexts of poverty, social segmentation and exclusion, which characterize urban education for the lower income groups in the majority of cities in the Region. Only exceptionally some normative frameworks provide incentives for teachers that work in these contexts, like those of Chile and Peru, but these incentives typically do not reach a level as to attract, and specially maintain good teachers working in these demanding conditions. In an opposite direction, it is a common feature of how the teaching career is traditionally organized in Latin America, that beginning teachers start in rural areas and after five or more years move to cities, but in this, a *de facto* stratification takes place whereby urban schools of marginal or poorer areas do not obtain the better qualified teachers, or if they do, they are not able to hold to them for long enough to make a difference. This happens as a result of the combined effect of particularly challenging teaching conditions in schools where residentially segmented social groups of the poorer quintiles of the income distribution concentrate, together with insufficient conditions, specialized supports and material and symbolic incentives and recognition.

The teaching profession has difficulty in attracting and retaining good teachers. This matter, of strong concern in developed countries, also emerges as an issue in the Region, especially as regards retention to the extent that other employment opportunities open up. This problem is undoubtedly related with salary conditions, but also with schools' work environments, which may be a very strong determining factor in a young professional's decision to remain teaching or not.

On the other hand, research shows that the exercise of the teaching profession undergoes significant changes according to the stage of a practitioner's professional life. Just like it is necessary to pay careful attention to the initial stages where a professional identity is forged (Marcelo 2010; Vaillant 2009), it is also necessary to consider the teacher's personal and professional development needs as he or she experiences them during the successive stages in his or her career through to retirement (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012).

Salary differentiation is an important career element: the main point here is how to prioritize the factors that assign value to performance that improves instructional practices, and consequently student learning – including professional development actions pointing in that direction – rather than just seniority or credentialism.

Teachers' salaries in Latin America are comparatively low in relation with other professions. In monthly figures, teachers' salaries in 2010 were between 10% and 50% lower than those of other "equivalent" professionals, and this proportion remained stable through the 2000s. At the same time, salary evolution is much flatter than that of other professional and technical employees (Bruns and Luque 2014).

An analysis of early childhood educators' salaries shows that in some countries (Brazil, Chile and Dominican Republic) these professionals' salaries are lower than those of primary school teachers, whereas in others (Argentina, Colombia and Mexico, among others) their salaries are equivalent to those of their peers in primary education (UNESCO-OREALC 2015a).

Remuneration comprises a basic salary and other specifications which grant bonuses for different reasons, among which seniority is often the most important. In several cases, the basic salary may substantially increase with the addition of incentives, even though the latter are often highly selective (Morduchowicz 2009).

The introduction of incentives into the teachers' remuneration system faces the challenge that teachers unions' demands have traditionally centered on the defense and improvement of common salaries rather than on individual performance-related differences.

The design of teaching careers involves an understanding that teaching is a complex and demanding activity, as discussed by Schmelkes (2015:138): *"The circumstances under which teachers make decisions on a day-to-day basis are quite variable. The process of teaching requires a deep understanding of the working context, appropriate mastery of the content to be taught and, particularly, of pedagogical content knowledge (...), as well as a large repertoire of instructional strategies. It implies the ability to interact, communicate and elaborate upon knowledge with its practical components in and with others, and to do so in contexts of freedom, trust, mindfulness, well-grounded decisions, empathy and authority (...).*

It entails the ability to reason and judge with respect with what is or is not appropriate during his teaching (...). All the foregoing requires high levels of teaching competencies”.

The evaluation of the teaching role is one of the most intensely discussed policy issues in education in the Region. The various types of evaluation associated with career entry, promotions, and performance itself are present in all teaching careers in the region (Vaillant and Rossel 2006), although they are more prevalent and sophisticated in those careers schemes based more on merit than years of service (Cuenca 2015).

Assuming that an evaluation process is required in order to determine the extent to which outcomes-based teaching criteria or standards are met, the central issue of this dimension of the educational agenda, is how to reach consensus to achieve these ends. International reports (OECD 2009, 2012; UNESCO 2006) show that successful performance evaluation systems have been the result of agreements among representative stakeholders, primarily including teachers themselves.⁷

The prevailing trend among specialists highlights the main purpose of evaluation, i.e. to improve teaching practice and, as a consequence thereof, to improve student learning. In its ‘formative mode,’ teacher evaluation provides for identifying strengths and weaknesses in what the teacher knows and does, in order to encourage improvement in his knowledge and practice as a professional (Meckes 2015). Evaluations by themselves do not provide for improving the quality of teaching practice, but they can contribute to it, and therefore to better student learning, insofar as they are associated with effective formative processes (Schmelkes 2015).

There is also consensus in the academic community that evaluation has to be based on clear parameters of what is understood as good teaching (standards), and that these are to be developed with teacher participation (Danielson 2011; Vaillant 2010; Vaillant & Rossel 2010) so that practitioners can take ownership thereof both for evaluative and formative purposes.

An important aspect for evaluation to be a fair process, and to be perceived by teachers as such, is to take into account the context in which teachers work and the problems that arise from it. Even though, it is certainly not a question of expecting less from teachers who work in difficult contexts or deal with disadvantaged students, it is essential to take such contexts into account when comparing and judging and defining support strategies (Schmelkes 2015).

In Latin America, external evaluation systems have been implemented to make progress in raising the quality of teaching. Mexico had a negative experience with teacher evaluation in the 1990s and has now redesigned its evaluation system; Chile began implementing its system in 2003; Ecuador did the same in 2007; Colombia enacted a law that creates the teacher performance evaluation system in 2015 and

⁷In the case of Chile, where a complex teacher evaluation system has been in place since 2003, this was possible on the strength of an agreement between the Government, the Teachers’ Association (teachers’ union) and representatives of the municipalities, i.e. the entities responsible for managing public schools (Manzi et al. 2011).

Peru is currently designing an overall system similar to Chile's.⁸ The rest of the countries in the region feature some elements, but these are less far-reaching and systematic (Bruns and Luque 2014).

Some of the answers to the challenges confronting the countries in the region in terms of teacher evaluation may be approached through the developing experiences with teacher evaluation of Chile and Mexico, the most advanced countries in this regard of the region.

The Teacher Evaluation System for the Chilean public sector evaluates teachers every four years, and is based on good teaching criteria agreed upon between government and the teachers union. Evaluation is carried out through four instruments: a report by the school director and head of the technical-pedagogical unit; evaluation by a peer evaluator from another school; self-evaluation, and a portfolio of written and video evidence on actual classroom teaching. Those teachers which reach the higher level of performance can apply to an economic incentive and the ones with poorer results are provided with professional development opportunities. If after two cycles of support a teacher fails for a third time in its evaluation, he or she has to leave teaching in the public sector (Manzi et al. 2011).

In the case of Mexico, performance evaluation is meant to be carried out every four years starting in 2015. Evaluation is based on a teacher profile, with parameters and performance indicators developed by the Ministry of Education (*Secretaría de Educación Pública*) and validated and approved by the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (*Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación*). Evaluation envisages four consecutive stages, associated to the application of four instruments: (i) a report regarding compliance with professional responsibilities; (ii) a portfolio providing evidence of work by students and analysis of it by the teacher; (iii) a test covering knowledge and didactic competencies; (iv) a well-reasoned didactic plan, including a reflection on what students are expected to learn and the way the learning will be evaluated (Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa 2015). This teacher performance evaluation is mandatory and conclusive for entry to, advancement and permanence in the Mexican teaching career, and its implementation is taking place, in a political context of a major reform and power transfer between the most powerful teacher union of Latin America, the *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación* (SNTE), and the Ministry of Education.

We may conclude that the passage from bureaucratically regulated careers to careers based on the evaluation and recognition of differential performance between teachers is a major cultural change in the education sector, hence the difficulties encountered. In those countries where this process is more advanced, such as the two cases described above, union leaders' acceptance that teachers cannot ambition to be socially recognized as a profession (rather than a semi-profession) unless they accept performance evaluation and participate in its construction, has far-reaching consequences in terms of change and its legitimacy among educators. Throughout,

⁸ Teacher evaluation was legally established in Peru in 2012; some of its elements are being implemented, while others are in the design phase (UNESCO-OREALC 2013a).

the evaluative framework-building efforts have struggled with the trade-offs between impartial and legitimated general rules and instruments, and the need to recognize in evaluation's criteria, instruments and processes, the special requirements to teaching that poverty and exclusion, be it in rural, but nowadays particularly in urban settings, represent.

34.6 Conclusion

The quality of an educational system is crucially dependent upon the quality of its teachers. This common-sense truth may be said to be increasingly shared by the political elites in Latin America, where despite significant differences between countries, there is a distinctive trend towards teaching policies that focus on the key dimensions of capacity building and increasing public regulation of the profession. In a continent historically marked by strong inequalities, these double-pronged effort does not yet show enough signs of distinguishing the special requirements that effective teaching demand in contexts of poverty and exclusion, and the implications of this for the preparation of teachers and the organization of their professional careers.

The greatest challenge facing initial teacher education is to attract the best talent to the profession and consistently raise the quality of formative processes. This seems to be inseparable from the development of national teacher education standards which clearly set forth, for teacher training institutions, a definition of what a graduate should know and be able to do, along with an institutional framework that ensures the quality of the processes through which this may be achieved. As to continuous training, as discussed earlier, the horizon for change points to the higher value of formative processes founded on collaborative and professional development strategies which are more strongly based on school teams than on individual teachers. In addition, change in this sphere rests on methodologies capable of linking, much more consistently than hitherto, the realities of day-to-day teaching with the innovation courses, workshops and experiences offered by continuous training programs in the various countries.

Regarding both initial and continuous preparation of teachers, policies that take seriously inequality and the potential of education for levelling the social distribution of key capacities and contributing to a common cultural basis conducive to more cohesive societies, should privilege strategies and contents that explicitly seek to answer to what it takes to produce learning and growth among the children and youth of marginalized and poor areas and communities. This is not part of the patterns we have identified and this vacuum constitutes a major challenge ahead.

Finally, as already pointed out, it is evident that the core of the relationship between society and the political system, on the one hand, and the teaching profession, on the other, rests on renewed forms of public regulation and accountability of the latter, expressed in professional careers based and structured according to

merit and performance evaluations, and not only years of experience as was traditionally the case.

These three dimensions of change make renewed demands on the quality of teaching policies in the region. Such policies, however, are characterized by the paradox that while no one disputes their importance and priority for the education quality and equity agenda, in actual practice they face great difficulties and tend not to have the declared priority, nor do they have the coherence and system-like features required by the changes reviewed. Teaching policies in the region are problematic because of their high cost; their goals are not achievable within the terms of one administration, and their implementation is typically through processes (such as initial and continuous teaching capacity creation and enhancement) which are neither visible nor attractive in terms of media communications and short-term political impact. The foregoing is compounded by the fact that consistent policies involve coordination by several ministries, the government's institutional capacity to engage the participation of the universities, and the difficulties inherent in the achievement of political consensus and intertemporal government-opposition alliances which may ensure a coherent and long-lasting course of action (Weinstein 2015; Stein and Tomassi 2008). These factors are not insurmountable, however, as demonstrated by the national cases of deep reform of public regulation of the profession and the analysis of reforms achieved in the education sector, 'despite the odds' (Grindle 2004). The wave of reforms affecting the teaching profession in Latin America feeds on the reforms partially achieved in countries such as Chile and Mexico, where consensus between the political and union elites has ensured a fundamental step along the long road towards the professionalization of the sector in the region. In these cases, achievements are instances of learning for other countries' reform policies and an improvement in the probabilities of change.

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Part VI
Nordic Countries

Chapter 35

Urban Education in the Nordic Countries:

Section Editors' Introduction

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35.1 Introduction

Urban education is an unfamiliar term in the Nordic countries, and generally in Europe overall, but what we want to argue in this introduction is that the concept has a theoretical cogency which is useful in illuminating Nordic, urban, educational and other settings. Urban education as a concept is a recognizable phenomenon but is used in different ways based on geography, history and political perspective. For example, in the Nordic countries, inner city areas are often associated with good schooling, whereas rural areas are considered more problematic (Gordon 2007), and even more so, the outskirts of major cities (e.g. *ibid*; Beach and Sernhede 2011). As a concept, urban education has been applied in a number of ways: to identify the cultural demands of the urban sophisticated and rich, associated with the arts and business; as a signifier of school failure and social class disadvantage (Nolan and Anyon 2004); in theoretical discussion involving bodies and spaces, as in understandings of how urban citizenship is constructed and supported or restricted by education (Gordon et al. 2000); and for the purpose of learning civil manners required in urban contexts (Gobbo 2007).

The aim of this section introduction is to provide a rationale and overview for the contributions that follow; however, we also draw substantially on our previous introduction to urban education (then for Western Europe), which we wrote jointly in 2007 (Öhrn and Weiner 2007). In reflecting on the Nordic context and as an

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introduction to the section chapters, our aim is to dismantle or deconstruct the phrase ‘urban education’ as a means of revealing its complexity and multiple usage. We draw on our own work related to this topic, e.g. Öhrn’s empirical work on gender, ethnicity and class in urban schools and Weiner’s treatment of gender, ‘race’ and ethnicity (e.g. Öhrn 2009, 2011, 2012; Weiner 2001, 2003, 2010). We begin with a consideration of what being Nordic means followed by an exploration of how we might better understand the concept of urban education in Nordic settings. We then propose shared themes applicable to education in Nordic urban contexts such as gender; ethnicity, migration and racism; identity, disaffection and critique; social class; democracy, educational restructuring and marketisation. The introduction ends with an overview of the individual articles that make up the Nordic section of the Handbook.

35.2 What Is Nordic?

The Nordic region contains five countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (and also the Faroe Islands and Greenland in Denmark, and Åland in Finland). Together they have a modest population of 26 million (Nordic Council of Ministers 2014). The five countries are geographically close and have a shared historical, political and language background as well as enjoying friendly contemporary relations. The latter are manifested in various official cooperations, such as the Nordic Council (the official inter-parliamentary body of the Nordic region) and the Nordic Council of Ministers (the official inter-governmental body for cooperation in the region). Consequently, formal efforts have been made over the years to strengthen the region such that ‘the continuance of Nordic identity does, then, rely upon intergovernmental organization, which the Nordic states themselves maintain’ (Parker 2002, p. 359).

35.2.1 *Nordic Welfare States*

‘Nordic’ has come to mean both an identity and a model, with the latter emerging especially during the Cold War with regard to advocacy of peace, international solidarity and egalitarian social democracy (Browning 2007). In this respect, the Nordic countries could be seen as having negotiated and made the most of their marginal position at the edge of Europe and ‘scope for autonomous action and thus potential gain’ (Parker 2002, p. 356). Marginality can imply weakness, but is also able to exploit opportunities derived from a loose relation to the centre, such as non-involvement in central actions and advantages in diplomacy:

Broadly speaking, the advantages can be grouped under two headings: those that derive from avoiding penalties of centrality (costs of major military responsibilities, prominence as a target of attack or criticism, the need to maintain authority over one’s periphery); and

those that derive from opportunities inherent in being on the edge (acting as intermediary for what lies beyond, demanding benefits from the center(s) for staying in the group, pursuing and/or proclaiming alternatives on the strength of not being the same as the dominant center. (Parker 2002, p. 356)

It has been suggested that the Nordic model has weakened and become less exceptional in recent decades, primarily because it offered a third, social-democratic midway point between capitalism and communism in Cold War Europe (Wæver 1992) and also because elements of Nordic policies and practices have become increasingly Europeanised, i.e. adopted by the European Union (Browning 2007). Others consider that the marginal status of the Nordic countries continues and enables them to be 'better placed than most to reformulate their distinctiveness in an advantageous relationship with the pull of the bigger Other, Europe and/or the West' (Parker 2002 p. 369).

Sweden, Finland and Denmark are members of the European Community; Norway and Iceland are not. However, both groups are part of the European Economic Area (EES) that provides for inclusion in EU's inner market and legislation in a range of policy areas. Also more generally, the EU influence is wider than its member countries. For instance, Norwegian researchers Karseth and Dyrdaahl Solbrekke (2010, p. 563) emphasise with reference to Ravinet (2008) that countries both within and outside the EU play 'the Bologna game', and Dysthe (2007), that Norway has been in the forefront of implementing the Bologna principles.¹

35.2.2 *Nordic Models of Education*

Education has been vital to the development of the Nordic welfare state. For instance, Antikainen (2006) considers Nordic education systems to be a main social precondition of Nordic welfare systems, together with a distinctive labour market model, involving a high degree of employer-employee organisation, collective bargaining, and agreed legislation between government and labour organisations – as well as sustained economic growth. There has been a strong emphasis on providing equal educational opportunities for a variety of diverse social groups, which has meant longstanding adherence to state funding for educational provision and attendance, even at tertiary level – and stress on education as vital for social cohesion and inclusivity. The development of a democratic citizenry was a core idea of post-war Nordic educational reform and remains a feature of current national curricula and educational legislation (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006).

However, there are evident differences between the education systems of the Nordic countries and some suggest it would be more useful to refer to Nordic *models* or *patterns* of education rather than to *one* single Nordic model (e.g. Antikainen

¹The Bologna Process is a series of ministerial meetings and agreements between European countries designed to ensure comparability in the standards and quality of higher education qualifications.

2006). Others remain committed to a single Nordic model because of the perceived, shared characteristics of Nordic school systems. For instance, in Telhaug et al.'s (2006) analysis of the last half-century, a single Nordic school model is proposed, which however, has three distinct phases or eras denoting evident and visible changes to educational ideology: the golden era of social democracy (1945–1970), an era of radical left influence (1970–1985) and thereafter an era of globalisation and neo-liberalism.

Specifically, the period from 1995 is characterized 'as an age of restructuring' (Antikainen 2006, p. 238), during which neo-liberal ideas took hold with strong moves towards deregulation, decentralisation, marketisation, and 'a development from collectivism to individualism' (Telhaug et al. 2004, p. 157). Nevertheless, Arnesen and Lundahl (2006, p. 297) maintain that as late as the early 2000s the Nordic countries continued to retain important aspects of welfare state policies and, 'that it is still justified to speak of the five Nordic countries as a rather distinct group regarding education politics from a welfare perspective.' Similarly, Telhaug et al. (2006, p. 264) claim that '[e]quality and justice continued to be core values [of the Nordic countries] but they were referred to less frequently than previously, while the debate on efficiency, quality and skills became more prominent'. Responses to such shifts have varied as we shall see later in this introduction and also in Lundahl's and Lappalainen's chapters following.

35.3 Urban Education

As pointed out earlier, immigrants and poorer groups in the Nordic countries are suburbanized, that is, pushed to the *outer borders* of the city, whereas in many other European countries, minorities and working class cohabit *within* the city – although sometimes residing in different parts. Urbanities and sub-urbanities are thus differently constructed and realised. There is a general tendency for lower-class groups to be driven out of big European cities by rising housing market prices and the development of business districts. This is enhanced by a process of gentrification which transforms previous lower-class and industrial areas into settings adapted to middle-class interests and tastes (see van Zanten 2005). Similar tendencies are seen elsewhere. For example in the USA, Nolan and Anyon (2004, p. 136) note the 'new economic and spatial arrangements found in urban areas as a result of globalization' with interconnectedness between concentrations of poverty and 'glamour zones' (Sassen 1998, quoted in Nolan and Anyon 2004 p. 137; see also Sassen 2000, p. 152). Gordon (2007) reminds us that those most likely to operate as global or 'glamour' *flaneurs* are white, middle-class men.

Cities and urban areas have become a focus of social and political concern in the Nordic countries due to migration in the course of globalisation with excluded groups moving west- and north-wards. However, migration has different meanings compared to earlier times. Whereas early post-war im/migration policies were framed by labour shortage at a time of development and growth and were relatively

permissive, im/migration more recently has been perceived of more as a problem demanding tight controls. Individual countries also have specific 'internal minorities' or indigenous peoples (for example Sami or Laplanders in the Nordic countries or Roma throughout Europe), who demand different policy solutions to those of other minority groups (Selling 2013).

35.3.1 Urban Plus Education

As already mentioned, urban education is an under-explored phenomenon in Nordic and European research, though is more common in the United States where it is perceived of as characteristic of the interrelationship of poverty, immigration, poor schooling and so on, in inner-city areas. Location and space are thus important. Migrants to the Nordic countries identify major cities as their most attractive destinations, and typically reside on the outskirts (see Andersson et al. 2010). As Gudmundsson (2013, p. 4) points out, such areas were often built as part of welfare housing plans in the 1950s and 1960s, which aimed to provide 'the rising working-class with decent housing and good facilities for cultural and leisure activities and spur their social mobility'. However, gradually other aspects became prevalent, areas were segregated and stigmatised as providing housing for those without other options, and thus inhabited almost exclusively by migrants, working-class and others with low incomes.

Residential segregation (as will be discussed especially in Sernhede's and Lundahl's chapters), decentralisation and school choice reforms, have contributed to increased performance differences between schools. The social and ethnic composition of urban schools is thus crucially important. Studies suggest that parental school choice is related not only to individual (educational) background, but also to the area in which families live. The 'area effect' is exemplified by the parental tendency to echo choices of the majority in the same area; thus, 'Middle-class parents living in working-class neighbourhoods choose private pre-schools significantly less often than on average. Working-class parents in middle-class neighbourhoods do the opposite' (Pérez Prieto et al. 2002 p. 57).

Within mainstream education, location also structures pupil expectations and is thus used as an individual marker of economic capital and status (in Britain, known as post-code selection). When accounting for patterns of pupil behaviour and achievement, the location of neighbourhood remains connected to social and cultural origin, as we see in Arnesen and Tolonen's chapters following. This has led, it is argued, to the lack of welcome to 'a certain kind of child', perceived as most likely to come from a deprived background (Gitz-Johansen 2003 p. 70). Alternatively, location is romanticised, symbolising the longing for an order or local culture, long gone. Stories draw largely on the presumed advantages of a former culturally-homogenous population (as opposed to the perceived present condition of ethnic diversity). Problems of earlier days may well be acknowledged, but they are portrayed as more manageable and acceptable than those of today (Arnesen 2002).

As argued throughout this section, the complex concepts of ‘urban’ and ‘urban education’ are difficult to apply across national settings, additionally because they create a silence regarding rurality (non-urbanity), even though non-urban or rural areas may experience problems similar to or greater than those in urban areas (e.g. inadequate teaching resources, low academic achievement). Thus, it is argued that to focus exclusively on the urban, leads to the neglect of needs not visible in cities, such as distance education provision or small, expensive, teaching units necessary in low density population areas. In some cases, access to education for children in rural areas means having to leave home, family and neighbourhood, at least for part of the week. The concept of rurality here speaks to the neglected silence at the heart of urban education, where rural settings are regularly normalised as monocultural, non-complicated and safe. Such a silence thus obscures the importance of categorisations of location, social class, ethnicity and gender as they are experienced across socio-spatial settings.

Urban teacher education constitutes yet another silence in the sense that discourses of teacher education are largely national rather than local or urban/rural (Garm and Karlsen 2004). More so, recent educational reforms and rhetoric in the Nordic countries and more widely, indicate the influence of globalisation, which on the one hand aims at homogeneity and harmonisation (say, across the EU), and on the other, advocates individualism, competition and fragmentation.

35.4 Current Themes in Nordic Research

There has been a wide variety of research addressing urban education in the Nordic countries in recent decades, the main themes of which are the following:

35.4.1 *Gender*

It has often been pointed out that the Nordic countries take pride in their assumed gender equality, for instance, by inclusion of gender in policy documentation and public presentation, and one could indeed argue that gender plays a central part in Nordic national identity formation (Arnesen et al. 2008). Gender equality stands out as a symbolic marker of the progressive state of these societies, in contrast to other European countries where concern for gender equality is less apparent (Forbes et al. 2011).

There is a long-standing tradition of joint Nordic theoretical development and shared research into gender and education. Gender and education emerged as a field of research in the late 1970s as a result of close collaboration especially between Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Research relations also developed gradually with Iceland, whereas Finnish research on gender emerged later and grew rapidly in the

1990s (simultaneous to a decrease in Danish research on gender).² Early research on gender was influenced theoretically by feminist sociology, for instance the work of Norwegian sociologist Hildur Ve (e.g. 1982), and focussed on the gendered upbringing and the reproduction of female subordination through schooling.

Parallel to this Nordic development have been important influences from abroad; from the United States in 1970s, from Britain from the 1980s onwards and later from Australia. As discussed elsewhere (Lahelma 2015; Öhrn and Weiner 2009), such international work was valuable, but also perpetuated an 'othering' through the hegemony of Anglophone interests and issues. International factors – though not primarily derived from research – also paved the way for renewed concerns and debates about boys' 'underachievement' in the Nordic countries in the 1990s. This 'travelling discourse', initiated in the Anglophone countries, had considerable impact on public debates and educational policy, though was less hostile towards feminism and gender research than for instance in the UK (Arnesen et al. 2008). Such a position enabled Nordic gender research to form a more relational view of gender issues than say in Britain where male performance and masculinities developed as a dominant research and policy theme (see Weiner and Öhrn 2009). Consequently, the Nordic countries did not experience the silence on girls, women and femininities that was observed in Britain (Archer and Leathwood 2003).

However, in problematising Nordic urban and youth cultures, research perhaps inevitably targeted boys and young men. Thus, interest in formal and informal urban education mainly focused on (post-industrial) fears about out-of-control males running wild in inner cities, and the role that schools have in civilising them. Young 'immigrant' men continue to be demonised throughout Europe, as in the USA, where 'Dominant media representations ... depict urban youth of color as dangerous criminals and the source of urban chaos' (Nolan and Anyon 2004 p. 134). European research literature likewise constructs young, non-European men as more violent than others, particularly with respect to sexualised violence and violence against women. This has coincided with the so called 'moral panic' in many countries surrounding boys' underachievement in schools (Epstein et al. 1998; Lahelma et al. 2000; Weiner et al. 1997).

Research on boys and masculinities has also emphasised the various constraints on their present situation. Young men, particularly from urban areas, are portrayed as deprived of the traditional male options available to earlier generations, affecting their identity formation (see Weis 1990); the situation for young working-class girls has received less attention. Girls and boys were treated by gender researchers in different ways from the 1990s onwards: highlighted for boys were low achievement, poor behaviour and lack of work opportunities and for girls, agency and subject positioning, various forms of femininity, and subjectivity. However, in the twenty-first century, Nordic researchers have increasingly turned to analysis of the intersections of gender with ethnicity especially, and also with social class and sexualities. There is thus a growing body of gender research on within-group differences with

²See professor Nina Lykke on the backlash in gender research in Denmark from the 1990s, <http://www.genus.se/meromgenus/teman/teori/portrattetDOUBLEHYPHENnina-lykke>.

respect to teaching methods (e.g. Dalland 2014), social class, achievement and positioning (e.g. Nyström 2012; Berg 2014), homophobia (e.g. Lehtonen 2003), and consequences of individualised and neo-liberal governance (e.g. Asp-Onsjö and Holm 2014; Hjelmér et al. 2014).

35.4.2 *Ethnicity, Migration and Racism*

The presence of racism and various forms of discrimination is a relatively recent addition to the policy agenda of the Nordic countries though racism has been a longstanding feature of European culture, and indeed, it is rightly argued that ‘racism’ was invented in Europe (MacMaster 2001). Certainly its manipulation by political elites has extended over several centuries with often horrifying consequences, such as recently, in the post-communist Balkan civil wars of the 1990s (Glenny 1992). As we noted in 2007 (Öhrn and Weiner 2007), a key feature of EU policy has been to eliminate as much as possible, the overt and destructive racisms which have laid Europe so low in the past, and to use education as a means of so doing.

Europe has become a novel experiment in multiple, tiered, mediated multiculturalisms, a supranational community of cultures, subcultures and transcultures inserted differentially into radically different political and cultural traditions. The consequences of this re-imagining and re-making of a new Europe are seen variously to be threatening or utopian. (Modood and Werbner 1997 p. vii)

A contradiction currently facing Europe including the Nordic countries, is the twin policies pursued; on the one hand of legislating against anti-Semitism, racism and other forms of discrimination, and on the other, of restricting immigration, tolerating explicitly racist parties and failing to take action against everyday racism. The recent crisis within the European Union concerning the non/reception of migrants from Syria and Afghanistan clearly demonstrates the complexity of this positioning. Thus, as Van Dijk shows, racism is a political object to be exploited and fought over.

In Italy, Austria, Denmark and Holland more or less explicitly racist parties may win up to 30% of the vote and even become partners in government coalitions. On the one hand, such developments are at first officially condemned and decried, on the basis of the prevalent non-racist norm, as happened with Haider in Austria. But on the other hand liberal principles or Realpolitik usually get the upper hand, and tolerate racist parties as part of the ‘democratic’ consensus – as one opinion among others, as is the case in Denmark, France and Italy. (Van Dijk 2005 p. 13)

This twin approach – condemnation and tolerance of racism – makes discourses of democracy and antiracism difficult to defend in schools, in particular, when racist messages, say from the hyper-nationalist True Finns party described by Lappalainen later in this section, are visible and to some extent approved in political discourse and pamphlets, on the Internet and in everyday speech and interaction. So, it will come as no surprise, that many (though by no means all) teachers in the Nordic region and across Europe, when confronted with the necessity of dealing with overt

racism, tend to do little – preferring to concentrate more on what they consider to be their core work as subject teachers. Teachers offer a range of arguments for non-engagement: e.g. not part of teachers' job description, no problem of racism in their school or classroom, not enough time available, too complex an area, lack of training to deal with issues (Gaine 2005) or that the focus of teaching on values takes time away from the 'real' teaching of content and 'objective' facts (Rosvall and Öhrn 2014).

Structural factors are also important. For example, one shared concern is that initial and in-service teacher education offers neither a sufficiently comprehensive introduction to the field of multicultural/intercultural/antiracist education nor strategies to deal with racial conflicts and disputes when they arise in the classroom. Another concerns the failure of politicians and policy-makers to recognise the importance of allowing the establishment of faith (or religious) schools for religious groups other than Judo-Christian. The argument is that this failure creates feelings of grievance, unfair treatment and victimisation, which sharply impact on other areas of social life (Modood 1997). The general failure also to recruit minority ethnic teachers, another structural factor, has proved difficult to resolve; possibly due to the traditional role of the teacher (and school) as transmitter of a nation's culture and traditions (Basit and McNamara 2004). Controversies over the curriculum and its cultural base have also arisen, with preference among educational curriculum policy-makers for classical Greece and Rome, and western European Christianity as cultural influences rather than seeking out more plural, inclusive curriculum models (Shah 2000).

Moreover, the existence of different *forms* of racism has added to the complexity of schooling. Modood (1997) identifies three predominant European racisms: anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and white supremacy, although locally-targeted racism, say against Roma, is also evident. These different forms have emerged in different countries at different times with varying degrees of force and danger, to some extent the consequence of national histories and political cultures.

If, as in Scandinavia, it is possible to identify related but different forms of racism (anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, white supremacy), these are.... related to national histories and national political cultures. The Nazi invasions of Denmark and Norway in the 1940s make it close to impossible to be a Nazi nationalist in these countries today in the way that is possible in Sweden. So, similarly, there are different forms of anti-racism, different conceptions of racial equality and different forms of multiculturalism across Europe. (Modood 1997 p. 4)

Thus Modood suggests that as the forms of racism and history of racism differ, so too will the strategies and educational policies needed, if they are seriously to challenge or eliminate racism where it exists and flourishes in schools. So, one-size-fits-all policy-making is clearly not an option. The implications of the different Scandinavian experiences of the Second World War as noted by Modood also change with time. Today, only the elderly have first-hand experience of war-time Nazism and extremism takes on new and different forms (see Kuure 2003). For instance, Fangen (1998, p. 33) concludes that the skinhead subculture is similar to (Second War) Nazism only in certain ways and should be understood 'as a bricolage

consisting of elements with contrasting connotations'. At present, populist parties, critical of immigration or explicitly xenophobic have gained strength in all the Nordic countries; the Sweden Democrats, the True Finns, the Danish People's Party, in Norway the Progress Party and in Iceland the Progressive Party (see Bergmann 2015).

Terminology is of considerable importance in this context. Central to the Nordic situation is the co-existence of people from different ethnic backgrounds in marginalised urban settings. While constituting a highly diverse group, individuals are frequently homogenised as not belonging to the majority, mainly on account of skin colour or language of origin. Thus the divide between having or not having Nordic nationality, becomes crucial. Minorities are frequently referred to as 'immigrant', however lengthy their period of residence. In contrast, young people themselves often claim a positive meaning of 'immigrant' as a unifying concept. Such a perception signals a critique of mainstream society and the immigrant position within it, and a form of political action and practice (Schwartz 2013; Sernhede 2007).

35.4.3 Identity, Disaffection and Critique

Aesthetic practices are central to the lives of youth today (McCarthy 2004). Music, dance, and clothes are used by youth to define themselves, to develop a sense of community and also, as for instance in rap and Hip Hop music, to develop and voice social critique (Nolan and Anyon 2004). Through this, they connect to other urban areas across the globe. Sernhede (2007) discusses the 'glocal' consciousness of Hip Hop where north European youth relates to, and identifies with, Afro-American culture especially in urban areas. Such global yearnings indicate the political potential of youth cultures; and their importance for the ethnically-differentiated sub-proletariats in European urbanities such as London, Paris, Amsterdam and Stockholm for expressing social criticism (Sernhede 2002). However, we suggested in 2007 (Öhrn and Weiner 2007) that in drawing heavily on Afro-American experiences and struggles, young people also bring about a form of globalised 'Americanisation'. For example, Sernhede's discussion of the influence of American 'gangster-rap' reveals a critique of racism yet also a contempt for women and a romanticisation of violence. Thus, identity and understandings are 'exported' to areas with different material and social problems, where they crucially affect perceptions of neighbourhood, gang conflict, peer and gender relations etc. Furthermore, as Jensen (2013, p. 54) suggests, 'misogyny can be thought of as a dimension of constructing a public image as a dangerous young black man.'

Following Willis (1977), much research in the Nordic countries has focussed on urban working-class boys, both 'Black' and 'White', and their continuing rejection of the intellectual ideals of schooling, perceived of as largely 'feminine' and middle class (Kryger 1990). However, recent research indicates that this understanding is dated; young working-class men are far more aware of contemporary demands for educational qualifications than previously assumed (Rosvall 2011) and therefore

cannot be said to reject school overall (e.g. Godø 2013; Lahelma and Öhrn 2003). Also, we can see informal learning taking place in the sense of identity work which challenges hegemonic understandings related to class, 'race' and gender. Systematic attempts to foster non-hegemonic understandings are evident in the work, for example, of Reay and Mirza (1997) who studied Saturday and evening schools in London, run locally by groups in the community; and in the Helsinki teachers with a trade union background mentioned in Lappalainen's chapter. Sernhede (2007) likewise reports the existence of informal teaching and learning whereby young men in Swedish cities inculcate the younger ones into 'Black' or native Latin American history and religion. In so doing, such informal teaching enables understandings of the present and the past, and of the national and the global, that often challenge the formal content of schooling.

In the Nordic countries, democratic education is traditionally defined as the teaching about, for and through democracy, including active participation of students. Despite this, empirical studies show that students have limited options in terms of influencing their schooling. They are often granted a say about the timing and sequencing of assignments, yet rarely offered the chance to take decisions on choice of content (e.g. Anker 2014; Rönnlund 2014). Ways of teaching about citizenship and democracy focus mostly on individual rights vis-à-vis the state and factual knowledge rather than on adopting a critical, political literacy approach (Englund 2003; Öhrn et al. 2011). Where democracy is consciously taught and activated, it focuses similarly on the means by which individual students can self-monitor, for example, their academic performance (Dovemark 2004). While largely marginalised, some collective democratic forms are evident which, for example, draw attention to the lack of equal rights among school students, the situation of subordinated groups in schools and/or the existence of and struggles against, racist and other oppressive practices (Öhrn 2012).

35.4.4 Social Class

Analyses of social class have largely disappeared from the mainstream educational agenda, weakened by criticism of grand theories that 'championed' social class (Archer and Leathwood 2003 p. 228). However, in recent years there has been a renewed focus on theoretical analyses of social class, in particular, studies which address prevailing social and economic inequalities (Walkerdine 2003). Social class is a major theme of the chapters that follow, reflecting an increased interest in Nordic research more generally. Skeggs (2004, p. 47) noted some 10 years ago for the UK, that 'more recently [there has been] ... a resurgence of interest in class in feminist theory, queer theory, geography, media studies, history, and in some parts of sociology', while Ball (2003, p 5) suggests that there are three main debates: 'class theory, the attempt to define classes theoretically, and recently to incorporate race and gender within such definitions...'. The latter is evident in recent gender theories which emphasise issues of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1995). It is argued

that social class needs to be understood in relation to ethnicity and ‘race’, as the latter become increasingly relevant:

Within this new principle of urban organisation, the forms of socio-economic integration can no longer be understood solely in terms of class. More and more, class tends to be combined with ethnicity. This can be seen in France where debates over the poor suburbs and the efficacy of urban policy are systematically linked to the presence of immigrants of North African origin and their social and economic problems. (Cesari 2005 p. 1016)

Categorisation of class also differs between countries (Weiner 2001). In Sweden, for instance, it has been noted that social class as a concept is rarely used in everyday life; for example, workers do not see themselves as belonging to a specific class (Ahrne et al. 1985). In the 1990s there was a dramatic rise in working-class identity (Cigéhn et al. 2001) following a period of economic restructuring which resulted in reductions in the welfare state, increased unemployment and a widening gap between rich and poor (Bunar and Trondman 2001). Notwithstanding, the lack of explicit reference to social class in everyday life should not be taken as an indication of its conceptual irrelevance to Nordic societies. As noted above, social background and ethnicity are identified and communicated through a variety of concepts. For example, location appears to be a key signifier of social class and ethnicity, as shown in studies in which teachers refer to students as ‘typical’ or ‘atypical’ of a certain neighbourhood rather than explicitly identifying them as ‘rich’, ‘working class’ etc. (Arnesen 2002; Gitz-Johansen 2003). Similarly, students refer to specific urban areas as a means of identifying groups from specific social and ethnic backgrounds (e.g. Andersson 2003; Gordon 2007; Öhrn 2011).

The centrality of social background is evident in its continuing impact on student achievement and educational success (e.g. Bakken and Elstad 2012; the Swedish National Agency for Education 2012). Researchers have emphasised the importance of incorporating social class factors in public and policy debate rather than, as is presently the case, focussing almost exclusively on gender as a decisive academic factor (e.g. Lahelma 2004).

35.4.5 Democracy, Educational Restructuring and Marketisation

Democracy has been a *leitmotif* for the Nordic countries as well as for the European Union. However, encouragement to be democratic is not evident in schools whether urban or rural, with much more focus on restructuring of educational systems, in particular, implementation of decentralisation and deregulation, changes in governance and advocacy of life-long learning. Discourses of creativity, choice, flexibility and enterprise as well as of achievement and performance measurement, have emerged alongside development of individualised, market-oriented educational forms (Beach and Dovemark 2005; see also Lappalainen’s chapter in this section).

Marketisation is currently a key theme in Nordic research, signifying a shift away from past commitments to comprehensive education and 'equality for all'. This shift makes the analysis of Nordic education systems all the more interesting.

The Nordic countries provide a particularly interesting location for exploring the advent and onward march of the New Right in education. These countries have had a far stronger commitment to social justice and to policies for ensuring equality than for example the US and the UK. Educational rhetoric still emphasises equality – But a new rhetoric of accountability standards and efficiency has begun to occupy the centre stage in politics and policies. (Gordon et al. 2000, p. 4)

Considerable similarity has been observed in the restructuring of education in different Nordic countries (e.g. Johannesson et al. 2002), but there have also been clear differences. For instance, Sweden lies at one extreme of what may be called the neoliberal agenda with its promotion of school choice and marketisation in the form of the 'rapid growth of tax-funded, privately-run school companies ... allowed to extract profits for their owners' (Arnesen et al. 2014 p. 3). Here, independent schools – whether run by non-profit organisations or commercial companies – are publicly funded, yet allowed to retain any profits gained. As Arreman and Holm (2011, p. 226) note, and will be explored especially in Lundahl's chapter, '[f]or these reasons, Sweden is now considered to be a pioneer of marketization and privatisation practices in education'.

The path taken by Sweden is somewhat puzzling, considering its previous long-standing commitment to welfare policies and inclusive education and in the Nordic region overall, and particularly because its 'radical' restructuring attracted so little public criticism from educational actors and voters. Johannesson et al. (2002) conclude that the reason for this is that competition and marketisation were accepted as a legitimate price to pay for getting a better education system, but also that such changes were perceived as inevitable. Their analysis of policy documents and interviews with school actors in Finland, Iceland and Sweden 'present the changes of restructuring, decentralisation, budget reform, school-based evaluation and so on as if there is no other alternative' (Johannesson et al. 2002, p. 332).

The consequences of such educational restructurings have been severe as Arnesen and Lundahl concluded in 2006. They found an increased influence of market logics in education during previous decades.

Financial cuts and reforms aimed at increased freedom of choice, competitiveness and effectiveness are reported in all the Nordic countries as having counteracted or redefined policies of inclusion. Equality and uniformity are gradually replaced by diversity and, at least in Sweden, increasing school segregation and growing performance-related differences between pupils and schools. (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006 p. 296).

Thus following the advent of neoliberal policies, substantial differences have opened up between individual schools and between students in the Nordic region. This is particularly evident in Sweden, but differences between schools have widened also in Finland as school profiling and specialisation have increased, with middle-class students tending to opt for specialist courses in foreign languages or sciences (see Arnesen et al. 2014).

35.5 Introducing the Section Articles

The five chapters which constitute the main text for the Nordic section come from three of the five countries in the Nordic region – Sweden, Norway and Finland. The chapters draw on recent empirical work, mainly ethnographic and qualitative, and are pioneering in the sense that they offer an insight into Nordic urban education, although as already noted, the concept is rarely used.

The collection opens with a discussion of the increased influence of neoliberalism and marketisation on Nordic education, and particularly, on Sweden. The chapter, by Lisbeth Lundahl from Sweden, is entitled; *Marketization of the urban educational space*. The argument is made that over the last few decades Swedish education has been systematically transformed, paralleling developments in other OECD countries. However, the shift from a uniform and centrally-regulated to a decentralized and marketised, school system, including e.g. school-choice, competition and for-profit education companies, has been more radical and more speedily implemented in Sweden than in other Nordic countries (Bunar 2010; Lundahl et al. 2013). While the changes are not confined to urban areas, it is argued that their expressions are most tangible there, as large numbers of urban municipal and ‘free’ compulsory upper-secondary schools compete over students and economic resources. Lundahl defines the contours of the new educational landscape, especially in urban areas, and discusses the consequences of the changes in terms of, e.g. growing performance gaps, increased social segregation and changes to schools’ work.

The second chapter in this section, entitled *Social class, inclusion and exclusion – teacher and student practices in Norwegian urban education* and written by Anne-Lise Arnesen from Norway, focuses on problems of underachievement, segregation and exclusion in urban settings. The chapter examines how social class in particular is played out in urban education and how schooling maintains class hierarchies. It offers a response to a claimed deficiency in attention paid to social class in educational research, and explores the processes of class, inclusion and exclusion in urban classrooms. Arnesen adopts a notion of class, not merely as a dimension of educational stratification, but as a multi-dimensional (gender, minority status and special needs) and dynamic configuration, played out within tensions of inclusion and exclusion. The chapter draws on an ethnographic study of urban schools, which enables consideration both of the implications of standardized teaching and assessment practices and the subtle relations of differentiation that occur between teachers and students.

The third chapter in this section is entitled *Educating ‘Euro-citizens’: A Study of a Vocational Upper Secondary Programme in Health Care and Social Services in a Finnish (Sub)urban Setting*. Written by Sirpa Lappalainen from Finland, the chapter opens with a discussion of how education, formerly largely a national project, has more recently become implicated in transnational, especially European policy-making. It is argued that education is now designed primarily to produce citizen-workers for the trans-national labour market. Analysis focuses on the creation of the

ideal labour market citizen through participation in upper-secondary vocational programmes in Health Care and Social Services with the focus, in particular, on the core subject of 'Social, Business and Labour Market'. The chapter draws on a 3-year ethnographic study of one upper-secondary vocational college located in a metropolitan area, in which the average person's income is low and unemployment rates are high. Both from a social and physical point of view, the college provider is the obvious educational choice for its working-class students. The analysis is guided by poststructuralist and material feminist theorizing, intertwined with contextualised ethnographic perspectives. The final discussion points to the importance of Europeanisation in Finnish urban vocational education but also the power of the teachers and students to disrupt the discourse of European neoliberalism and the consequent implications and spaces available.

This is followed by Ove Sernhede's study of new, emergent forms of suburban mobilization in a chapter entitled: *'Knowledge should be put in motion'... Young adults, social mobilization and learning in poor, multi-ethnic suburban neighbourhoods in Sweden's metropolitan districts*. Sernhede shows that Sweden's biggest cities contain neighbourhoods where the majority of children grow up in families living below the poverty line, where more than 40% of people between the ages of 20 and 25 years are neither in work or education, and where more than half of pupils leave school without qualifications. He argues that over the last two decades, Swedish cities have become Europeanized in the sense that they exhibit increasingly similar social and economic disparities and threats to social cohesion to that of other European cities. The riots in the suburbs of Stockholm in the Spring of 2013 is a telling example of this. However Sernhede found in his research that parallel to the riots, there were hopeful signals from young adults living in the poorer, ethnically-diverse suburbs, of a new agenda for social and political mobilization. This agenda includes a wish for knowledge and for constructive dialogue as an alternative to confrontation with the police. Historical parallels are drawn especially with early twentieth-century temperance and labour movements in Sweden but also with the civil rights movement in the USA, and Arab Spring more recently. Sernhede identifies several organisations and reports from the study of one of them 'The Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb' (of Gothenburg). The chapter draws primarily on an ethnographic study involving participant observation and interviews.

The final chapter of this section, drawing again on ethnographic methodology, explores young people's relationship to educational and city spaces from the perspective of everyday experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Entitled *Young people and local power geometries – the intertwining of social class, gender and ethnicity in public spaces*, it focuses on the sense of belonging and marginalization of young, immigrant men and women in Finnish society, and on 'the everyday gendered and ethnic orders' produced. Tarja Tolonen analyses processes of building 'urban citizenship' (Gordon 2007) through power geometries, in different urban spaces such as schools, youth clubs, shopping centres and the streets. What kind of masculinities (and femininities) are produced and presented? How do they relate to young people's

sense of belonging to Finnish society more widely? The chapter draws on youth studies as well as studies of social class, gender and ethnicity.

The primary data consists of interviews with young people of 13–17 years from various backgrounds and also observations, and discussions with teachers, youth workers, a policeman and parents. The research was carried out mainly in youth clubs in Helsinki in 2008–2009 and in connection with two research projects.

It is our hope, from the introduction and chapters that make up the *Handbook's* Nordic section, that readers gain a sense of the specificity of different urban places and spaces, and the range of identities, demands and aspirations available to young urbanists and their teachers. While not as defined and accepted a field as in the USA, we have found that raising questions about the urban in Nordic education, has been highly productive in concretising and fusing issues of race and ethnicity, gender and class, inclusion and exclusion, and in enabling the theorization of urban (and rural) educational settings, in innovative and productive ways.

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Chapter 36

Marketization of the Urban Educational Space

Lisbeth Lundahl

During the last few decades school choice and competition have been introduced all over the world. Similar arguments have been used to justify the change: choice and competition help raise the effectiveness and quality of education by allowing ‘the best’ schools to outperform ‘the worst’, and compel schools to improve their results by renewing instruction and leadership (Ball and Youdell 2008; Waslander et al. 2010). Such developments and modernization are commonly regarded as decisive for achieving economic growth and national competitiveness. The school choice reforms have also been aimed more principally at strengthening parents’ and young people’s right to choose education. They have further been regarded as means to reduce social segregation and unfairness by giving children and young people in socially exposed areas the chance to go to good schools elsewhere. Meta-analyses of the effects of school choice reforms have, however, given cause to critically question several of these assumptions (Lubienski 2009; Waslander et al. 2010). The point of departure of the analysis undertaken by Waslander et al. (2010) on behalf of the OECD is telling: *The question this review tries to answer is not whether parental choice and school competition have any of the intended effects, but why research finds effects to be so small or absent entirely* (*ibid.* p. 8).

For a long time distinguished by their universal and egalitarian education systems, even the Nordic countries have carried out education reforms with neoliberal features, albeit to varying degrees (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006; Blossing et al. 2014; Telhaug et al. 2004). Sweden has undoubtedly gone the furthest in a neoliberal direction; here the shift from a centrally regulated, uniform school system to a decentralized one with strong market elements such as aggressive competition and profit-making, has taken place faster and more radically than in most other places (Bunar 2010; Lundahl et al. 2013).

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In Sweden the marketization of education, here defined as the promotion of quasi-markets with various actors competing over the running of schools, has been enabled by a combination of liberal rules for the establishment and running of private schools¹ and full funding by municipal and state tax-funding of such schools. Even though marketization of education is not confined to urban areas, it is most tangible there, with large numbers of municipal and free schools fighting over students and economic resources.

Despite sharing many global features, school choice reforms and marketization cannot be discussed independently from their context. They differ significantly between and within welfare regimes, related to nations' unique historical, cultural and political characteristics. This is for example evident in the Nordic countries; while Denmark and Norway have been relatively hostile to neoliberal policies, Sweden has been more eager to incorporate them (Wiborg 2013). While municipalities in Finland are allowed to provide choice opportunities within the public sector, Sweden has opened up such alternatives to the private sector (Varjo et al. 2015). Differences within the Nordic region are elaborated further in the next section. The expressions of marketization also vary between local environments, something which is rarely highlighted in the research literature. In education and youth research the urban context is often so taken-for-granted that it does not even have to be explicated (Farrugia 2014). Even the question of how education in rural areas is affected by school choice and competition is seldom addressed.

This chapter firstly aims to add to our knowledge of how the restructuring of the educational field into a quasi-market affects schools, neighbourhoods and students by analysing the full-scale Swedish experiment; secondly, the chapter critically examines this as an urban phenomenon and also discusses the consequences for rural areas.

I initially give a brief background to the transformation of Swedish education in the 1990s and early 2000s by situating it in a wider Nordic context; I then outline the contours of the new Swedish educational landscape. The major part of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of the consequences of the school choice reforms and the resulting market² situation at three levels: (a) *the societal level* – by giving a brief recapitulation of research findings on the effects of marketization; (b) *the institutional level* – the adoption of new priorities in schools and the professional dilemmas experienced by teaching staff; and (c) *the individual level* – young people's often problematic transitions between compulsory and upper secondary school when they have to navigate a dense jungle of options in the education market. The chapter is based on original research, national statistics and public reports, particularly the annual reports from the Swedish National Agency for Education (SNAE) which describe and analyse the educational situation. SNAE also ran a project on the marketization of Swedish education (for a synthesis, see SNAE 2012a). The

¹ A new Education Act of 2010, however, reduced the degrees of freedom somewhat.

² For the sake of simplicity I use the term 'market' even if it would be more correct to speak of a quasi-market, as the state regulates and finances educational services, and it is not possible to compete purely via the price mechanism.

sections on the market situation in schools and on young people's experiences of the school market are largely based on two research projects undertaken at Umeå University and funded by the Swedish Research Council: *Upper secondary school as a market*³ (project I), and *Inclusive and competitive – upper secondary school between social inclusion and marketization*⁴ (project II). Both projects included larger surveys and case studies of municipal and free schools at upper secondary level, situated in varying geographical contexts. The case studies were mainly based on interviews with head teachers, teachers, career counsellors and students.

36.1 A Nordic Educational Model (?)

A distinct Nordic educational model has sometimes been talked of, a discourse that stresses important parallels between the educational systems of the Nordic countries since the 1950s (Telhaug et al. 2004). The Nordic school systems rested on commonly shared ideas, and were framed by active, redistributive welfare policies, simultaneously aiming at social justice and cohesion and (a fact which is sometimes forgotten) economic growth that could allow for necessary resource allocation. Comprehensive education of equal standards with no or little streaming was regarded as a royal road to accomplish the reform aims. After a 10-year experimental period, Sweden was the first Nordic country to introduce the 9-year comprehensive school in 1962, followed by the other four countries.⁵ Prevailing egalitarian and inclusive aspects (e.g. free education from compulsory to higher level, early childhood education of high quality, late division of students on different tracks, and extensive integration of special needs students in 'ordinary' classes), have led researchers to conclude that it is still justified to speak of the five Nordic countries as a distinct group while conceding that they are affected by ideas of public choice and new public management (Antikainen 2010; Arnesen and Lundahl 2006; Blossing et al. 2014). If we specifically focus on choice and privatization policies, then it will be seen that Finland, Norway and Iceland still have very little private education and few possibilities for profit-making in this field. Denmark, in contrast, has historically had a much greater number of private schools than the other Nordic countries, based on a long-pervading ideology emphasizing parents' rights to choose education for their children. Even here, however, it is not possible for private school-owners to use a financial surplus for profits. In Norway, the Social Democratic Party has not only opposed the initial efforts from the political right to allow all kinds of private educational alternatives (not just schools with a certain pedagogy or

³Ref. no. 2007–3579. See e.g. Erixon Arreman and Holm (2011), Lidström et al. (2014), Lundahl et al. (2013), (2014), and Lundström and Holm (2011).

⁴Ref. no. 721-2011-5509.

⁵After a 15-year experimental period Norway decided on 9-year compulsory education in 1969 and abolished tracking from 1974. Denmark introduced comprehensive compulsory education without tracking from 1975, Iceland in 1974 and Finland in 1978 (Marklund 1985).

religious orientation), resulting in the 2003 Free School Act, but also stopped the realization of the Act when returning to office. Furthermore, a symbolically important change of terminology from ‘free schools’ to ‘private schools’ was decided upon (Berge and Hygge 2011). In Norway,⁶ Finland, Denmark and Iceland there is political consensus that education should not be opened up for private profit-making companies.⁷ The initial plans in Finland to follow the example of Sweden by introducing free schools were abandoned when the first PISA⁸ results were published in 2000, ranking Finland at the top. However, school choice possibilities have emerged, especially in the larger cities; public schools may be allowed to offer subject profiles (Bernelius and Kauppinen 2011; Varjo et al. 2015). Iceland’s education policies became influenced by neoliberal ideas when the country performed worse in international comparisons than expected. Decentralization and the possibilities of competition were introduced in the 1990 Education Act. Despite these changes, the proportion of private schools is still low (2% of all compulsory school students). As illustrated in the next section, Sweden is the Nordic country that has gone furthest in the market orientation of education.

36.2 Choice Reforms for ‘Modernization’ and ‘Vitalization’

During the 1970s and 1980s, a period of economic and political instability, the Swedish welfare state was criticized for being expensive and inefficient by the political right, and for being governed top-down by the left. As a response, the first steps were taken towards increasing local influence and introducing new forms of management in order to modernize the public sector. Often used to exemplify the alleged shortcomings of the welfare system, education was subject to such reform efforts from the very beginning. Aiming to secure fair and equal conditions of education, the comprehensive school reforms of the 1950s and 1960s had resulted in a host of fine-meshed state regulations that concerned most aspects of school life. The policy turn from the 1980s meant a swift break from centralism and management by rules; these quickly gave way to decentralization and management by objectives and results, giving Swedish elementary schools more autonomy than most other OECD countries (Lundahl 2002).

⁶Interestingly, the same red–green government that abolished the Free School Act took a quite different stand concerning pre-school education; profit-making companies were welcome when the existing municipal and private providers – the latter running almost half of all pre-schools – could not expand rapidly enough to meet the needs of the populace. In 2010 almost 60% of the private pre-schools were run by companies that could extract profits.

⁷Party leader Erna Solberg in a radio interview before the 2013 election.

⁸Programme for International Student Assessment.

Based on neoliberal ideas of freedom of choice and market solutions, the non-socialist coalition government in office from 1991 to 1994⁹ initiated reforms to enable parental choice and stimulate school competition, based on arguments that are recognizable from many other countries; such reforms would ensure that parents and children had the ‘greatest possible freedom’ to choose a school, improve municipal education by ‘stimulating competition’ and raise cost efficiency (Govt. Bill 1991/92:95; Govt. Bill 1992/93:230). In an interview¹⁰ some years later, the responsible minister, Mrs Beatrice Ask (Conservative), summarized the mood for change thus:

It was the need of modernizing and an associated wish for variation. During the same period there was a rather strong movement for cooperative daycares – a movement for freedom of choice and a liberty ethos that sought alternatives. (Nov. 1998. Author’s translation)

The reforms were surprisingly little questioned at the time, and were only marginally adjusted by the subsequent social democratic government (1994–2006), in spite of the fact that they meant a veritable system shift. Sweden went from highly restrictive policies to a highly liberal approach with regard to private schools, including high-level tax support for independent or ‘free schools’¹¹ (initially covering 85 % of the costs, now 100 %). In principle, all kinds of non-public providers could be accepted after being licenced;¹² free schools were to be open to all children and fees were not allowed. I, however, want to emphasize that the school market is not just about free schools; the whole education sector has been remoulded after a market model.

36.2.1 Rapid Expansion and Restructuring of the Free School Sector

Initially, the growth of free schools was rather modest; in the early 1990s less than 1 % of all students attended a free school, while 10 years later the figure stood at 3 %. At present, 14 % of all compulsory school students and 26 % of upper secondary school students attend a free school (see Fig. 36.1). The most dramatic development has taken place at upper secondary level and in the urban regions. In Stockholm, the largest city in Sweden, more than half of all upper secondary students attend an independent school; in Gothenburg and Malmö (the second and third largest cities) the figure is roughly four out of ten (SNAE 2015). The expansion of upper

⁹ With minor exceptions, the Social Democratic Party held power from 1932 to 1976. Since then, social democratic governments have alternated with various constellations of right-wing, liberal and centre parties. The latter held office in 1976–1982, 1991–1994 and 2006–2014.

¹⁰ Interview conducted by the author.

¹¹ The legislation uses the term *independent schools*, but *free schools* is commonly used in everyday language.

¹² Originally, the SNAE decided such matters. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate (SSI) later took over this responsibility.

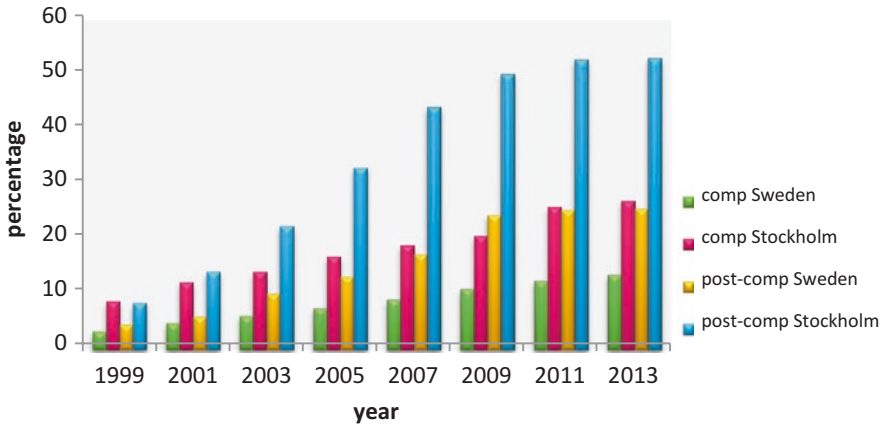


Fig. 36.1 Students in compulsory and post-compulsory free schools, Sweden and Stockholm, 1999–2013 (percentage of all students) (Sources: Statistics Stockholm and SNAE 2015)

secondary free schools in the three big city regions accelerated, especially when the large youth cohorts born around 1990 proceeded to upper secondary school. New independent upper secondary schools benefitted from this expansion space, almost springing up like mushrooms in and around Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Within 3 years (2007–2010), the number of students in the upper secondary free schools in the big cities increased by almost 40% – in the municipal schools in the same areas the increase was 8%. The 2008 ‘free search’ rule meant that young people could be accepted to an upper secondary programme anywhere in Sweden, the educational costs being covered by the home municipality. The reform accelerated the ongoing increase of student commuting within/to urban areas. At present one-third of the youth in urban regions commute to a school in a municipality other than their own.

Initially, the free school sector largely consisted of single small schools run by parental and staff cooperatives and organizations with a religious or specific educational orientation; by and large they were non-profit institutions. Parallel to the growing numbers of free schools, a fast restructuring of the sector took place from the millennium shift. Realizing the profit-making potential of ‘the school branch’, big firms and groups of companies entered the scene (Erixon Arreman and Holm 2011). The combination of generous tax-funding, weak regulation and the possibility of profit-making made the system more market-oriented than, for instance, the U.S. system of charter schools (Chubb 2007; Björklund et al. 2005; Lubienski 2009). The growth of the free school market included both opening of new schools and the private acquisition of public schools. By 2010 almost nine out of ten upper secondary free schools were run by providers entitled to distribute revenues to their owners. The surplus was mainly generated by lower teaching costs per student (SNAE 2011), but lower costs for premises, libraries, school canteens and suchlike also contributed. Free school companies were on average more profitable than other

businesses, and the associated risks and investment costs were relatively low (Erixon Arreman and Holm 2011; Vlachos 2011). Within a few years three of the four largest Swedish companies in the upper secondary sector were purchased by foreign venture capital companies,¹³ none of them previously engaged in education. Owner concentration particularly took place in the big city areas.¹⁴ Several of the large Swedish free school companies have also expanded abroad or intend to do so (Lundahl et al. 2013). In 2015 the largest company, AcadeMedia, comprised 450 pre-schools and schools from pre-school to adult education level, 12,000 employees and almost 90,000 students across Sweden¹⁵ and in Norway.¹⁶ In 2013–2014 its annual turnover was 679 million euros, with a profit margin of 7.1 % (AcadeMedia 2014).¹⁷

The rapid growth and restructuring of the upper secondary free school sector was mitigated after the record year 2011, shrinking student cohorts and new legislation meaning stricter rules for the establishment and running of free schools being the main reasons.¹⁸ In 2013 JB Plc, one of the largest free school companies, owned by venture capital company Axcel, suddenly went bankrupt and left more than 10,000 primary and secondary school pupils and 1,600 employees without schools and jobs. The bankruptcy resounded both in Sweden and abroad, and raised awareness among people that the school market had its risks and downsides (Lundahl et al. 2014).

When profit-making and other aspects of the emerging school market became highly visible in the early 2000s, politicians seemed to be taken by surprise, as illustrated by the quotation below from the biggest Swedish daily newspaper:

It was in the wake of the struggle of the parents in the little village Drevdagen in Älvdalen municipality that the free school reform emerged. The parents kept their seven children at home instead of sending them to Idre. Thanks to the reform, the parents could start their own little school.

Probably no one envisaged big companies. The discussion was about the need for alternatives to the public school. There should be schools run by the parents, and Drevdagen was still current, the former school minister Beatrice Ask (Conservative) says. (Dagens Nyheter 16 April 2003. Author's translation)

¹³ The purpose of venture capital companies is to generate profits within a short period of time.

¹⁴ The growth has been especially strong among upper secondary schools run by large companies, which have seen an increase of 280 % since 2005. In 2009 more than 9 % of all schools, or 45 % of schools with private owners, were run by firms that are part of company groups (SNAE 2011).

¹⁵ This figure may be compared to the average size of a Swedish cohort of approximately 100,000 children.

¹⁶ 7000 Norwegian pre-school children go to Espira kindergartens, owned by AcadeMedia.

¹⁷ AcadeMedia's homepage, <http://www.academedias.se/om-academedias>

¹⁸ Until 2011 free schools enjoyed far more freedom than public schools in a number of spheres, e.g. with regard to employing formally qualified teachers and other staff. They were also allowed more freedom in constructing their curricula. By and large, the 2010 Education Act meant that a common legal framework was introduced in these respects. However, important differences still exist. For example, financial transactions and ownerships of affiliations do not undergo public scrutiny since free schools are privately run (Erixon Arreman and Holm 2011).

In retrospect, it is ironic that the needs of parents and children from sparsely populated inland of Sweden allegedly were the original motivation for school choice reform, considering that this reform would affect the urban regions of the country the most.

36.3 Overall Effects of the School Choice and Market Reforms

The hopes and ambitions of those who instigated the Swedish school choice and marketization reforms were high, but today, 20 years later, few would argue that the reforms have produced the intended effects. While early studies (e.g. Björklund et al. 2005) found that the proportion of free schools was positively associated with academic performance, later research did not point to such positive, enduring effects (Böhlmark and Lindahl 2008; Wondratschek et al. 2013; Cf. SNAE 2012b). Compulsory schools have become more homogenous, and consequently the differences between schools with regard to students' results have increased – there has been a doubling over the last two decades (see Fig. 36.2), with the largest variations in the big cities and urban areas; the situation has remained more or less unchanged in the rural areas (SNAE 2012b).

In international comparisons, the academic performance of Swedish schools has declined markedly (e.g. OECD 2014), which hardly indicates a general positive effect of the choice reforms. In Sweden, as in other investigated countries, the innovative effects of marketization of education mainly seem to have been of an administrative and symbolic kind, while educational innovation is much rarer (Lubienski 2009). It is unclear if the hopes for increased cost effectiveness have been realized; more studies are probably needed to settle this point (Lindbom 2010).

Sweden has clearly become a more divided society during the last two decades, both economically and culturally. For example, Sweden was the OECD country

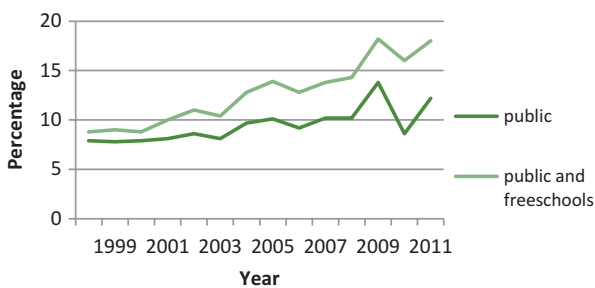


Fig. 36.2 Variation in average performance (*marks*) grade 9, compulsory school, 1998–2011 (Source: SNAE 2012b)

with the lowest average income inequalities in 1985, but it had the quickest widening gaps among 34 OECD countries in this respect between the mid-1990s and 2010 (OECD 2011, p. 45).¹⁹ Originally displaying very small variations in international comparisons,²⁰ a parallel development has emerged in the field of education (c.f. SNAE 2012b). International research indicates that school choice and marketization of education contribute to social segregation (see e.g. Waslander et al. 2010). The extent to which the school segregation trend in Sweden is primarily related to school choice policies or mainly depends on housing segregation has been a matter of debate and disagreement among Swedish researchers. Recently, however, *inter alia* geographic researchers have convincingly demonstrated that parental school choice contributes to increasing differences between schools; the underlying mechanisms of this phenomenon have also been analysed (Östh et al. 2013; Trumberg 2011. See also Böhlmark and Holmlund 2010). It is concluded that the social composition of the neighbourhood seems to be a crucial factor in school choice. Privileged groups, i.e. parents with considerable economic and/or cultural capital, tend to move their children away from the nearest school when they perceive a risk of an increasing presence of underprivileged groups in the neighbourhood. Conversely they tend to stay when the proportion of privileged groups moving into the area increases (Andersson et al. 2012).

Practically all recent Swedish large-scale quantitative and most in-depth qualitative studies have investigated school segregation *at compulsory level*. The research project *Upper secondary education as a field of competition* (Broady 2000; Broady and Börjesson 2008) constitutes an exception.²¹ Broady and Börjesson (2008) concluded that the choice reforms of the 1990s had improved the opportunities for different elites to find educational paths for their children. However, the free school sector has diversified since the 1990s and become more heterogeneous, in effect addressing different social strata – not just the elites (see next section). Also, many municipal schools in urban areas have been forced to offer more varied profiles and other special features in order to compete successfully. In our studies we can clearly see how two kinds of interests interact in the urban Swedish school market: the schools' or school companies' interest in attracting students, and the needs of young people to construct their careers and identities (Lidström et al. 2014; Lundahl et al. 2014; Also cf. Lund 2006). There is reason to believe that upper secondary school students are being sorted and separated in more ways than ever before – even if upper secondary education always has been highly divided along gender and social class lines.

¹⁹ Measured by the Gini coefficient.

²⁰ Compulsory schools (lower secondary level) in Sweden and the other Nordic countries were earlier found to be among the least socially segregated among the OECD countries, as measured by PISA-results (Jenkins et al. 2006).

²¹ Large-scale analysis of the social recruitment to upper secondary education has also been conducted at the University of Gothenburg over a range of years (e.g. see Svensson 2007).

36.4 Contours of the Urban Educational Market Landscape

Since the millennium shift the Swedish education landscape has changed radically, especially at upper secondary level and in the big city regions and larger cities. Here, gigantic *smorgasbords* of programmes and schools are offered. For example, in 2015 youth in the Stockholm area could choose between almost 100 upper secondary schools in Stockholm city, three-fourths of which were independent,²² and more than 560 programmes. In Stockholm county²³ 134 upper secondary schools (24 municipal and 110 free schools)²⁴ offered more than 1500 educational paths. Sweden's third largest city, Malmö, had 37 schools at upper secondary level (13 municipal and 24 free schools), providing 320 education programmes.

The municipal upper secondary schools are often large and offer a broad range of programmes, while most free school units are small with more limited and profiled educational offers (they are, however, often part of larger firms and company groups). Their appearance may differ considerably from the picture of a traditional school; they may be located in more insignificant and nondescript buildings of various kinds, and lack school yards, school canteens, school libraries and sport halls. Instead, they may have agreements with nearby public restaurants, gym complexes and other providers. The proportion of free schools with a certain educational orientation has decreased, both at compulsory and upper secondary level, but many free schools market themselves by offering autonomous studies – fewer hours in school and more freedom to study at home or elsewhere.

The competition between schools over students and related resources is razor-sharp, particularly in the school-dense urban areas. In principle all schools compete with one another, but it would be more correct to speak of competition within different market segments addressing different kinds of students.²⁵ In the late 1990s the upper secondary free schools mainly arranged academic and media programmes, and students from culturally and economically resourceful homes were markedly over-represented (Broady 2000). Ten years later a significant broadening and diversification had taken place, which also meant that the students represented the whole range of social strata. Now, vocational programmes constituted a niche for a couple of the largest school company groups. The number of free schools addressing students in need of special support²⁶ has grown steadily.²⁷ These schools are often very small (they have a total of 1300 students) and are above all located in the Stockholm region (SSI 2014).

²² See e.g. www.skollistan.eu

²³ Stockholm city has one million inhabitants, the county of Stockholm roughly twice as many.

²⁴ Statistics of the three cities and <http://www.gyantagningen.se/>

²⁵ Also cf. Aurini (2006) and Davies and Quirke (2007).

²⁶ E.g. students with dyslexia, ADHD or psycho-social problems. Many of these schools are connected to treatment institutions for young people.

²⁷ The 2010 Education Act allows free schools to limit their intake to special needs students. Previously, free schools could have such a profile, but still had to provide open access to all potential students.

Nearly nine out of ten upper secondary schools market themselves actively, spending considerable resources (time and money) in doing so – municipal schools spend even more than independent schools.²⁸ A variety of channels are used to attract potential students, open houses, webpages, printed matter and participation in school fairs being the most common ones. For example, the upper secondary school fairs that are arranged in many of the big and larger cities are imposing and resource-demanding events. In 2014 around 220 upper secondary schools and 25,000 visitors attended the annual 3-day Stockholm fair.²⁹ In Gothenburg the corresponding figures were 112 exhibitors and 20,000 visitors. According to our survey, special offerings (for example laptops, driving licences, reduced gym fees and cinema tickets) to students who enrolled in a school were common (Lidström et al. 2014; Lundahl et al. 2014).

36.5 Three Institutional Responses to the Market Situation

Recent institutional theory talks about how the interaction between organizations within so-called *organizational fields* shapes their policies and work. Empirical research taking the existence of private actors into consideration when, for example, educational leadership and school development are analysed is, however, still rather uncommon (Burch 2007, 2009). In project I, interviews with head teachers, teachers, career counsellors and students³⁰ in eight city, suburban and rural upper secondary schools (municipal and free schools) were analysed from just such points of departure. Three major institutional responses to the school market situation were identified, both related to the number of adjacent potential competitors and the popularity of the school, i.e. how successful (or not) it was in attracting and retaining students. In addition, the culture or tradition at the school seems to be important; in newly established free schools with young staff (sometimes without socialization from teacher training), one tends to have a more positive approach to enterprise and competition than in older, public schools with more traditionally socialized teachers and other staff. One group of case schools falls within the category *Competition is recognized but does not dominate work*. City Public, a public inner-city school with a previous history of being a grammar school, belongs to this group; it has no difficulties in recruiting students thanks to its long-standing good reputation. West Public, a big public school in a sparsely populated region, also falls within this group. Here, competition is largely absent because of few nearby competitors. In the second group, also consisting of public schools, the reactions to the new situation are different: *Competition is negative and hard*. Located in a larger city with many competing public and free schools, the old and formerly well-regarded North Public fights an uneven struggle to attract enough students. This is also true for East Public,

²⁸ Survey in approximately 60 municipalities situated in two regions (project I).

²⁹ <http://www.gymnasiemassan.nu/press/pressmeddelanden/sm/2014/11>

³⁰ Eight head teachers, 58 teachers, 13 career counsellors and 77 students (N=156).

a small public school. Without competitors in the municipality, but with several ones at commuting distance, East Public is literally struggling to survive. The schools in the last group, *Competition is tough but offers possibilities*, mainly consist of free schools (City Plc, South Plc, North Plc), but also includes a public school in a smaller city (South Public) that has been a winner in the regional competition over students. The approaches to the market situation in the three groups of schools are described briefly in the next section.

36.5.1 Competition Is Recognized but Does Not Dominate Work

At City Public, a school of ancient lineage, it is mainly the head teacher and the career counsellor who have to deal with the competition situation; most teachers do not feel directly affected by the presence of ‘competing others’. The school does not have to fight over students; rather it strives to attract the ‘*right*’ kind of students, i.e. high-performing students. This is mainly accomplished by informal communication between new and former students (peers, siblings, parents and relatives). At West Public, one perceives the competition within the sparsely populated region as weak, but new regional cooperation agreements may constitute challenges. The head teacher thus describes a pressure to develop and offer programmes in accordance with the students’ wishes, and being able to recruit students from the whole region. The teachers also speak about a resulting increase in their workload. In contrast to her colleagues in the urban schools the head teacher is explicitly critical of the market situation, and emphatically rejects *spectacular gimmicks* and short-sighted recruitment tricks. Also, one of the counsellors describes how she teaches the students to critically evaluate schools’ marketing.

36.5.2 Competition Is Negative and Hard

The head teacher at North Public argues that the school choice reform and resulting competition is what has affected the work most during the last decade. As with the head teachers in most other case schools, he accepts the situation and regards marketing as a necessity; *now everyone realizes that it is mine and the school’s existence that is at stake*,³¹ he argues. Considerable resources – money and above all working time – are invested in profiling programmes and marketing activities of various kinds. The career counsellors at North Public are openly critical of having to ‘sell’ their school, *standing shouting in the town square*. The teachers also feel that their everyday work is affected to a considerable extent by the market situation.

³¹ All quotations in the following sections are translated by the author.

The head teacher and staff at rural East Public express frustration and powerlessness over students going to schools in the neighbouring cities despite strenuous efforts to get them to choose East Public. Among other things, the school developed and marketed a new orientation programme that it was believed would be attractive, but success proved elusive. Both staff and students emphasize that youth prefer city schools because there are more young people – not because East Public lacks quality and a good social climate. The cooperation agreement between the municipalities in the region, introduced several years before the 2008 free search reform, increased the competition. Now several teachers have been given notice that their jobs will be terminated.

36.5.3 Competition Is Tough But Offers Possibilities

The three free schools and one of the public schools, all located in cities, have a strategy to use the competition situation to their own benefit. Business thinking is not confined to the head teachers but is also incorporated and practised by the teachers, career counsellors and students. Both at South Plc and North Plc the staff describe living under hard competition. At South Plc, the challenge comes from South Public that has announced a new educational programme similar to the major profile of South Plc. North Plc has a large number of nearby competitors. At City Plc competition is described as a natural part of everyday life. All employees realize the importance of having satisfied students and parents who give the school a good reputation, but the school's marketing is rather limited. School leaders and staff at North Plc point out that the pressing competition situation basically is sound; you develop most when you have to shape up, they argue. South Plc and North Plc are marketed intensely, locally and by their companies via different channels (e.g. advertisements in radio, TV and cinemas) and 'events' engaging most of those who work at the schools. The head teachers of City Plc and North Plc both emphasize that their working methods, 'educational platforms', distinguish them from other schools. Large South Public is almost 'King of the hill' in its municipality and is increasingly successful in attracting young people in the region. Strategical investments in the school environment, new programme profiles and active marketing have contributed to this success. The head teacher argues that one has to accept and live with the market situation, and he involves teachers and career counsellors in marketing the school. Several teachers maintain that competition makes them try harder to make students feel pleased with the school and the education it offers them.

In sum, the school market is not confined to the urban areas of Sweden, but it is here that competition is most aggressive and the various forms of marketing flourish most luxuriantly. However, the schools with the strongest reputations – especially among highly educated and well-informed parents – to a certain extent can stand above the noise of competition and marketing. In contrast, younger, lesser-known schools – not least upper secondary schools in the suburbs and neighbouring

municipalities – struggle for their very existence, which affects the daily life of the school in multiple ways. What is evident from our projects I and II is that upper secondary schools’ success or lack of success in recruiting students depends on a whole range of factors, academic performance just being one of them and in many cases, not the most important (Lidström et al. 2014; Lundahl et al. 2014). I return to this in the next section.

36.6 ‘It Is Easy to Find It Difficult’³²

And then one day about one or two years ago, I felt no-o, now I cannot take it anymore. I didn’t manage to get an overview of all the choices available. And I thought that was a bit scary. (...) It was too much. (Career counsellor, City Public)

Previous research has mainly focused on parental choice at the compulsory level, and the social consequences of these choice patterns. Based on quotations that illustrate common denominators from the student interviews, this section particularly highlights young people’s experiences of urban upper secondary school markets, and if and how they influenced their decisions. In the following, concluding section, the wider social aspects of parental and youth choice will be discussed.

A number of international and Swedish studies have shown that parents, teachers and career counsellors are important sources when young people choose educational and vocational paths, while the role of peers and the media is somewhat less unequivocal (Blenkinsop et al. 2006; Dresch and Lovén 2010; McCrone et al. 2005; SNAE 2013). However, a significantly higher proportion of Swedish youth than young people in other EU countries regard the Internet, social networks and fairs as important information sources when they make their educational choices, and teachers seem to play a smaller role than in other countries (EC 2011). These findings may be related to the fact that Sweden, in contrast to the other Scandinavian countries, does not have career learning as a curriculum subject; schools’ support for young people’s choices is mostly confined to information meetings and single conversations with career counsellors. Otherwise, young people have to rely on the sources mentioned above that in many cases are *covert recruitment marketing, that is fragmented and lacks the wider perspective that young people need in order to make well-founded educational choices* (Dresch and Lovén 2010. Author’s translation).

Several Swedish studies indicate that parents and young people view the multitude of educational choices – schools and programmes – with mixed feelings; the range of choices is seen as positive but difficult to manage, and often it has provoked a sense of anxiety among many students (Dresch and Lovén 2010 p. 57; SNAE 2013). For example, Dresch and Lovén (2010) found that one-fourth of all students – and one-third of young women – felt lonely and abandoned when making their choices. Also, young people of immigrant background perceived the choice

³² Student, City Plc.

situation and the abundance of information as particularly frustrating and overwhelming. The students in the case schools in projects I and II confirmed the picture of young people taking the educational choices seriously and finding the urban school market huge and often bewildering – but also positive, according to several students.

It felt so huge (...) it was such a big choice. You had so many alternatives; there were no limits. (Student, City Public)

(Student A) It would have been better if it was like ... (Student B) ... five schools. (Student A) Yes, five schools ... Now there are an endless number of schools ... [Interviewer informs about the number of schools in City]. (Student B) It is crazy. (Two students, City Beach Plc)

But I think that's great, that there are so many ... the big freedom of choice, that there is so much to choose from. (Student, City Beach Plc)

Several students in project II had attended a programme at a free school that was suddenly closed down because of bankruptcy. In spite of this negative experience, most of them still preferred to study at a free school.

I was astonished that it happened so fast and we hadn't got any signals about it at all. And of course some anger as they just sent us out and did not let us finish our courses (---) One has to take the bad things with the good ones, I feel. I think the selection of schools and programmes and niches grew much bigger when the private schools entered. Then it has its bad sides too, of course. But I still believe that the good outweighs the bad. (Student, River Plc)

36.6.1 *Intense Recruitment Efforts*

The students gave lively descriptions of the marketing efforts from the upper secondary schools. Using words like 'bribes', 'fakes' and 'sham', they criticized many schools for giving frivolous and misleading information. *They never bring up the negative sides, because then the marketing idea would get lost.* Many students asked for honest information about the contents of education rather than flashy offerings.

I can clearly see it, for example, at the upper secondary school fairs (...) 'Yes, come here, start here, and then you'll get a laptop, and when you graduate you can buy it for 500 / Swedish/ crowns' or 'Come over here and have some Red Bull' (...) is it is a little like this 'You will get this if you start here', so actually it does not work as a school. (Student, City Plc)

It was commonly believed that above all small, bad or unpopular schools used almost 'desperate' methods to recruit students, while larger and well-regarded schools were not forced to market themselves with offerings and advertisements – an assumption well in line with what we saw in the case schools *Competition is recognized but does not dominate the work* (see above).

And the large schools don't do that, but get students because they are known to be a good school. (---) At XX [popular school in North City, author's comment] (---) they don't have any gadgets that attract, no travels, no laptops, nothing. (---) They have so many applicants, so they don't try anything. (Student, North Public)

The students denied that they themselves were affected by the marketing, but commonly added that other students, especially those from less resourceful homes and less mature students, were easier to attract by purely commercial offerings. Students at City Plc also discussed the fact that their own school might recruit students whom, if they lacked support from their family, risked failing because they had misunderstood the messages about highly individual and autonomous work and study methods and believed that they could relax and take it easy.

36.6.2 *Choice of School, Education and Identity*

At (school) A there are only emos³³ and self-destructive people. At our school there are only nerds, at B there are just immigrants, at C only very, very bright ones and at D just sort of vehicle people, 14-year olds and bikers and suchlike. (Student, North Plc)

In much of everyday life and politics, and sometimes in academic disciplines, education and career choices are believed to be based on highly rational deliberations on educational quality and expected outcomes in terms of income and status. A host of studies, however, show that career choices rather are pragmatic-rational (cf. Hodkinson and Sparkes 1997); they are based on incomplete information, sometimes serendipity, and are highly dependent on the young person's social position and resources. Lund (2006), who analysed students' educational choices in the local school market of a Swedish mid-size city, *inter alia* concluded that the widening range of local educational alternatives had increased the space for social choices where students' perceived similarity or lack of similarity become important factors. The student interviews in projects I and II clearly support this conclusion. Apart from input from parents and other significant people, the choice (or not) of a school was often based on rumours about its character and students, rather than information about its academic performance. Its geographical location also mattered; the centrally situated schools were often preferred because of their close proximity to shops, cafés and other valued places.

It also depends on the sort of people who study at the school, if you feel that you fit in, if they are people of your own kind. That's the most important thing, I think. (Student, City Public)

I turned to the wrong school ... the people there were not like me at all. (---) you usually apply to ... the schools where you are equal in behaviour and opinions and the like. (Student, City Beach Plc)

One of the students at City Beach Plc explicitly related the choices to economic resources and social class, which was *not* common in the interviews:

and here it is rather higher middle class, and I believe that many look at where they are positioned (---) and nowadays it seems that class differences are very decisive for where you go (---) how your situation is ... regarding the economy. (Student, City Beach Plc)

³³ Emo as in emotional: A music style ('emotive-hardcore') in the 1980s, later also denoting young people with a certain appearance (e.g. black clothes and flat black hair) and personal characteristics like sensitivity or emotional fatigue.

In contrast, the students in West Public – a school in a sparsely populated region – argued that most of the young people had chosen the school because it was situated close to their homes. They neither referred to the kind of students, nor to special educational orientations or methods of the school.

It isn't precisely an exclusive school that people far away think of as: 'Yes, I really want to go to West Public!' It is a good school, but nothing that makes it different so there is probably no one who applies there. (Student, West Public)

36.7 The Marketized Urban Educational Space: Some Final Comments

In this section I want to elaborate on some of the consequences of the geographical or spatial gaps that have become visible when competition and choice have been introduced as central organizing principles of the school system – consequences that are seldom discussed in the literature or, indeed, in public life. Initially, I briefly return to the Nordic space, but after that I focus on the local aspects.

36.7.1 Hardly 'A Spearhead into the Future' Any More

Sweden acted as a spearhead internationally when it introduced a 9-year comprehensive school in 1962. The other Nordic countries followed the example of Sweden in the 1970s, and the resulting 'Nordic educational model' was – and still is – regarded with admiration in other parts of the world. Initially, the Nordic neighbours, particularly Norway and Finland, were prepared to follow in the steps of Sweden once more when introducing its school choice reform and publicly funded free schools in the 1990s. In the 2000s, however, when the downsides of Swedish school businesses – including venture capitalism and tax flight – became visible, and when Sweden's performance in the last PISA assessments deteriorated, the enthusiasm cooled down considerably. Indeed, Norwegian, Danish and Finnish politicians have openly declared that they are not going to copy the Swedish model of educational marketization.

36.7.2 Distinction and Image-Making

At the local level, new forms of pedagogic identities (Bernstein 2000) and behaviours of staff and students become visible, and teacher–student relationships change in the competition-driven urban schools (especially the ones of the second and third type described above). Teachers and other staff describe how they often experience

professional dilemmas, for example when head teachers expect them to give students higher grades than they earn so the school's reputation won't be damaged and students will not opt to 'vote with their feet' (Lundahl and Olson 2013; Lundström and Holm 2011). Successful competition is built on *distinction* in some respect or other, and many urban schools, whose survival and flourishing are directly dependent on their ability to attract and retain students, eagerly try to find out what young people are looking for, an approach which may result in short-sighted orientations. As one teacher put it: ... *one has to adapt to young people and what they want, (---) styling, make-up or spa, or whatever*. Students are often addressed personally and urgently: 'you who plan to work abroad – come to X-school which has excellent international contacts'; 'if you wish to continue to university, Y school is the perfect choice'. Such calls coincide with and are likely to amplify young people's strivings to find 'their kind of school' and 'their kind of peers' in ways that strengthen choices based on social class, gender, religion and ethnicity. We do not see the same kind of changing identities and behaviours in the rural schools: here schools have not become used to emphasizing their distinguishing features when addressing potential students.

36.7.3 What About the Aim of Educational Equality Regardless of School Location?

If the Swedish urban educational landscape until the mid-1990s could be likened to large-scale agriculture consisting of easily overviewed fields and standardized crops, then the landscape of the early 2000s rather appears as a rapidly growing, swarming and noisy jungle. It was hardly by accident that the SNAE chose a jungle illustration for the cover of its general recommendations concerning study and vocational counselling in schools 2009–2013 (see Fig. 36.3).

In contrast, the image of the situation in rural areas is quite different and more reminiscent of the traditional one with fewer and less profiled schools, even if all municipalities nowadays have at least one free school. According to current legislation, the aim of the Swedish education system is still to provide all young people with an equivalent education *regardless of where in the country it is arranged* (2010 Education Act, par. 9. Author's translation), but the findings of this research suggest that this has in practice been abandoned; I elaborate on this question below.

Even if the school market is far more visible and has a much stronger impact in the big city areas than in less densely populated regions, schools and youth in the rural regions are far from unaffected. There is little doubt that the winners of the new marketized system are urban young people from resourceful homes – the ones who can get advice and support from family and relatives when they make their educational choices at the end of compulsory school. There are two kinds of potential losers: firstly urban youth without such socio-economic resources, especially those with a history of various break-ups and school failures who are highly con-

Fig. 36.3 Cover illustration of the national guidelines for study and vocational counselling (SNAE 2009. Illustration: Tobias Flygar)



fused when confronted with the upper secondary school market. They run a marked risk of making erroneous choices and switching between schools and programmes, which may lead to prolonged studies or school dropout (cf. Lundahl et al. 2015). Secondly, the rural youth is often confronted with two not very attractive alternatives: to commute or even move to the *smorgasbord* of the cities, or to stay put, in many cases having reduced educational opportunities. The city schools increasingly function as magnets, especially for young people in the neighbouring municipalities but also for youth living at a larger distance. This and the currently shrinking cohorts of 16–19-year olds tend to reduce the possibilities outside the urban centres to offer all national programmes in accordance with the legal requirements. Even municipal collaboration in order to enable this may simultaneously increase the competition in the countryside, as was shown in the cases of the West Public and East Public schools. Small and rather poor municipalities have to fund the young people who attend schools – public or independent – elsewhere, but the total educational costs for the remaining youth are largely unaffected, as costs are related to schools and classes rather than to individual students. The problems of the rural municipalities in financing schooling have existed for a long time, but the emergence of a market system in education has certainly not improved the situation. Rather, the magnificent and overwhelming *smorgasbords* of schools and programmes in the cities may contribute to school death and educational depletion in the regions outside of the cities and urban areas.

To conclude, school choice and competition affects education in numerous ways – increased differentiation of students over different kinds of schools and along a multitude of dimensions (social class, ethnic-cultural background, taste and lifestyle, agency and motivation, etc.) being one of the most serious as it contributes to a considerably more divided Swedish society. Such a division is, as has been

shown in this chapter, most visible in the landscape of urban education. However it also takes place between urban and less densely populated regions, contrary to the aim of providing equivalent education regardless of geographical location. Hitherto the major political response to increasing differences and fragmentation has been to introduce a plethora of control mechanisms – more tests and grading, sharpened inspections, quality assessments – but without improving the situation substantially, and with a number of negative side effects such as increased stress on and reduced attractiveness of the teaching profession. Few, if any, serious efforts to change the market situation *as such* have to date been made. The idea of reducing parental choice and competition seems to be almost unthinkable, as if marketization is an irreversible natural process, or a genie that cannot be put back into the bottle once it is opened. It is indeed neither/nor. It is rather a political matter that has to be subject to extensive investigations, analysis and reforms if we are to master the negative sides of the new ‘Swedish model’ of education.

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Chapter 37

Social Class, Inclusion and Exclusion: Teacher and Student Practices in Norwegian Urban Education

Anne-Lise Arnesen

37.1 Introduction

Inclusion has been a central aim of recent Norwegian educational reform, underpinned by a rhetoric of ‘schooling for all’. Reforms in recent decades have thus introduced measures to ‘level out social inequality’ (NMER 2006, p. 1), and increase access to ‘good quality’ education to all ‘regardless of gender, age, social, geographical, cultural or language background (...) in an inclusive learning environment’ (NMER 2007, p. 5). Despite reforms¹ and adjustments of the school system, social hierarchies continue to be produced and reproduced, and disadvantaged and vulnerable children are still marginalized in schooling (Bakken and Elstad 2012; Bakken 2007; Birkelund and Mastekaasa 2009; Frønes and Strømme 2010).

The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the ways in which the processes of inequalities and classed relations are played out in and through the curriculum and pedagogy in schools as a whole and in individual classrooms. I argue that, despite reforms such as above, the pedagogical and social relations of classrooms have not *fundamentally changed*. As Reay (2006) states, ‘against a policy backdrop of continuous change and endless new initiatives it appears that in relation to social class the more things change the more they stay the same’ (Reay 2006, p. 304).

¹At the national level several major large scale education reforms have been introduced implying changes in rights, content and structure at all levels of education. From the 1960s through to the 1980s social justice, equality and inclusion in and through education were in the forefront. The common goals of the reforms introduced during the last two decades have mainly emphasized education as a pivotal tool for economic growth and for meeting the requirements of international competition and the ‘knowledge society’, contributing to renewal and more emphasis on students as human capital, privileging academic knowledge and accountability (NMER 2003; Arnesen 2011; Arnesen and Lundahl 2006).

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Urban studies emerged as an area of research through the Chicago school of sociologists in the 1920s, who primarily addressed the increasingly racial complexity of cities (Park 1928; Simmel 1971), the ‘stranger’ and ‘marginal man’, and urbanism as a way of life (Wirth 1938). Wirth argues that while the city is the characteristic locus of urbanism, the urban mode of life is not confined to cities. Research on urban education thus comprises a multitude of approaches in the international literature (see Irby 2015). The dominant body of research focuses on social problems, for example, alienation, social inequality, crime, poverty, segregation, and marginalization, but also includes the more attractive sides of cities, as economic and productive innovative spaces which provide access to resources and services, as well as opportunities to enter social, legal, economic, cultural and environmental fields.

Urban education, as opposed to rural,² has a different meaning in the Norwegian and Nordic contexts from countries with greater social and economic inequalities and higher levels of urban segregation (OECD 2015).³ Nordic research into urban education, is relatively sparse, focusing mainly on multiculturalism, identity formation, injustice, immigrant youth, segregation, disadvantage and stigmatized urban areas and their schools, and, more positively, symbolic and creative use of urban space (Alghasi et al. 2012; Andersen 2014; Beach et al. 2013; Beach and Sernhede 2013; Fangen and Frønes 2013; Möller 2013). Hence, research on urban education in the Nordic countries has come to mean a cluster of research domains, theories, and methods focusing on ethnically and racially diverse students, schools, and classrooms within metropolitan centres.

Following Buendía (2011), city space here is perceived not merely as a container for diverse populations and human activities, but as something continually produced, practised, and created within the myriad of relations that constitute the built environment and social representations of place and people. Hence, urban education is envisaged as the process whereby city space, including schools, is realized through symbolic significance, construction of difference and the complex social relations of those who daily occupy such a space. Two overarching questions are posed in this chapter: How are processes of inclusion and exclusion played out in urban classrooms? What is the significance of social class in these processes?

²The urban/rural dimension has been an important issue in Norway, as the state has had an active regional policy since World War II. Through legislation, regulations and subsidies, the same educational resources for education in urban and rural areas have been guaranteed, based on the principle that all pupils should receive the same quality of education regardless of where they live.

³It is recognized that the generous welfare system together with active housing, work and education policies in Norway after World War II, have helped raise better life conditions and well-being among people. Norway is, as other Nordic countries, preeminent in terms of combining a high standard of living with equality and an extensive public welfare sector (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006; Bart et al. 2003). It is at the top of UN ranking regarding human development, with comparatively small socio-economic differences (UN 2014 Human Development Index; OECD 2015). Despite this favourable review, social inequalities persist and hierarchies are produced and maintained, not least in urban schools.

Due to the complexity of institutional and social relations within schools, this chapter focuses in particular on pedagogic and relational aspects of classroom practice; how they are experienced and communicated by students and teachers. These practices are explored through the lens of social class, and as intersecting with gender, minority background and special needs.

37.2 Social Class, Inclusion and Exclusion

In recent years, several initiatives have been introduced by the Norwegian state and municipalities to alleviate what is perceived as the widening gap in performance, access and participation between students of different social backgrounds – however, without much success (Bakken and Elstad 2012). The gap appears to be growing, with research showing that high achieving middle-class students are the main beneficiaries, compared to lower achieving working-class and disadvantaged students⁴ with less cultural capital. Social class is seen to operate in the complex interplay between economic and cultural configurations. Bourdieu (1984) argues for an analysis of social ‘classes’ that simultaneously capture *multiple dimensions* of inequality (Ljunggren and Andersen 2015) with gender, minority status and disability as part of such a multidimensional concept. Wacquant (2013) carried out a review of key conceptual shifts in Pierre Bourdieu’s work, for example, from class structure to social space, from class consciousness to habitus, from ideology to symbolic violence, and from ruling class to fields of power (pp. 274). These shifts, taken together, underpin the relational feature of social class in a terrain or ‘social space’ of power. Individuals can be seen to act according to the amount and composition of cultural capital, which is embodied, objectified and institutionalized, and where a common denominator is the ‘mastering’ of a legitimate culture (Ljunggren and Andersen 2015, p. 307).

Following Bourdieu, in this chapter, the urban in urban education is *embodied* within schooling through a ‘culturally loaded’ concept of class; that is, what students and teachers ‘bring’ with them in terms of social background and experiences (capital, habitus). It involves how students make sense of and adapt to school culture, and how teachers make sense of their students and, in particular, their capacities to learn. Thus, taken-for-granted exchanges between teachers and students operate to provide some students with a sense of achievement and others, with the knowledge that they have been judged and found wanting. Lynch and Lodge (2002, p. 181) argue that failure to recognize different forms of social and cultural resources other than those held in esteem by schools, is a form of ‘cultural domination,

⁴In using the concept of ‘disadvantaged’ students here I refer to students who are victims of troublesome family circumstances such as poverty, abuse or inadequate care, and students who for other reasons (e.g. conflicts with school) may face considerable risk of stigmatization and marginalization in school (Frønes and Strømme 2010). Ethnicity/race, religion, citizenship status, gender, disability and class are not by themselves contained in this definition.

symbolic misrepresentation or non-recognition'. Such forms of cultural domination which embrace also normalization and hierarchy, constitute material and symbolic processes of inclusion and exclusion associated with social (in)justice, (un)equal access to goods and resources, and different levels of participation and belonging (Arnesen 2012; Arnesen and Lundahl 2006; Arnesen et al. 2007). Examples of this are provided through the case study.

37.3 Research Context and Methodology

This chapter draws primarily on an ethnographic study entitled *Difference and marginalization in school with reference to gender and social background* (Arnesen 2002, 2003; Arnesen et al. 2007) based in Oslo, the Norwegian capital. Oslo has a population of about 650,000 with its spatial arrangement an important form of social organization with connotations of class divisions. However, there are no poor ghettos as defined in literature from US and UK. The city is divided to be sure, but there are few confrontations between populations (Andersen 2014).⁵ In fact, it is argued that young people from the most minority-dense suburbs, particularly those of second generation immigrant background, though born in Norway are as well integrated as the rest of the young population in the city in terms of their engagement in education, work and leisure activities (Andersen and Biseth 2013).

The study focused on three public⁶ lower-secondary schools (ninth grade), situated in three different catchment areas in Oslo: *City Park School* in a traditional working-class area with a substantial presence of 'immigrants', most of which are from working-class background or are newcomers with parents with little education. In addition there is a relatively new influx of so-called 'resourceful' families, *Church Hill School* in a residential area with a relatively homogeneous population and with a mix of apartment houses, townhomes and villas, i.e. lower-middle class, with only 10% middle-class minority-ethnic students, and *West Side School* in an affluent part of the city dominated by villas, and few students from less affluent neighborhoods.⁷ The students attending the schools reside in their respective neighbourhoods. The analysis for this chapter draws on a re-reading of the material with the research gaze primarily directed towards social class and the urban.

⁵This is due to almost full employment, low youth unemployment, transition policies and measures oriented towards early school leavers as well as police intervention, the presence of social services and active work of organizations in the local communities directed towards young people.

⁶There are very few private schools in Norway.

⁷Differences between the schools, and the social and discursive practices of teachers and students were analysed earlier on the basis of a multi-methodical- and theoretical design (Arnesen 2002, 2003).

The ethnographic design of the study involved fieldwork in schools and in individual classrooms carried out between 1997 and 2000,⁸ and thematic interviews with 58 students and 28 teachers as well as with principals, deputy principals, counsellors and pastoral care teachers. Short narratives provided by 215 students were also collected. The student interviews focused on interests, relationships to school, peers, subjects and teachers, and the student narratives on accounts of themselves, their school experiences, the practices of teachers, their class ethos and incidents that had made an impression on them. Similarly, teacher interviews focused on the school and their teaching and on their perception of individual students.

The chapter draws also on recent research which shows that, despite the introduction of change and reform (NMER 1997), the education system has remained much the same in terms of teacher-led classroom practices (Klette 2003; Markussen and Seland 2013). Oslo however has changed over the years, both as one of the fastest growing capital cities in Europe, and in its adoption of neoliberal educational policies, such as increased emphasis on academic achievement, standardisation and testing. Since 2000, increased numbers of students have received special education provision which involves either being taught alone or in groups outside the classroom (Nordahl and Hausstätter 2009; Statistics Norway 2015). It is suggested that this is due to the emphasis on academic subjects and performance. It is also a concern that more students than previously leave compulsory school without a complete leaving certificate covering all compulsory subjects. The increase of students without a complete leaving certificate has a distinct relationship to low socioeconomic status (Bakken and Elstad 2012). Through processes of neo-liberalism, it is argued, the school system retains powerful remnants of prejudice towards working-class and disadvantaged students, and a preference for middle-class rather than working-class cultural capital such that the educational resources of families have a profound impact on student performance (Bakken and Elstad 2012; Reay 2006). In this chapter, examples are given of the significance of social class difference as it intersects with gender, minority status and special needs, by means of situated fine-grained empirical detail (Connell et al. 1982), with the intention of understanding the making of social classed hierarchies and inequalities in and through urban education. The concept of social class used here is drawing on Bourdieu's notion of 'social space' of power, which encompasses both references to parents' socioeconomic and cultural status, i.e. type and length of education and occupations in terms of economic, professional and cultural professions, skilled/unskilled work, unemployment and recipients of welfare benefits/social security (Ljunggren and Andersen 2015). This is in line with differences referred to in descriptive statistics on social background and school achievement. However, social class is rarely explicitly referred to by school staff, so the notion of class with respect to individual students is in interviews displayed through statements referring to the student's relation to

⁸See for example, Arnesen and Sollie (1992/2003) and Arnesen et al. (2013) which confirm the argument on the relative stability of curriculum and classroom practices in Norwegian lower-secondary schools.

school, home background and forms or place of residence (more/less affluent) (Arnesen 2002).

The following analysis revolves around one school, *City Park*, and one classroom. The school was selected on the basis of its prominence as a diverse school close to the city centre in having to deal with the urban and processes of inclusion and exclusion. It can be argued, however, that the same ‘inclusion/exclusion’ processes such as shortchanging of students, hierarchization, categorization, and differential attention by teachers, can be found in other schools with different compositions and class configurations. In order to foreground internal relationships, one case is presented here which, following the ‘thick descriptions’ of Geertz (1973), gives attention to detail and context. The analysis neither presents a comprehensive picture, nor is representative of urban education in general, but should be understood as fragmentary evidence of processes of inclusion and exclusion in urban education context.

City Park is one of the oldest schools in Oslo, dating from the late nineteenth-century, and is located in an area of ‘solid’ industrial and working-class families. The school is situated near a park, in which it takes much pride, and has a choir, brass band and theatre group. At the time of the study, the school had many students whose family lived on welfare, many headed by single parents, and higher numbers of child protection cases than average for the city. This is also the case today (Statistics Norway 2014).

The student intake, according to the principal, had changed over the years. He positioned the core of current students as the ancestors of four and five generations of industrial workers, and maintained that,

These old working class families, they lived, as we all know (sic!) after having read Oscar Braathen (famous Norwegian author of working-class lives), with mother and father and eight children in a one-room apartment. They do that today also, but nowadays these families have a dark skin. The immigrants have taken over.

He broadened the picture to include recent gentrification:

Many of the apartments along the river have been restored and are inhabited by very, what can I say, resourceful people. These people, who have many resources and normally would have lived on another side of the city, have chosen to live here and send their children to my school. Hence I have three groups of pupils who are rather different from one another, and this makes it exciting to work here.

At the time of the research as well as today, around 50% of the student population is of immigrant origin, with altogether 29 languages represented in the school. The two questions mentioned earlier, about the processes of inclusion and exclusion, and the significance of social class in school practices, are addressed under two sub-headings: (1) School organization and teacher practice and (2) Student response, subjectivity and agency. It should be said that the categories used are not discrete, rather they overlap in many instances. As already stated, analysis is limited to qualitative data from one school, *City Park*, which allows for in-depth investigation of the interactive making of social and classed hierarchies in and through urban education.

37.4 School Organization and Teacher Practice in an Urban Classroom

37.4.1 *The Social Relations of Classroom Practices*

The research revealed that nearly all teaching activity at *City Park* was teacher and textbook directed with students having little to say about content and working methods. The most prevalent pedagogic approach was ‘good old fashioned teaching’, as it was referred to by the vice principal. This meant whole class teaching with presentation of a common theme by the teacher, use of a blackboard alternating with individual, desk work assignments, and, occasionally, group work during which teachers gave individual help or tried to motivate unwilling students. Alternatively, teaching was based on ‘dialogue’ in terms of a teacher-led conversation on a particular theme. In neither case did the students have much say about content and working methods. These ‘basic’ pedagogical forms have considerable stability across time and levels of schooling, despite national reforms (Klette 2003; Markussen and Seland 2013). Observation of the classrooms showed that both whole class teaching and teacher-led dialogue invariably resulted in marginalisation of some students. Closer investigation showed that those most likely to be marginalised and ignored were working-class students, across gender and minority status.

For example, Tim, a working class boy was among those who did not engage in school work. He said that what made him dislike school so much was the requirement to ‘sit’ all day. ‘One just has to sit there and write and think [...]. We sit here for so long, see, [...] nothing can be more boring than going to school [...]. You sit there all the time. I believe everybody in school finds it boring. Maybe not first graders, though’. Tim articulates the physical strain of the traditional academic classroom.

Annette, a high-achieving middle-class girl, gave the following account of differentiating practices during lessons.

Anette: In some subjects it is like this, it is the bright pupils, those who make it, they get the chance to get to know more. But it (the teaching) is quite difficult. So those who don’t understand everything from the start, they never get it explained sufficiently. So it seems anyway. They are quite slow, they don’t get good marks and so on.

Interviewer: Do you think it is because some stand out during lessons?

Anette: When the teacher puts questions to the students, then it is, like, the bright ones, those who know it, who answer all the time, you see.

Interviewer: What happens then?

Anette: Then, those who do not understand, they, if they ask... I don’t know, it seems like they don’t get the explanation that works. It is something they do not understand, because it goes too fast. So if one cannot follow from the start, then one understands little of what is going on.

Many lessons seemed to follow this educational exchange pattern, in which the teacher attends to the ‘bright’ students and, in effect, takes little notice of those who are ‘quite slow’ and ‘do not understand’. The teachers, often not aware that they were treating their students in this way, expressed satisfaction with a particular

lesson by emphasising the participation of interested and active students. They did not realise it seems, that many students did not participate fully and some, not at all. Depending on the teachers, students either sat listening, or were engaged in other quiet activities or small-talk with classmates. They sometimes wandered about or caused disruption.

37.4.2 *Assessment Practices*

Schools' certifying power is part of the formal requirement of the state, but this is only to a limited extent recognized by the teachers.⁹ Through the formal assessment practices of school, the tension between the individual and the institution becomes apparent. Thus students displayed differential dispositions towards the testing process, making it a definitive statement about the sort of learner they were. Although students' responses varied, most shared a sense of an event which revealed something intrinsic about them as individuals. Success and failure are made public and visible to all through certain formal assessment procedures, such as the awarding of marks, the standardization of tests and exams, and the use of other technologies that are intended to inform the teacher, the students and their families of 'where they each stand' (Arnesen 2002; Asp-Onsjö and Holm 2014).

Tests are a reminder and re-occurring confirmation of success for some; yet for others, they mean all-encompassing failure, visible suffering, and fear and anxiety. For example, in a ninth-grade mathematics lessons, the teacher was going through a test which had been set a few days before. The results of the test and the corrected test-sheet were handed out to each student with a short comment. 'Good work, Andy.' 'You could have done better', 'Excellent'. Some sheets however were handed out without comment, as in the case of Robert. He put away the test-sheet without looking at it, and sat through the rest of the lesson motionless and staring in front of him. At the end of the lesson, he made a move of despair and intensity, whispering: 'This maths is destroying my life!' The teacher looked at Robert briefly and gave no response to the outburst before proceeding with his instructions. Such are the daily dramas of assessments and grading. The natural science teacher talked about Nafissa, a working-class girl from a minority background, one of his favorites for her positive attitude and smiling face, and her response to the result of an assignment. As usual she received a low mark, primarily due to her poor Norwegian language skills. She had burst into tears and, according to the teacher, 'cried and cried and cried, I felt so very sorry for her, but what could I do?' Similar to other students of immigrant background, particularly newcomers or students with a mother tongue other than Norwegian, Nafissa had extra tuition in Norwegian (Norwegian II) which amounted to a few lessons a week. She was also entitled to bilingual subject tuition,

⁹Only the principal of the *West End School* (the most affluent) raised the issue. She reflected on the contradiction between setting marks in compulsory education and guidance of individual students in their learning.

but due to limited funding by the municipality, this was available to only a few. Students in Nafissa's class did not receive bilingual subject tuition in science. The lack of resources made many teachers feel inadequate to help their minority language students within the regular time for tuition, and to make a fair judgement of their academic progress. Some subject teachers implied that they had given up on some students.¹⁰

37.4.3 *Differential Attention*

Students said that they often witnessed differential treatment of students by teachers. Positive involvement with some students, signaled the importance of these students. Those who fell within the teacher's field of vision were perceived as more important than those who remained outside or 'completely on the periphery' (Arnesen 2002, p. 234, 2011). Several students were *in* class but were symbolically excluded. Helen, for instance, a white working-class girl, had attended a special school for a period, and returned just before the research period. Despite being a formal member of the class, she was perceived by the teachers as an 'outsider'. As her form teacher said, 'she is a nobody' in the class. Other teachers spoke of her only as someone easily overlooked. She was a student to be pitied, and, according to my observations, when attending the ordinary class, was only spoken to by the remedial teacher (Arnesen 2003). Not only the most disadvantaged were marginalized; also, the quieter 'low achieving' girls, for instance, Sabina 'who is failing because she is so far behind the others'. She also went unnoticed during lessons. In another class, there were three boys from immigrant backgrounds who sat quietly by the classroom wall, and uttered not a word during several natural science lessons. On questioning their teacher, I was told that he tended to forget them because they were almost invisible. As in Nafissa's case, all three had poor Norwegian language skills, which meant that they were unable to follow the teacher, who avoided addressing explicitly the language problems of such students. In various situations, thus, language problems could be seen as a marginalizing dimension both with regard to teaching and in other formal and informal interactions between students and between students and teachers, particularly for the quiet students.¹¹

¹⁰ All students in Norway are entitled to 'quality' education and instruction adapted to their abilities and needs (NMER 1998). Special education (*spesialundervisning*) is the formal term used in the education act (§5) for provision for those students who do not benefit from regular tuition. This provision should be available to all students, including minority students who need it, after particular formal (diagnostic) procedures. Adapted language tuition is the formal term in the education act (§ 2–8), specially designed for minority lingual students with limited Norwegian language skills. Adapted language tuition encompasses Special Norwegian tuition, Bilingual subject tuition and Mother tongue tuition. The extent to which and how all of these provisions are implemented varies considerably between municipalities and schools (NDET 2014).

¹¹ In her longitudinal study of one class over 10 years, Nielsen (2009) concluded that the most important marginalizing mechanism in school, was not bullying, but discrete invisibility of 'quiet' minority students.

Not seeing or 'ignoring' was a strategy observed in numerous lessons. The teachers would start off by urging students to get involved in the lesson. However, when this strategy failed, they had the choice of whether or not to intervene. In most lessons, a middle-class boy, Simon, sat drawing, and occasionally talking to friends. He did not engage much in written assignments, but was frequently active in discussion. The teacher did not push him, because he said he was sure that Simon would make it in the end, as he came from a solid family. The teacher said that he had talked to the father and they had agreed on letting Simon decide for himself. However, in most cases, the teachers tended to leave alone those students for whom they had low expectations, in order to 'get through' the lesson. In lessons where the teacher had authority and students' respect, most students would try to follow the instructions and take part, but even there, some lost the thread, or did not understand, and became passive. This happened frequently, as was the case for several low performing, working-class girls, who attended to their work silently and dutifully, but who rarely succeeded in attracting the teacher's attention when they needed help. Generally, the teachers tended to exaggerate the time and attention given in class to 'low performing' students. More often *inside* the classroom teachers gave priority, possibly without being aware of it, to the bright and hard-working students with respect to time and attention when they failed to adapt their teaching approach to the actual diversity, and different interests and needs of the students. This was particularly evident in larger classes. The school and teachers were sensitive to the diversity and multicultural context of their school in a general way, but all were not able to change their pedagogical practices accordingly. In order to compensate for this, the same teachers would make time and put effort into building good relations, looking after and following up the low performing students and some of those with special needs, *outside* the regular lessons.

Students were sensitive to *unfairness* in the distribution of teachers' attention in the classroom. Some teachers were accused of being more partial than others. Preferential treatment for some and not for others was evident in the interactions in the classroom. Harald, for instance, argued that his form teacher and the social science teacher were both biased, because they focused continually on the same, 'good' students, a point also suggested in Annette's interview cited above. Huan, a working-class minority student who often came into conflict with his teachers, made a comment to the same effect regarding a history class. He said that his history teacher would ignore some students, including himself, by sending them to work in group rooms where they were allowed to do whatever they pleased. She would then, according to Huan, concentrate her attention on the bright ones and those who were willing to put effort in their work. Only they, he said, received proper teaching. Certainly the picture is more complex and nuanced than Huan suggested, and this example should not be generalized to other teachers' practices in the school. This study did not include parents. However, according to the principal, the parents in general did not interfere much with the school and had few complaints, although he expected that this might change with the influx of more middle-class families.

37.4.4 *Practices of Inclusion and Exclusion*

Teachers would, in different ways, act to include socially the students and to motivate them to do the work in hand. A form teacher at *Central Park* attempted to develop initiatives aimed at changing negative patterns of class behaviour, particularly teasing and bullying. He occasionally set aside time for joking and relaxed social situations in which the students could talk together and 'have a laugh'. A class trip was organized for the students at the beginning of ninth grade, to visit a cottage in the woods surrounding Oslo – partly to improve the social relations of the class. This was a social event attended by nearly all the students, and it was reported by teachers and students alike to have made a difference in the quality of communications between the different class groups. Teasing and bullying seemed to decline, but still there was much noise and disorder. The form teacher actively tried to resolve the conflicts between students and welcome students that were defined as 'special'. The teacher said that belonging to the regular class was generally best for them, and that this should be persevered with, before remedial out-of-class or other segregated provision were chosen. The teachers emphasized the importance of social aspects of inclusion, but this did not seem in any fundamental way to affect the standardized practices that were introduced.

In Norway, students whose first language is not Norwegian or Sami, and who have poor Norwegian skills are entitled to 'Special Norwegian tuition' (here called Norwegian II) for minority lingual students. Norwegian I (regular course) and Norwegian II were organized in parallel sessions. In most classes in this school only those students of immigrant background with poor Norwegian skills would attend the Norwegian II class. Students in the observed class, however, were divided not according to language skills but along ethnic lines, with the effect that the Norwegian I class which retained status as *the class*, now exclusively was inhabited by the white, majority students. All the immigrant background students, irrespective of Norwegian skills (some were fluent in Norwegian), were required to attend the Norwegian II class, which comprised students of immigrant background drawn from different classes. The nature of the division was felt by some to be unfair. For example, some minority girls perceived the ethnic separation as discriminatory and exclusionary, and the language course as something second rate, while others were happier because they were in a quieter classroom.

Inclusive practices were seen as ideal, but the actual practices of dealing with differences, were based on traditional categorical thinking and segregated solutions, as was the case in most other schools too (Cameron et al. 2012). Special education or out-of-class remedial provision was fraught with problems, either due to insufficient resources, lack of qualified personnel, or problems of coordinating teaching inside and outside the 'regular' classroom. Most students with 'special needs' were provided with specialist teaching for only a few sessions each week. Out-of-class remedial teaching was organized in small groups with students mainly working in isolation from the mainstream, the outcome of which was that they had a more fragmented school experience and poorer teaching quality.

Central Park School had established alternatives to special education; projects which targeted students with a practical orientation and who “*need to get away a little from their school desk during the week and do other things than work with pure theory*” (school policy document).¹² There were three out-of-class, out-of-school alternatives: the Boat project, the Wood project, and the Learning for Life project or Girl project. These were said to be particularly adapted to students who ‘needed a more practical training’ more relevant to ‘ordinary life’. This provision and the accompanied discourses implied on the one hand that regular class work was theoretical and less relevant to ordinary life – and on the other, downplayed the fact that the school could not cope with these students. The following text was included in a brochure for ‘parents and all those who have their work in school’.

Both the school law and the national curriculum state that all students have a right to instruction, according to their aptitudes. Despite this, our common comprehensive school, which builds on ideas of equality and social justice, is not capable of giving the educational provision that the students are entitled to. To meet the special needs of students with a more practical orientation, Central Park School has decided to develop projects with a pronounced emphasis on practical work. Hence, we try to build on the strongest abilities of the individual student, rather than focus on students’ problems and shortcomings. (...) We want to provide students with new tasks not associated with defeat/failure, which offer the chance of mastery in accordance with personal satisfaction. This requires activities that give status and prestige to students, simultaneous to being relevant to ‘ordinary life’.

Students participating in these projects were characterized by the teachers as students who did not ‘fit’ within the ‘normal school’. The Boat and Wood projects were in fact designed for boys who displayed disruptive behaviour ‘without being too disturbed’, according to the counsellor. The third project was called the ‘girl project’ or, officially, ‘learning for life’ (in practice oriented towards domesticity), designed especially for girls of immigrant background, who, according to the Vice Principal, do ‘not function well’ in the normal school setting. Behind these crude categories, and from the interview and the observation data, it was evident that the students selected were working-class and who, at the point of transfer to a project, had experienced a long process of disengagement with the school. The transfer however meant full segregation for a period of time, with little coordination between project and studying the compulsory curriculum. This, for some, meant that they were at risk of not receiving formal certification at the end of their schooling, thus increasing the risk of their further exclusion (Frønes and Strømme 2010).

School staff claimed to be very accepting and tolerant of students with such problems. It was argued that deviant or troublesome students from a disadvantaged background were not a big problem: teachers and other students made allowances when ‘Fred would be an hour late for school, because everyone knew that [...] his

¹² A former Minister of Education, Kristin Clement (2001–2005), used much the same rhetoric in the preface to the Report to the Storting 30 (2003–2004) entitled *Culture for Learning*, i.e. ‘We shall all work towards the ideal to provide all students irrespective of their backgrounds and needs, access to adapted and differentiated teaching. All students are equal (*likeverdige*), but no-one is the same. Both ‘those tired of theory’ and ‘those with a thirst for theory’ should be met with respect’ (NMER 2003, author’s translation).

mother was drinking'. Relationships between the teachers and those who were defined as having problems were underpinned by 'principles of compassion' towards disadvantaged students rather than *belief in their capacity to learn* (van Zanten 2007 p. 440). However, there was less compassion for 'foreign minority lingual' boys with major behavioral problems, who were held responsible for the discontent of some teachers.

The categories used to define students with 'special needs', i.e. as 'sick', 'fall outside', 'do not fit into the normal school', 'do not thrive with academic subjects', 'have better practical talents', had connotations of social class bias, reaffirming middle-class students as the norm for school conduct and behaviour (Arnesen 2003; Arnesen et al. 2007). Although ostensibly benefiting from a regime of compassion, socially-disadvantaged students were most likely to receive segregated provision, and pathologised for coming from 'messy homes' and low achievement.

Alternatives outside of the 'ordinary' school were targeted at certain groups as described in the school brochure, which conveyed subtle messages about what was the norm, i.e. forms of knowledge, values, language and life styles which confirmed and supported the dominant culture, power and interests of their representatives (Bourdieu 1991). When students with 'practical talent' unable to accommodate the 'theoretical school', were excluded, the message was sent that theoretical/academic knowledge and the ways in which it is disseminated count most and have privileged status. And extending the argument, those students placed outside or excluded, were thus defined as not having a *self-evident right* to belong to the 'ordinary' school.¹³

Through pedagogy, organization of alternatives, and categorization of students, a picture emerges not only of social hierarchies between the students, but also examples of how the appropriation of academic knowledge marginalizes other kinds of knowledge, particularly those defined as manual or practical. Willis (1977) argues that the mental/manual distinction presents a 'fertile field for the construction of naturalized division in human capacities' (p. 147), which reveals how regular pedagogy transforms into forms of compensatory pedagogy that reaffirm classed and raced social difference (Möller 2013). Thus, the teachers do not simply deliver the curriculum in nice and orderly learning environments, but are part of the political and institutional context fraught with dilemmas about objectives, levels and distribution of resources, complex interpersonal and group relationships, balance between community and individual 'needs', power struggles for control and dominance, mere survival and so on.

Research has revealed the shortcomings of special education practices (e.g. Nordahl and Hausstätter 2009). Most special education research has, however,

¹³ It is interesting to observe that minority students resisted being moved to special education or other alternative provisions away from their ordinary school class. They did not want to stand out, and insisted on following the regular class, even if they were not given any special support. They insisted on being 'normal'. The case study gives examples of different situations where students faced low expectations. Some students would invest in trying to get on, irrespective of the teachers' expectation -with the help of other students, and teachers who were supportive of their efforts to make academic progress. Others were more resigned, became invisible in the classroom, and/or showed open frustration and anger.

ignored the key institutional function of special education (and other alternatives outside school) in an unequal, stratified, and racialized education system (McCall and Skrtic 2009). Poor working-class are overrepresented disproportionately in the take up of special education (Pihl 2010). Behaviour problems and conflicts with school are the most frequent selection criteria for entry into special education, which may account for the fact that about two-thirds of those selected, are boys.

Minority students are also disproportionately represented. Pihl (2010) carried out an archive study of selection criteria for special needs education of linguistic and cultural minorities in Oslo, over a period of 15 years. The study showed that the standardized tools used were inappropriate for assessing minority pupils, with the result that the children were over-represented in special education, and, to an increasing extent, became segregated from their usual classes.

37.4.5 Practices of Categorization and Assumptions of Difference

There were multiple examples where gender, minority status, achievement level intersected with social class. Noise can be one particular differentiating aspect of school life in which this intersection came to light. Noise in school seemed in general to be associated with boys. Behavior in terms of physical restlessness was also associated with boys, despite the fact that most boys were neither noisy nor restless. The Norwegian-language teacher attributed noise not just to boys, but to boys from a particular immigrant culture.

Liu is temperamental, and I think it has something to do with his cultural background. I do not know where in China he is from, but some of them are sort of quick-tempered, and restless. But he is willing to listen.

The gendered and cultural assumptions also seemed to have an implicit social class aspect; when teachers talked in depth about the noisy boys, they were making an implicit distinction between different categories of boys: the 'noisy' boys were said by the teachers to have no interest in 'theory', and were misfits in the 'normal' school with no 'inner' control. It turns out that the teachers equated the 'noisy' boys with working-class boys who dislike school. This did not change their definition of 'natural' gender differences. Typical boys' behaviour was associated by the teachers with 'noisy' working-class kids' (Willis 1977), and typical girls' behaviour, with the quietest and most well-adapted girls, as described below by the school counsellor. Staff-room talk involved conversations about the students, particularly those who presented problems. The counsellor gave an overview of different student types, from the main point of view of gender, but implicitly involving class and minority status:

There are few left of the Norwegian normal-rabbles, boys who are noisy and academically weak, although they still exist. The new is that we have more students who we perceive as being sick. The problem is depressed, boundless boys who are a mixture of violence and suicide, [and] who do not get sufficient help.

She maintained that:

The girls have not changed much, because you had the quiet reticent girls who were sitting in a corner. You had them before and you have them now. You had the resourceful bright girls. You had the dutiful girls, you had the probing girls, who often ended up going in the wrong direction. You had them before and you have them today. You can say, those we have now who we did not have before, are the lingual-minority girls, but they do not really pose any problems for the school.

The on-going categorization of students also occurred, both in formal settings for a diagnosis, a label, mainly authorized by experts, in order perhaps to obtain special education resources, and in more informal conversations in the staffroom, both underpinned particular versions of the students. These versions were based on assumptions, hearsay and knowledge often in a fragmented form about the students' lives and behaviour inside and outside school (Arnesen 2003). This student categorization, however, had consequences for the students' school life and outcome of their schooling. The urban context of the students seemed to seep into school practices, through this fragmented knowledge about their home circumstances (messy, solid, resourceful) and assumption about what students do outside school.

37.5 Student Response, Subjectivity and Agency

The students were important both as experiencing and embodied school subjects, but also as witnesses to what is taking place. They made meaning of and judgments about what they experienced, and were sensitive to injustice and unfairness of teachers. Here I address four aspects of student response, subjectivities and agency in relation to teacher practices.

37.5.1 Adapting and Opposing to Circumstances

Most students seemed to take school for granted, adapt well to the circumstances in which they found themselves and tried to make the best of it, particularly as they were well aware of the significance of education and the importance of the outcome of schooling in terms of grades which determines the range of options available to them later on. Even Tim acknowledged that 'you have to go to school'. Hence, several students talked about the necessity of increasing their efforts and intentions to the effect of doing more work as they got closer to the transition to upper secondary school. Mary, a white working-class girl, spoke about how she had not done much in the year, something she believed the teacher knew, despite the fact that he had not spoken to her about it. In fact, in the classroom context, she did not represent a problem for the teacher, and as a rule, she did not get much attention from the teacher.

Observations showed that most students were involved in everyday school activities, and tried to get on with their school work, irrespective of the quality of teaching or level of disorder in their classes. Some were ambitious and hardworking, and were able to create their own way of working, concentrating on doing the work set, despite their low grades. I interpret this behavior, not so much as a case of conformity to the school, but rather a display of rational agency, personal ambition and desire to succeed.

37.5.2 *Response to Formal Ranking*

The grades they achieved clearly influenced the students, who knew their position in the hierarchy. It similarly informed their classmates. Tom, for instance, grouped his classmates by distinguishing between ‘those who don’t give a damn about school work, those who are really smart, those who are OK and trying to improve their grades and such, and those people who used to be good and are going down, I don’t know’. Svein, who was considered to be a ‘slow’ student, found most lessons boring, and ‘a bit difficult, actually. Have problems with maths and such, grades and such. I get poor grades all the time...’.

Students reacted in different ways to getting poor marks. Some were ambitious, and worked hard to achieve their best. Some did less, unwilling to invest with respect to work. Some had given up, for example Svein who knew he would never achieve higher scores, whatever he did. Some made it clear that they would not let the school’s judgement invade their life. Martin, for example:

No, I do not always get good grades. I mostly don’t give a damn, actually. I do not care what the others say about me, or what you may think. As long as I am just being myself, I manage fine.

Martin revealed elsewhere in the interview that he actually did care about getting good marks, and hoped to improve. However, he seemed quite relaxed about it. The teacher described him as from a solid working-class family. Martin spoke about playing the horn in the school brass band. He was seen by the teacher as a ‘great guy’. Overall, he seemed to have a well-founded working-class identity, which made him less vulnerable to the school and other people’s opinion. The ability to disconnect oneself as a person from the judgement of the school, determined the extent of the influence of school assessment exerted on the individual. Marginalization processes in schools are assumed to work through the level of the importance given to schooling and education, how strongly students identify with the school and how they see themselves through the eyes of the school.

Most students tried actively to mitigate their association with failure and having feelings of not being good enough, by adopting strategies aimed at preserving their self-respect. In interviews they revealed identity work that protected them against the definitions and norms of the school. For instance, some explained that they had

low grades because they did not like either the subject or the teacher. This strategy was particularly effective if ‘clever’ students shared their perception, for example, ‘no-one likes the social science class’, as Tim put it.

37.5.3 Agency and Response to Classroom Practices

Teachers had power through the formal technologies of assessment, frequently used as carrot and stick. Or they dealt with behavioral problems by sending troublemakers to a group room, as occasionally in the social science lesson. However, students also exercised power by ‘setting the agenda’ e.g. through disruption, and hence influenced and controlled the behaviour of the others, not least the teachers. Students were occasionally also able to influence the teaching in other ways, e.g. through democratic means of negotiations.¹⁴

The teachers explained the noise and disorder in the class by referring to (1) attributes of the pupil, e.g. hyperactive, spoilt, ill; (2) poor control of (other) teachers who were either too soft or too strict; (3) minority students, particularly boys, with inadequate language skills, ‘their mother tongue is not Norwegian and hence they are frustrated at not being able to understand the lessons’; and (4) problematic relations at home and beyond the school’s remit.

The students invariably had other explanations; boring instruction associated with lack of variation, irrelevance of content, and lack of adequate support from teachers. They particularly pointed out that the teaching was often too difficult for some pupils to follow, ‘and so they cause an uproar’. Some students openly admitted that the most boring lessons were subjects where they were likely to fail or get poor marks.¹⁵

37.5.4 Relationships, Conflicts and Community

The students talked in their interviews about their relations with the teachers, about those who were good and bad. They identified teachers who seemed to care, show respect and have good relationships and working practices. They provided narratives of episodes in which teachers were prejudiced, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. They described further incidents where teachers were seen as oppressive

¹⁴Democratic negotiation was marginal at the Central City school, but a central feature at West End school.

¹⁵In 2000 there was hearing or debate about school conditions with 12–15 year-old students from Oslo. It generated a strongly worded, unambiguous critique of traditional classroom teaching which they felt dominated most classrooms. The hearing was followed up by the book *Tre års kjedsomhet? Om å være elev i ungdomsskolen* [Three years of boredom? Being a student in lower secondary school] (Grepperud 2000).

towards some students, for instance, belittling them and using sarcasm. In the case of a student seen as a nuisance by the teacher, the student headed towards the back of the room and responded to the teacher telling him to sit down, by saying that he just wanted to fetch a book. The teacher commented 'I didn't even think that you could read!'

Relationships between students were marked by the school's urban context, with large classes and a diverse composition of students. There was much evidence, however, of students emphasizing the collective in the form of an imaginary community. They employed a range of strategies to maintain a sense of social community despite conflicts, teasing and bullying, which was more marked they said, than in the previous year when they entered the school. Most students, across differences of gender, class and ethnicity, tended to talk in collective terms.

Students were actively involved in social activities which I interpreted as 'incorporation work', with respect to helping classmates, often across social class. I observed on several occasions students spontaneously helping each other. Pauline, for instance, regularly sat next to Helen. Tor received help from classmates during lessons. Such student initiatives seemed positive in terms of promoting inclusion and enhancing the participation of everyone in the activities of the class, academic and socially. The teachers, however, did not always applaud such initiatives, especially from the brighter students, even though they found them 'touching' to observe. As the civics teacher said, she had to intervene because Pauline spent too much time helping Helen which was likely to affect her own work negatively; so she told Pauline to make sure to look after herself.

School life is a special kind of cultural and social practice in which tensions of student inclusion and exclusion is embedded. All the students recognized the school as a place where learning takes place, but some, more often working-class students, experienced much disappointment in their ending their school career without a full certificate and with experiences of neglect and disrespect. As Eivind said of his new beginning at upper secondary school, It is 'lovely to be more respected in a way, that people don't look down on you, for example and such. They look at us as human beings, it seems', compared to his experiences at compulsory school (Arnesen et al. 2013).

37.6 Conclusion

In this final section I turn to an initial question: What is the significance of social class in the school processes of inclusion and exclusion? Thinking dynamically as well as multi-dimensionally about social class, represents great challenges both empirically and theoretically. First, class, gender, minority status and disability are *structures of power in different ways*, which are systematic rather than random. However, although systematic, each school and classroom is unique in the way that power is exercised, contested and organized. Secondly, social class and other

dimensions of difference, such as gender, ethnicity and disability are historically developed within distinctive professional discourses, and organized as specialized research fields, with their respective university courses, research methodologies and journals. Hence, the intersection of areas of specialization is challenging. Consequently, rather than focus on dimensions of difference, I have tried to foreground urban mechanisms and processes of inclusion and exclusion which illuminate multiple dimensions of inequality which impact on social class. The particular significance of social class in education is according to Giroux (1983) connected to questions of what is valued through the curriculum, and what counts as high or low status knowledge (intellectual or manual). The increased academization of education, and the simultaneous reduction in the status of practical and esthetic subjects over the last two decades, is a case in point. Thirdly, social class has become a significant marker in the organization of school and students; who is the 'natural' member of the regular class, who must negotiate, and who is transferred to segregated provision. The disproportionality in special education and projects of disengaged working-class students, particularly working-class boys (both ethnic Norwegians and minorities), leads to their pathologisation when they come in conflict with the school.

Policies of inclusion are embedded in a field of tension between competing values and interests (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006). As education increasingly becomes key to the 'good life', schooling is simultaneously an object of desire and a cause of suffering, particularly for those who do not succeed. Inclusionary policies and practices need to transcend simple change solutions by taking a critical look at current tendencies across the educational landscape. These suggest firstly, that education increasingly privileges academic knowledge and gives more weight to students' cognitive abilities, distributing reward and punishment through 'objective' merits regardless of the students' background, experiences and interests. Secondly, children's and young people's upbringing and life are increasingly subjected to institutionalised scrutiny and surveillance, in which social class issues and inequalities are transformed into discourses of individual failure and pathology.

Teachers are confronted with increased demands to deal with student diversity and a variety of problems arising from the urban context. They have heavy workloads and, in many cases, limited means of realising the aims of the 'inclusive school'. We should ask, following Silver and Miller (2003), whether demanding *full inclusion* is likely to show that hierarchical practices in school and disadvantage in terms of poverty, social exclusion and other forms of domination are integral to the functioning of society, rather than accidental or unintended consequences easily addressed with alternative programs or financial adjustment here and there. This question needs increased attention in a time of global capitalism and rapid political and social changes, even in such 'well-functioning' welfare societies as Norway. There is a need for more comprehensive and critical analyses that is able to demonstrate the interactive dynamics between political, institutional, relational, and ethical dimensions of classroom practices in urban contexts. Such analyses should include, as in the present study, making visible classroom processes and the

experience of different groups of students and teachers, but taking it further to show the limitations and blind spots of equality and inclusion policies which privilege some students and disadvantage others. Furthermore, I suggest that it is necessary to address agency that may foreground the students' desires and ambitions, hence raising ethical questions about what living a (school) life under different conditions might or should entail. These are complementary themes that may open up new ways of discussing how social justice, inclusion and equality can be enacted, within and outside schooling.

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Chapter 38

Educating ‘Euro-citizens’: A Study of a Vocational Uppers Secondary Programme in Health Care and Social Services in a Finnish (Sub)Urban Setting

Sirpa Lappalainen

38.1 Introduction

Nordic countries, such as Finland, have long been regarded as paradigmatic welfare states, where citizens receive support in order to secure their well-being as well as benefit from the common good (Bloch et al. 2003; Esping-Andersen 1996). However, the Nordic welfare state model has been eroded by the spread of neoliberalism, which emphasizes economic reasoning and market orientation (Gordon et al. 2003; Telhaug et al. 2006). This erosion of the welfare state has impacted on the idea of citizenship. In the Finnish context, turning points included an exceptionally deep economic depression at the beginning of the 1990s and membership of the European Union in 1995. The economic depression worked to legitimate changes in politics and policies – neo-liberal reasoning was added to the political agenda through a rhetoric of necessity in a difficult economic climate (Kantola 2002). The concept of the ‘active citizenship’ was mobilized (Harinen 2000). Individuals were required to take responsibility for their own success and also for the wellbeing of their inner circle. One of the paradoxes was that on one hand individuals were pushed to take risks; on the other failure was potentially more disastrous from individuals’ point of view because the welfare state did not provide the same backup as previously.

The state was no longer understood as responsible for protecting individuals from the uncertainties of the market, but rather, for helping people to participate successfully in the market through education, flexible employment and tax incentives (Turner 2001 p. 194). This meant that although equity remained a goal, the focus was more on equal access than equal outcomes, and inclusion was more extensively based on individual positioning in the market and patterns of

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consumption. Moreover, again partly due to its weak economy, Finland was exceptionally conformist to the Europeanisation of educational policy (Lundahl 2007; Ollikainen 2000), this shift in reasoning much in evidence in curriculum documents. This shift was exceptionally marked in curriculum documents of Vocational Education and Training (VET) (Lappalainen and Lahelma 2015). From the millennium onwards, vocational curriculum documentation has contained discourses referring to a new kind of ideal subjectivity; the internationally flexible, labour-market citizen, who on the one hand is capable and willing to cross national borders for employment and on the other, as a consumer and worker, also pays attention to national interests (Isopahkala-Bourét et al. 2014). However, for example, students participating in the research tended to be quite sceptical about their prospects in the transnational labour market, seeing their future mainly tied into the local context (Lappalainen 2014). The national curriculum can be understood as a programme, which the nation state, through political debate, has established to prepare young people for future citizenship (Erekson 2012; Gordon et al. 2000; Yates and Grumer 2011). At the same time, defining desirable features of citizens works as a tool for social selection and control (Hargreaves 1994). However, as Ball et al. (2012, p. 3) argue educational policy statements are not implemented but enacted; i.e. 'translated from text to action' in relation to a particular historical context. Thus, although, statements presented in curriculum oblige educators to adopt certain pedagogical practices, they can be put into effect in a revised form and thus be contested.

In this chapter, I explore how the ideal subjectivity of labour-market citizen introduced in curriculum is (re)formed in the everyday life of a vocational upper-secondary college of Health Care and Social Services (HS). I have chosen to focus on HS because it is a sector where changes to the welfare state have been most pronounced (e.g. Filander 2003). Moreover, educational and vocational guidance (EVG) as well as employment authorities tend to propose HS for particular groups of people. For example, girls (Kurki 2008) and women (e.g. Antikainen 2010; Chang 2014) with immigrant background are thus actively guided towards HS regardless of their previous educational history. Also for young people with low grades in school, HS is often seen as a 'realistic' educational track (e.g. Lappalainen et al. 2013). Previous analyses of curriculum documentation suggest that the ideal subjectivity, based with neo-liberal reasoning, is the labour market citizen: students are expected to internalise the ethos of entrepreneurship and lifelong learning, and become capable of change, for instance as already noted, in crossing national borders to follow the needs of the labour market (Isopahkala-Bourét et al. 2014; Lappalainen 2014). Although, this neo-liberal reasoning has begun to impact on the objectives of existing educational policy, analysis of pedagogical practices in the female-dominated upper-secondary college of HS complicates the picture by revealing how neo-liberal reasoning can be problematised and the social democratic basis of the programme actively and subtly maintained.

38.2 Theoretical Background

This chapter draws on two research projects,¹ which focused on an analysis of the construction of citizenship and difference in upper-secondary vocational education and training (VET), a field where young people are prepared for labour-market citizenship. The concept of citizenship is historically constructed, and thus the economic, political and social climate shapes the ways it is understood (Harinen 2000; Skeggs 2004). Following Ruth Lister (2003) and Nira Yuval-Davis (1997), citizenship here is regarded as multilayered and contextualized, drawing on meanings from lived experience and the social, historical and political context. Historically, as a means to train rational, disciplined and obedient workers, vocational education had a special relevance in Finnish nation building and citizenship (e.g. Kettunen 2010 p. 220). The concept of labour-market citizenship in the research projects refers to the transformation from representation of ideal citizenship in relation to the nation state, to relating instead to the transnational labour market, for example, involving multinational companies.

Theoretically *feminist post-structuralism* frames the subject as constantly in a process of becoming; constructing itself by drawing on available discourses and cultural practices, while at the same time, forced into subjectivity by the same discourses and practices (Davies 2004; St. Pierre 2000). *Materialism* refers to understanding such subjectification in a social, economic and historical context (Jackson 2001 p. 284). This approach to understanding subject formation influences how class is conceptualized. Although the students' backgrounds can be described as working class or lower-middle class in terms of their parents' educational and professional backgrounds, class is not reduced merely to socio-economic status. Class is understood as a social position, which is changing and blurred in interaction with other categories, such as gender, age and ethnicity. Together these elements can be seen to strengthen social hierarchies, but they may also operate in contradictory ways (Anthias 2005 p. 36; Tolonen 2012 p. 127).

The above theoretical perspectives were intertwined with the adoption of a *contextualised ethnographic perspective*, meaning that fieldwork interpretations are understood against the background of current educational policy (Lahelma et al. 2014a). This theoretical framework acknowledges both the existence of educational structures and governing techniques of vocational practice and politics, and how people located in the educational field exhibit their agency (Adkins and Skeggs 2004). This is exemplified by analysis of subject formation in relation to 'Social, Business and Labour Market' and what it provides for (sub)urban youth subject, and also how it relates to the erosion of the Nordic welfare state.

¹The research projects were funded by the Academy of Finland and were entitled: Citizenship, Agency and Difference in Upper Secondary Education – With Special Focus on Vocational Institutions (project number 1131548, led by Elina Lahelma) and Learning to become practical nurses: Ethnography on Vocational Education of Health care and Social services (project number 1133632, led by Sirpa Lappalainen).

38.3 'Urban' in the Finnish Context

It is important to keep in mind context when using the concept 'urban'. This is a study of vocational education in a Finnish suburban setting. Finland is a relatively sparsely populated Nordic country with few metropolitan areas. 'Urban' in the Finnish context is usually associated with former working-class areas, now populated by the so-called 'creative class'; that is, people working in the fields of art and design, information technology and academia – with music festivals, vintage shop, yoga studios, pop up cafes and so on. Like other Nordic countries, it is the suburban districts, which have the reputation as the main source of social problems, e.g. unemployment, poverty and substance abuse (Öhrn 2012). These are, however, areas where unemployment rates and proportion of population with an immigrant background are higher than average, and education and income levels are lower than average. The current tendency in Finland is to centralize public services such as health care, social services, education and culture into larger units, with, for example, small local libraries and health care centres under threat. Thus availability of local services varies, and at its minimum, comprises just a small shopping mall with grocery, hair salon and pub or pizzeria.

The welfare state still has some influence despite the erosion of public services, and Finland is not the worst in terms of regional segregation. Due to economic development, welfare policy in the capital Helsinki, for example, regional socio-economic differences were decreasing until the 1990s (Vaattovaara et al. 2011). Moreover, unlike suburban districts, for example Rosengård in Sweden or Clichy-sois-Bois in France, Finnish suburban areas were not subjected to violent forms of collective resistance. However, trends in recent decades are worrying. Structural changes in economy and migration have reversed patterns of socio-economic difference between the areas (Kortteinen et al. 2006) and school achievement levels (Kuusela 2006, 2010) and thus Finland is now closer, socio-economically, to more segregated countries (Bernelius 2013). At the policy level, segregation in metropolitan areas is considered a social risk that needs to be avoided (e.g. Bernelius 2013). Still, this has not stopped governments from pursuing New Right policies, which deepen the gap between advantaged and less advantaged groups and strengthen obstacles preventing upward mobility. The revision of Basic Education Act 1998 (628/1998, 6§; 28§) was a turning point in terms of regional educational segregation of education. Before the revision of the act, schools had particular catchment areas, which in practice meant that pupils went to the local school. After 1998, schools still had to take pupils living in their catchment areas. However, pupils had right to apply to attend a school outside their neighbourhood. In fact, this increased level of choice favoured more privileged groups with greater economic, cultural and social resources (Kosunen 2014). A more recent example of New Right policy is a government's bill to restrict children's right to early childhood (pre-school) education. NGOs focusing on children's right and wellbeing, as well as education trade unions and critical researchers came out against the reform, which is considered a serious reversal for educational equality.

38.4 Research Context

This chapter draws on 3 years of ethnographic fieldwork (Autumn 2007 to Spring 2010) in one vocational upper secondary college specializing in courses in Health Care and Social Services (HS). Upper-secondary vocational education comprises, in general, 3 years of study in a specific vocational sector. This gives, in principle, eligibility for entry into higher education, both polytechnics and universities. However, the most preferred institution is the more vocationally oriented polytechnic rather than university. After getting their school leaving certificate, students become qualified practical nurses.² They work at basic level within nursing, care, education and rehabilitation, in the health care and social services sector. The sector has problems in recruiting; therefore the knowledge and skills provided at upper-secondary college will enable young people to take up relatively stable forms of employment. However, the work at basic level within HS is poorly paid. It might guarantee reasonable living standards but does not allow for middle class forms of consumption.³ Moreover, although VET, in recent years has actively been promoted by educational stakeholders, still the more academically oriented route of general upper secondary education has surprisingly well retained its symbolic value.

Student choice between different upper-secondary study pathways can be said to be classed, ethnicised and gendered. Young people from working-class and/or ethnic minority backgrounds more often end up on less culturally-valued vocational routes than white middle-class youth, who form the majority in more academic forms of study (Rinne 2012).⁴ Gender segregation inside VET is also evident. According to recent figures (Official Statistics of Finland 2013), the field of HS is 85% female, whereas for Technology and Transport, the percentage is 18.

The college where the research was carried out was one of the biggest in Finland with approximately 1900 students and 190 teaching staff. Most students interviewed in their first year at college lived in the suburbs, where incomes and employment levels are lower and proportion of migrants higher than average, as already noted. For female students living in the suburbs, this college seemed to be the most obvious choice. The few 'high achievers' at the college were of much curiosity to the teachers, who wondered why they, given their wider choice of other more academic courses, had chosen the vocational route of HS.

In the first 2 years of fieldwork, I followed a group of 24 students (22 female and 2 male), who had started their studies in Autumn, 2007. Most students decided on vocational education as soon as they completed compulsory schooling. Most were

²Practical nurse is a protected occupational title licensed by the National Supervisory Authority of Welfare and Health.

³In 2014, the average wage in the public sector was 3094 euros (Official Statistics of Finland 2015), whereas according to the Finnish Union of Practical Nurses, the average wage of a qualified practical nurse was 2076 euros (Super 2015).

⁴The Finnish upper- secondary education system is strictly divided into general (gymnasium) and vocational institutions. The former offers an academic, all-round programme of studies that prepares students for the matriculation examination.

born in 1990 or 1991, so that their childhood was spent during a marked economic downturn of the 1990s in Finland. Moreover, their first steps into the labour market were blighted by the continuing difficult economic climate.

The last year of fieldwork was spent following three groups of students at the end of their college studies. Student ages varied in the groups; the youngest students were just 18 years old, while the oldest were over 30. At the beginning of the academic year, group size varied between 18 and 24.⁵ Two were single-sex female groups, whereas the third had slightly more females than males. All students interviewed had completed their compulsory schooling in Finland although three had come to Finland when very young and two had transnational family arrangements.

Here, the main focus is on the course 'Social, Business and Labour Market (Subjects)' (SBLS), one of nine core subjects.⁶ The course was divided in two parts. The first part was taught in the second year of a basic studies programme and the second, took place in the students' final year. Course teachers were well qualified with university degrees in the social sciences. The objectives of the course were as follows, that the student: (1) contributes to the management of general affairs at college and in on-the-job training placements; (2) assesses his/her abilities as an active citizenship and consumer; (3) knows how to use social services provided; (4) draws up a personal financial plan; (5) assesses the significance of entrepreneurship to the Finnish national economy; and (6) is able to search for information on workplaces in the health care and social and health care sector as well as on the European Union and its citizens (Finnish National Board of Education 2010, 244). Here, SBLS is regarded as an arena where expectations regarding future labour-market citizenship are produced, reproduced and challenged.

38.5 Data and Methodology

The analysis presented in the chapter draws on field notes generated by the SBLS course (12 days) plus interviews with two teachers who taught the course, lasting each approximately 80 min. The ethnographic fieldwork (Heyl 2001; Lahelma 2002) shaped how interviews were conducted and what questions were asked. The teacher interviews started with a request for a description of their work history, with further questions relating to their job description (e.g. what kind of courses he/she is teaching, what he/she is emphasizing in teaching), student group, differences between students, and educational 'philosophy' as well as the content of the subject that they were teaching.

The process of analysis had three phases. The first phase was an overall reading of the materials generated by the whole research project, highlighting areas, where

⁵Due to suspensions and dropouts, the group's size tended to decrease during the year.

⁶The nine core subjects are Swedish, second national language, foreign language, mathematics, physics and chemistry, business and labour-market subjects, physical education, health education, arts and culture.

questions of citizenship were actualized. This research phase showed that SBLS was an educational space that was ambivalent towards the requirement for neo-liberal reasoning. For example, the curriculum and the content of the course are explicit in promoting a particular kind of subjectivity; of flexible and mobile workers with an internalised ethos of entrepreneurship. This however was challengeable during the lessons. While the content of the curriculum was acknowledged in teaching, the way issues were introduced seemed dissonant with the 'ethos' of the curriculum texts. The second analytic phase focused on field-notes of pedagogic encounters between teachers and students on SBLS course in more detail (see Youdell 2011 p. 85), especially how society was constructed in these encounters: i.e. what was said and what were the consequences. The third phase involved reading the field notes and teacher interviews side-by-side, to explore how teachers make sense about their own teaching. This analytic phase revealed how teachers struggled with and negotiated the content of curriculum.

38.6 Business and Labour Market Subjects: An Arena for Problematising Neo Liberal Reasoning?

38.6.1 The People's State?

The following snapshot comes from beginning of the first lesson of the SBLS course. The teacher describes the content of the course, and introduces concepts of family, community and society.

Kimmo (a teacher, male) delivered the outline of the course saying that the course is one of the core subjects and it is common course for all vocational students [...]. He said that we are not going to use any textbook, which means lot of notes. In the printed outline of the course, the core content was listed under the following topics: acting as a member of society and EU citizen; impact on households and companies of Finland's and the EU's economy; acting as a member of a work community; acting according to labour-market procedures. He mentioned the rules of working life, noting that 'quite a lot of you have experience on working life already'. He started to talk about the concept of society, illustrating his talk by drawing nested circles on the blackboard with the smallest representing individual, the next size up representing the family, and the next representing community and the largest, the EU. He explained that often the starting point is a family; 'individuals form a family. A family is a place for reproduction where our batteries are recharged so that we are able to act in society'. The concept of community was explained as follows. 'Community is often formed by individuals, who have a common goal more or less.' The football team was given as an example on a community. He continued by referring to the history of Finnish nation state, describing how artists and intellectuals built a joint mental image of Finland. 'We were injected with a common sense of belonging in between the huge Russia and Sweden. He then brought the EU into the discussion, and how we were incorporated into the big joint family of the EU. (Fieldnotes: SBLS, Autumn 2008.)

In analyzing this example, questions arose about the ways society is described and made sense of (Davies 2004). The above 'synopsis' of the lecture shows society

as starting from the individual through to the family, community (e.g. football team) and nation state, ending up with the EU. Individual and family are described in abstract gender-neutral ways; categories of male and female are not reproduced. Moreover, the family could be any kind of family; hetero-sexual nuclear family, 'rainbow' multiethnic family or extended family. Community is illustrated by the football team which is curious in such a female-dominated context. Football has not the same relevance in Finland as, for example, UK or Germany, where the local football team is both a binding and potentially dividing force related to social class and regional as well as gender identity formation (Dunning 2000; Gibbons 2014; Harris 2001). Traditionally Finnish 'teacher-hood' or professional self-concept is characterized by conformism towards governmental ideology and adoption of a neutral, non-political stance (Räisänen 2011, 442). Although religious community, political party or fan club might have been better illustrations of community, football, from the (male) teacher's point of view, was a neutral way to exemplify the idea of community.

As the lecture continues, the teacher makes visible how the Finnish nation state can be seen as a formation of elites, where the common sense of belonging is based on the geo-political location between two more powerful countries. Benedict Anderson (1983/2006), in his analysis of the spread of nationalism, provides the concept of 'imagined community', as not something concrete but rather, an image of affinity that members hold in their minds (Anderson 1983/2006). In his lecture, the teacher reveals the process of imagining the Finnish nation state. When introducing the EU, he has no similar story. However, when talking about EU he used the metaphor of family to communicate collective aims, at the same time as still keeping an analytical distance in describing how national and transnational collectives are created through political action.

In the interviews, I asked teachers to reflect on what were the most important course themes or issues. Kimmo said that one of his aims is to cover themes in the curriculum. However, his main concern is to transmit an understanding of how society works and awaken student interest in social issues. He expressed a commitment to the view that this should be carried out in a neutral manner. 'At least I tried to avoid expressing my own values, though still for sure they (values) sometimes pop up'.

Kimmo's view of the social/civil awareness of his students was relatively pessimistic. He argued that many of them have no idea of basic concepts such as state or municipality. He especially mentioned the EU as a challenging theme to which he generally gives less attention. It has been argued that European education policy has not managed to dissociate citizenship from the nation state, so that people's sense of belonging is still based on the idea of national community (Philippou et al. 2009). Teaching on SBLs was generally based on existing 'stories' about the nation while it was more difficult to create collective narratives for 'euro citizenship' even though it is a formal aim of the course.

The lecture described above continued with the next part focusing on society:

Kimmo introduced a picture of three intertwined wheels, which illustrated the social, political and economic systems. It was explained that society is made up of three systems: social, voluntary coalitions of people, such as hobby clubs, residents' associations, sport clubs;

political, how social life is organized by means of administration and legislation (State and municipalities). [...]; and economic, the pursuit of profit, companies.

Kimmo: The political system tries to constrain the economic system so that people are not exploited.

Kimmo asks whether any one system dominates the others

Helmi (female student): Money dominates too much.

Pilvi (female student): Agree, money dominates far too much, nothing can't be done without money.

Kimmo: How might it be possible to reduce that domination? I do indeed agree with you.

Laura: I think it's entangled with social; there are people who can't afford the [medical] treatment that they need.

Kimmo turned the discussion to children's leisure activities and how parents are required to give money for activities.

Kimmo: You mean that the political system isn't working properly? The allocation of resources is politics. (Field-notes: SBLs, Autumn 2008.)

It has been argued that neo-liberal reasoning indicates a move away from a rights-based model of citizenship to citizenship based on consumer-orientation, entrepreneurship and the economy; with the state entrusted through education to produce particular forms of subjectivity appropriate for the presumed needs of the economy (Peters 2011 p. 174; Komulainen 2006 p. 215). Our previous analyses (Isopahkala-Bouret et al. 2014; Lappalainen et al. 2010) indicated how neo-liberal rationality and emphasis of market forces, is expressed in vocational curriculum documents. However, Kimmo's teaching as above indicates that neo-liberal reasoning can be problematized by both teachers and students. The teacher (Kimmo) argues that 'the political system tries to constrain the economic system so that people are not exploited'; hence the relationship between political and economic is seen by him as contentious; and the present economic system is potentially exploitative and needs to be regulated by the political system. Kimmo makes the point that the political system should not be for economy but for the people. Students point out that material resources set limits for individual agency. Kimmo supports this interpretation by citing an example of how the need to make money affects the leisure time of families and also by asking what could be done to reduce the domination of economics. This view of the relationship between economy and politics, co-constructed by teacher and students, offers a challenge to the demand for neo-liberal rationality and echoes the tradition of the social democratic welfare era when the role of the state was seen as to protect people from the uncertainties of capitalism.

38.6.2 Uncomfortable Entrepreneurship

As already noted, Finland has been pro-active in developing education for entrepreneurship. Vocational education has a place in the education system from primary school to higher education (Komulainen et al. 2009 p. 631). The title of the course, 'Business and Labour Market Subjects', reflects the inclusion of industry and commerce in school and university curricula (Ahonen 2003). One objective of SBLs is

therefore to understand the ‘significance of entrepreneurship to the national Finnish economy’ (Finnish National Board of Education 2010 p. 244). Katri Komulainen et al. (2009, p. 632) have introduced the concept of ‘the enterprising self’ referring to the moral regulation inherent in neoliberalism. It operates through various institutions, promoting an entrepreneur-like subjectivity, including ability and willingness to take risks, independence, and self-reliance as a desirable form of the selfhood (ibid). Curriculum texts are seen here as cultural practices, where the ideal subjectivity of the ‘enterprising self’ is defined (see Isopahkala-Bourét et al. 2014; Koski 2009). However, the following example shows ambivalence in how entrepreneurship is handled. This is taken from a lesson which took place in the students’ final year at the college:

We moved on to the next theme, which was entrepreneurship. The way the theme was introduced made me feel that the teacher’s view might be quite ambivalent. [...] Asko (male teacher): We have this weird theme; entrepreneurship. It’s a big issue – we have an entrepreneurship boom here. [...] Is it possible to become an entrepreneur straight out of school?

Laura (the student): Why not?

Asko: Would you?

Laura: Well, no...

Asko: If we talk about ‘care entrepreneurship’, if you are not interested at all, that’s fine, you can keep your own distance.

Asko stated that it is good to be critical. One student commented on entrepreneurship as too complicated. Asko wrote on the blackboard “Finnish attitudes” and explained. Previously there was a time when entrepreneurs were hated as capitalist predators; nowadays it’s the other way around.⁷ [...].

Asko: How much do entrepreneurs work?

Ninni (student female): 24/7.

Asko: A bit overkill [...] He continued to explain that Finnish thinking is wary of the huge risks of entrepreneurship, ‘a myth of bankruptcy and then comes divorce, alcohol and drugs – truth or legend?’

Minja (student female): Overkill.

[...]

Asko: It is thought that as wage earners we stay safe but it doesn’t work out like that, the wage earner is not safe in this country either. (Fieldnotes: Business and Labour Market Subjects, Spring 2010.)

Most interesting about the example given above is how, when introducing entrepreneurship as ‘weird’, Asko does not assume that it is a legitimate topic for the course but rather, something, which is difficult to incorporate. The theme of entrepreneurship is addressed by drawing on the conventional cultural narrative of risk and failure. Exposed to colourful expressions like ‘capitalist predators’ and descriptions of personal catastrophe such as bankruptcy, divorce and drug-taking, students are facilitated in understanding the change in political climate – where entrepreneurship changes from something that is socially suspect to something highly desirable. It is hard to see in Asko’s story about social change, an advocacy of entrepreneurship; rather he puts an analytical distance between himself and officially promoted views on entrepreneurship, making visible the political nature

⁷This particular teacher tended to use colourful expressions and juxtapositions.

of the phenomenon. Asko thus promotes critical thinking among his students rather than proactive commitment to entrepreneurship.

Of further note is that while the teacher makes it clear that entrepreneurship is supposed to be discussed in the course, sceptical views are openly encouraged (see Koski 2009). At the end of the lesson described above students were given an assignment, of which the last of three options was on entrepreneurship – students were asked to develop a business plan. When handing out the assignment the teacher commented, 'This third one is for those with an entrepreneurial mindset – you have to think about yourselves as entrepreneurs; if you hate it, this is not your choice'. I interviewed the teacher after the course was over. He had taught social sciences and business since the 1980s in polytechnics and in vocational education, having previously worked in public administration and welfare of drug-users. I raised the manner in which entrepreneurship was introduced in the course discussion:

SL: When I followed your lessons I started to wonder, you said something like 'you can keep your opinion', I mean I started to wonder whether entrepreneurship education has met opposition, or whether you meant to communicate a critical stance, I mean, it just made me curious.

Asko: Well yes, (small laugh), I have taught so much, it might have come up somehow automatically, well definitely, I am a bit critical, I mean we have lot of kind of like fanaticism and kind of like flimflam in terms of entrepreneurship in our society. These entrepreneurship educators, they think too enthusiastically that it is a solution to everything and it should be implemented in early childhood education, even for toddlers. I find it a stupid and childish idea, especially in the care sector. Nurses have to become skilled professionals, in the first place. After that, it makes sense that some of them might end up as entrepreneurs. And I think also that it might be liberating, I mean I know that quite a lot of nurses are critical as well, and students also. It might be liberating to know that you can think what you like, that you are allowed to listen and discuss and form your own opinion and you are not supposed to be extremely positive. I have gained the impression of the implementation of the idea of positive thinking in entrepreneurship education. I don't think in that way, it is OK to be critical or have a negative view. But, well I haven't thought about that before (Teacher interview).

Both Kimmo and Asko took a somewhat critical stance towards entrepreneurship education. However in the extract above, Asko used epithets of 'fanaticism' and 'flimflam' in his criticism of entrepreneurship education, words conventionally used to articulate a disapproving stance toward religious worldviews. He also actively distanced himself from entrepreneurship educators, whose confidence in the potential value of entrepreneurship education, he ridiculed. The concept of the 'enterprising self' contains the interweaving of various moral attributes defining the good life (Rose 1992). Initiative, independence, assertiveness, risk-taking, self-responsibility are all regarded as characteristics crucial in entrepreneurship (Keskitalo et al. 2010 p. 15). According to Koski (2009) the advent of the idea of the 'enterprising self' in educational policymaking throughout the European Union symbolises the presence of new technologies of moral regulation. Drawing on Deleuze-Quattarian theorization Deborah Youdell (2011, p. 14) suggests that education should be understood as a complex assemblage of various heterogeneous objects, which create unity through the way they work together. Youdell (2011, p. 15) argues that politics is manifested

and pursued at all levels of education from political election manifesto pledges to everyday life inside educational institutions. In the pedagogical encounter described above, the teacher negotiates with the curriculum, seeking ways to fulfill the expectations of him as stated in curriculum, without surrendering his intellectual integrity.

It has been noted that SBLS is a space in which there is an expectation to cultivate the entrepreneurial mindset of students. However, the teachers interviewed do not consider entrepreneurship as a concept describing selfhood but rather as a relation between individual and labour market. Their vision of the future of their students is as wage earners not entrepreneurs. Moreover, as our earlier analysis shows (Lahelma et al. 2014b) HS teachers prefer to see themselves as professionals, providing the qualifications needed in the workplace. This might explain their ambivalence in terms of entrepreneurship education. In the context of HS vocational studies, this ambivalence creates a space where educational aims which draw on neo-liberal governance can be criticised (see e.g. Besley and Peters 2007).

38.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have focused on pedagogic encounters between teachers and students in the context of SBLS, a subject in the upper-secondary vocational field of Health Care and Social Services, which, in the Finnish urban context, is a popular option for young women from working-class and ethnic-minority backgrounds. Traditionally Finnish teachers do not problematize governmental educational ideology (e.g. Räisänen 2011); that is considered to be the task of sociologists. Therefore, the way that SBLS was taught was surprising. Although teachers were careful to cover all aspects of the curriculum, their teaching certainly did not conform to the existing political climate which emphasises neo-liberal reasoning and the labour market. Social democratic welfare values were acknowledged in the criticism of the idea of the enterprising self.

Although the national curriculum is intended to govern education, still as Deborah Youdell (2011, p. 85) argues, the ways educators think about and engage with educational systems, structures and processes influence in pedagogy – even though, as Kimmo stated in the interview – they actively try to avoid conveying their personal views. SBLS was mainly taught by the teachers with a background in the social or political sciences. I want to suggest that it was this academic background that enabled them to distance themselves from government ideology and made it hard for them to ‘buy into’ the rationale, in which people’s successes as well as failures are individualized and where the main aim is to produce obedient citizens with enterprising mindsets (see Koski 2009).

Due to the Europeanisation of Finnish VET, neo-liberal reasoning frames the curriculum and more explicitly, the objectives of SBLS. However, teachers and students displayed the power, at least to some extent, to disrupt the discourse of neo-liberalism. SBLS lessons constituted an arena where disruption was possible,

and where there was a space for critical thinking. Historical tendencies were used critically to scrutinise marketization as well as entrepreneurship. What might this mean for young people growing up in suburban settings, who intend to work in the care sector which provides relative security of employment, although poorly paid? In fact it cuts both ways. On the one hand, the critique of neoliberal policies can be understood as a counter politics (Youdell 2011 p. 15–16), which takes the form of everyday struggle or resistance, provokes awareness of forms of governance, and, at best, awakens a sense of political agency among young people. On the other hand, when preparing students simply as wage earners, the risk is that their future vision is simply to become skillful and caring workers at the lowest levels of the public sector. Their vocational education and training thus becomes merely the reproduction of a discourse of 'lack of alternative', which according to Skeggs (1997, p. 161) is a central feature of being working class. Fulfilling individual aspirations is a luxury primarily available to white, middle class high achieving youth. Moreover, the female-dominated field of HS is poorly paid compared with other male-dominated vocational sectors. There is an equity problem where belonging is based on individuals' market and consumption positioning. Thus the challenge in educating these young people from the city and the suburbs in particular is how to problematize and disrupt prevailing discourses of neoliberalism without destroying their hopes and ambitions for the future.

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Chapter 39

‘We Are Not Interested in Knowledge for Its Own Sake. Knowledge Should Be Put into Motion...’ Young Adults, Social Mobilization and Learning in Poor, Multi-ethnic Suburbs in Sweden’s Metropolitan Districts

Ove Sernhede

39.1 Aims and Method

In recent times we have seen hopeful signals from many multi-ethnic high-rise suburbs in the metropolitan districts of Sweden. Young people have formed organizations with explicitly articulated objectives to help themselves, and others in similar situations, to acquire knowledge and apply the knowledge in constructive dialogue rather than engage with authorities through Molotov cocktails and police confrontation. Drawing inspiration from hip-hop culture, the tradition of adult education that was once crucial for the Swedish labor movement, and global narratives, a new social movement is seeking a voice in local and national policy-making. A broader public became aware of these developments in the aftermath of widespread riots by youths in Stockholm in 2013, when representatives of the organizations offered articulate explanations for the violence in marginalized suburbs (without condoning it) on various media platforms.

This chapter initially outlines the socio-economic background that engendered this new form of suburban mobilization. It focuses mainly on an organization called *The Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb* in Gothenburg (hereafter the Panthers). However, two other influential organizations are also considered: *The Megaphone* in Stockholm, and *The Voice and Face of the Street* in Malmö. A key theoretical aim is to acquire contextualized understanding of the organizations’

The title relates to a quote from Sandor, a 26-year old informant with a Bolivian background and member of *The Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb*.

A **young adult** is, according to Erik H Erikson (1993), anyone who is 20–30 years old, a category mainly used in professions related to healthcare and social work.

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knowledge-seeking and mobilizing activities, as well as the purposeful learning processes embedded in their everyday practices. A subsequent practical aim is to apply any understanding gained to consider lessons that compulsory schools run by the municipality could potentially learn from the joyful and purposeful learning the organizations espouse in their daily activities.

The chapter is largely based on information gathered in an ongoing research project, financed by the Swedish Research Council (VR), entitled *The Suburb and the Renaissance for Adult Education: Adult Youths' Self-controlled Communities of Practices, for Learning and Social Mobilization in Poor Neighbourhoods in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö*. The collected data are ethnographic, mainly gathered through participant observations and interviews (Beach 1995; Willis 1977, 2004) together with 'netnographic' examination of ways that members of the Panthers interact and communicate through social media.¹ In accordance with the aims of the project (and this chapter) informants are selected through procedures that Morgan (1998) calls 'purposive sampling', i.e. from contacts made in the ethnographic fieldwork. All the individual interviews are semi-structured and carried out in the neighbourhoods where the organizations are rooted and active.

39.2 The Structure of the Chapter and Some Theoretical Considerations

Young people's knowledge-seeking practices and engagement in civil society activities are complex and multi-faceted, especially in areas marked by segregation and multidimensional poverty. Therefore, limiting research to a single theoretical perspective would, at best, severely restrict the insights that could be obtained. Thus the first part of the chapter provides background information about this new social movement, identifying and considering the key shared elements of the focal organizations' socio-economic and cultural contexts. During the last three decades Sweden has been transformed into a society with very similar patterns of inequality to those of many other European countries. To understand these societal traits and how the development of Swedish society has affected people in different social and economic positions knowledge of contemporary national and international research on segregation, exclusion and new patterns of poverty is highly valuable (Bourdieu et al. 1999; Salonen 2013; Wacquant 2008). Post-colonial theory (Appadurai 1997; Hall 1996) is also crucial in this respect as well as knowledge of urban studies theories on space, social order and identity related to theories of marginalization and citizenship (Bunar and Sernhede 2013; Dikec 2007; Harvey 1989, 2009).

The second part of the chapter presents the three organizations mentioned, the tensions that fostered their creation, the main issues they address and their articu-

¹Netnography is the branch of [ethnography](#) that analyses the behaviour of individuals and groups on the Internet. Netnography uses online marketing research techniques to provide useful insights. The term "netnography" was coined by Robert Kozinets (1998).

lated objectives. The third part focuses more closely on the Panthers, analysing (*inter alia*) the organization's knowledge-promoting and other (intimately associated) social mobilization activities. For this purpose there is a need for theories on civil society from political science (Putnam 2000; Rothstein 2003) and sociological theories on social movements (Castells 1983, 2010). Knowledge of insights gained from studies on the democracy-strengthening potential of adult education is also important (Du Bois 1998; Gustavsson 1995). This part of the chapter also analyses in more detail forms of learning that are embedded in the everyday practises of organizations like the Panthers, thus there is a need for theoretical understanding of learning processes (Fornäs et al. 1995; Lave and Wenger 1991).

39.3 Background and Social Preconditions

In the summer of 2013 a series of intense youth uprisings in several Stockholm suburbs took much of the world by surprise. For a week Swedish youth hit the headlines in global media. Sweden had not seen unrest on such scale since the hunger riots that raged in Swedish cities during the First World War. However, for anyone aware of the impact on Swedish societal life of the rapid neo-liberalization that began in the late 1980s, angry responses in the urban margins to alienation, unemployment, austerity and modern poverty were neither surprising nor new.² The uprising started in Husby, a poor high-rise neighbourhood in the north-west of Stockholm, after a resident was killed by a policeman. The police statement about the event was not consistent with what actually happened. Everybody knew this since some inhabitants had video recordings of the incident. The police have long had a bad reputation in the area and many local inhabitants said they perceived the statement of the police as an officially sanctioned offensive act, in line with harassments they experienced more or less daily. During the course of 5 or 6 days tensions grew and one evening violent confrontations between large groups of youth and the police erupted.³

²In English a suburb has various definitions. A common one is a distinct residential area (usually, but not always, populated by middle class people) within commuting distance of a city centre. In contemporary Sweden suburb essentially refers to physically and socially segregated, poverty-stricken, immigrant-rich, high-rise fringes of major cities, similar to high-rise 'sink estates' in the UK and 'housing projects' in the USA. The Metropolitan Committee (Storstadskommittén) established by the Swedish Parliament in the 1990s to study metropolitan neighbourhoods delivered several reports on living conditions in these areas that were generally characterized as socially vulnerable.

³This sequence of events has parallels to the Cynthia Jarrett case in Tottenham (London), 1985, the Rodney King case in Los Angeles, 1992, the Paris riots in 2005, and the widespread riots in London 2011. On all of these occasions police actions prompted victims' relatives and neighbors to demand explanations and independent investigations. The inability of the police to provide credible explanations was a major source of festering irritations that eventually triggered riots.

The scale of attention these events received in the media throughout this week of turmoil also contributed to their spread to a number of smaller municipalities around Sweden. International media perceived the events as particularly disturbing and shocking because they conflicted with deeply engrained stereotyped images of Sweden.

In contrast, the Swedish public has become increasingly familiar with reports of cars being set alight and police charges against young people in the suburbs of metropolitan areas. Rosengård in Malmö and Tensta in Stockholm were sites of similar tumultuous scenes during the winter of 2008, followed by Gottsunda in Uppsala and both Biskopsgården and Angered in Gothenburg during the summer of 2009. Clearly the poor immigrant-dominated suburbs in the metropolitan areas have become arenas where social tensions that are deeply embedded in Swedish society are sharply displayed. Although Sweden was never one of the main colonial powers in Europe, there are still many parallels to the situation in countries like the UK, France and The Netherlands. Post-colonial conditions characterized by a polarization between “us” and “them” have during the last decades divided the Swedish society. Racism and otherization of groups with non-western, ethnic background is also prominent in many ways in contemporary Sweden (Appadurai 1997, Hall 1996, Sernhede 2002).

39.3.1 From “Welfare” to “Workfare”

A report published in 2013 by the Central Bureau of Statistics of the European Union, EUROSTAT, shows that nearly 120 million of the EU’s 505 million citizens are living in relative poverty. According to a recent report published in 2015 by Oxfam, “A Europe for the Many, Not for the Few” the figures are even higher. The frequency and intensity of the explosive disturbances around Europe during the past decade must be understood against a background where large groups of emerging generations are stuck in positions of permanent marginality. Many youngsters have lost (or never had) footholds in society and are living in extremely precarious conditions. The high rate of unemployment is not conditioned by business cycles but entirely by structural factors.

The French sociologist Loïc Wacquant (2009) has claimed that society has abandoned “welfare” for “workfare”, which is tantamount to substituting “regulation of the poor” for “punishing the poor”.⁴ Wacquant argues that the state has assumed a Janus face. While the upper, privileged layers of society have acquired increasingly freer means to realize desires and aspirations those worst off are exposed to increasingly harsh conditions and pressures. Levels of allowances have decreased, employment policies are stressing ‘personal responsibilities’ rather than rights and in the

⁴Other scholars, among others Bauman (1998), Bourdieu et al. (1999), Crouch (2005), Harvey (2005), Therborn (2013) and Atkinson (2015), have reached similar conclusions from different points of departure.

deprived districts of metropolitan areas social policy has been replaced by steadily heavier police actions.

The events in the suburbs of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö must be seen as reactions to the increasingly inequitable patterns of urban development in Sweden. During the past two decades prosperity and wealth (in terms of disposable income) have grown substantially in certain parts of the cities, but remained static or even declined in other parts (Andersson et al. 2009; Lundqvist 2014). The increasing gaps in every relevant parameter – standard of living, habitation, health and wealth – are truly shocking. Indeed, socio-economic gaps and differences in income have been widening more in relative terms in Sweden than in any other OECD country (OECD 2013).

The Swedish government's own investigations have shown that more than 40 % of young people between 20 and 25 years old living in deprived and (hence) exposed districts of metropolitan areas are neither studying nor working (Regeringskansliet 2012). More than half of the children in these districts are growing up in families defined as living below the poverty line. More than half of those who are leaving 9-year compulsory schooling also lack sufficient qualifications to proceed to the next educational level. However, the major triggers of the explosive events are not relative deprivation, lack of health, poor education, or crowded living conditions. Instead, the main factors appear to be social stratification, its clear manifestation in spatial segregation, and an unwelcome consequence of today's neoliberal urban development: the city-branding that makes certain parts of towns more attractive than others (Harvey 1989; Sassen 2001).

Some parts of cities become trendy, fashionable and affluent in this process, but others can become victims of what Wacquant describes as "territorial stigma", the "badlands" of contemporary urban landscapes (Wacquant 2008). Those hardest hit by the processes of advanced and structurally permanent marginalization are forced to live in these areas. Equally important to the sheer segregation this imposes are the social and psychological consequences of the new hierarchies of living quarters. Segregation is spawning a "place-ism", as people's residential addresses are increasingly important components of their identity (Dikeç 2007; Harvey 2009; Sernhede 2002). Those living at stigmatized addresses are frequently perceived by others, and themselves, as "losers". Many see themselves as being locked into their own suburb, lacking education, any kind of desirable future and hope. The consequent frustrations are exacerbated by experiences of discrimination, second-class citizenship, police harassment and feelings of wrath and grief induced by seeing the lack of respect with which their parents are treated by Swedish society.

The youths' uprisings should not be regarded as a social movement in a conventional sense (Castells 1983), because the rebellious groups of youths involved were not organized collectives with an explicit program intent on changing society. Nevertheless, they expressed, with varying degrees of coherence, demands for social justice. In this sense there is a clear parallel with what the French cultural geographer Mustafa Dikeç (2007) discusses in the most exhaustive analysis of the events in the autumn of 2005 in France. The rebellion spread from Paris to 300 urban areas and was quashed only after the introduction of a state of emergency and

the drafting of 25,000 extra policemen. This nation-wide uprising is described by Dikeç as an inarticulate social movement of justice.⁵

39.4 Youth and Social Mobilization in the Metropolitan Districts of Sweden

As mentioned earlier a more organized movement is also growing, of young people who do not see petrol bombs and battles with the police as solutions to their problems. Instead, they are interested in developing alternative strategies for achieving social justice in the metropolitan districts of Sweden, which are more consistent with key aspects of what is generally considered a social movement. A distinctive feature of this movement is the realization that burning cars and throwing stones at the police may create media headlines, but soon becomes counterproductive, causing suburban districts to be even more stigmatized and tightly controlled by the police. Those involved also recognize starkly different requirements (long-term social and political investments) to enable inhabitants in these districts to improve their position. With self-evident authority, young articulate voices spoke during the riots from within the eye of the storm, and a different more nuanced picture of the suburbs than the current stereotype has become perceptible. Cars being set on fire and stone-throwing cannot be defended, but the background of these events must be illuminated in order to elucidate them.

In *Stockholm* part of this new movement is called **The Megaphone**. It encompasses various agencies, but lecture activities run by a group called *Harakat* are essential to the Megaphone project as a whole. *Harakat*, which is defined as a “*forum for important social issues and dialogue*”, has for some years invited speakers from all over the country, mainly from universities, but also politicians and celebrities. Globalization, segregation, right-wing populism, and racism are some of the themes that have been discussed in recent years. *Harakat* is not just about learning and knowledge in a traditional academic sense, it is an Arabic word that also includes motion, use of knowledge to create action or motion and (hence) in this context, social mobilization. The Megaphone, driven by a group of young adults from Husby and other suburbs, is committed to increasing residents’ participation in local development and is also involved in cultural activities and various forms of educational work. “*We see society’s shortcomings and want to be part of the solution*”. The Megaphone sees “*the exchange of knowledge, insight and inspiration*” as the basis for “*commitment and change*”. In addition to seminars and lectures, they organize events like “*Everybody is Creative*”, a festival inviting all residents to participate in creations of “*colour and shape*” on the streets and squares of Husby. Under the motto *From Tahir to Husby*, The Megaphone has also actively engaged in advocacy and organized demonstrations against social cutbacks in deprived neighbourhoods

⁵The discussion on definition of a social movement is too extensive to cover in this chapter, see Touraine (1981), Melucci (1996), Castells (1983, 2010) and della Porta and Tarrow (2005).

of North East Stockholm. The Megaphone has applied to the Swedish Board for Adult Education for authorisation to start a college for adult education – a Folk High School (Folkhögskola) – focusing on urban studies to extend *Harakat* efforts to acquire knowledge about and practically address segregation and inequality. Its website, www.megafonen.com, states that “*the improvement and exchange of knowledge, insight and inspiration [will be the basis for political change]*”. The Megaphone has also actively sought to influence opinions, and opinion-makers.’

In *Malmö* the organization called **The Movement for the Voice and the Face of the Street** has emerged from hip-hop culture and is deeply rooted in highrise suburban areas where most of the population have immigrant backgrounds. The organization arranges seminars, conferences and workshops on diverse aspects of numerous (largely humanities) subjects, ranging for instance from youth culture in *Malmö* through national issues and the political situation in third world countries, to the history of colonialism and global environmental issues. It has its own radio station, arranges concerts and has developed a pedagogy of its own, linked to writing rap lyrics. The more experienced members are prominent in the media, in diverse capacities and formats, for instance participating in talk shows, interviews, and lectures all over Sweden. The organization has also established what it calls the Street Academy, offering courses designed to help under 20-year-olds “give vent to their creativity” by writing, recording songs and producing films. The Movement for the Voice and the Face of the Street is now relatively well established and supported by the local housing company owned by *Malmö* Municipality. In their own words on their website, www.rgra.se, they define themselves as follows: “*We believe in creative learning and personal development by allowing participants to discover and develop their talents. When the individual is at the centre of a creative process his or her confidence can be strengthened. The Movement for the Voice and the Face of the Street is about providing tools, the individual must find his or her personal motivation, energy and strength. We design our activities in line with participants’ commitment and ideas and create opportunities for participants to express these ideas in the way they prefer or want to explore. The goal is to create awareness among the young people we have contact with, through practical action to create opportunities so that they, in turn, can change the context through the way they reflect and critically observe artificial facts.*”

In *Gothenburg* a group of unemployed adult youth with diverse immigrant backgrounds started **The Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb**, in *Biskopsgården* – hereafter *Bishop’s Yard* – in the winter of 2011 (www.pantrarna.wordpress.com). The organization is strongly influenced by the way the Black Panther Party (formed in California in the USA in 1967), gave black people pride in being black. Similarly, the Swedish Panthers wanted to endow the immigrant youths in the poor suburbs with pride and strength. The Panthers of *Gothenburg* was founded during a process in which some young adults mobilized large numbers of both young and old people to oppose social cuts in general, particularly the closure of a youth club and cuts in school staff. There were also fierce demands for the local authorities to provide a meeting place for young unemployed adults, who simply had nowhere to meet except for the streets. Deficiencies in this mobilization and

articulation of demands led the activists to see the need for an organization, so they formed Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb. The confrontation with the local politicians was quite intense and strongly covered in media. Finally the Panthers succeeded, as they obtained promises from politicians to help in the creation of a meeting place for young people in the area. This gained the organization a lot of credibility among young people all over the city of Gothenburg. The Panthers had contacts with the Megaphone and adopted their idea of Harakat. In the last 3 years they have arranged a series of Harakat seminars of their own in Gothenburg. The organization has also sharply criticized the policing of their residential areas and made some spectacular gains in relation to the stereotypical portraits of their suburbs in local media. The Gothenburg Panthers' routines include organizing workshops, engaging in camp activities, arranging football tournaments, attending political meetings, mobilizing young people in the area to demand better schools, and associated activities such as arranging study groups for pupils who need help with their homework.

The realization that raised voices and constructive actions may make a difference triggered similar activities by young people in all the suburbs of metropolitan Gothenburg. A common denominator of the three major movements – the Megaphone, Voice and Face of the Street, and the Panthers – is that their points of departure are taken from narratives with significant historical and global references. The Panthers explicitly find inspiration in the more militant parts of the black civil rights movement in North America, The Movement for the Voice and the Face of the Street has been strongly influenced by self-organization activities of the poor in Brazil's *favelas* and the Arab Spring has strongly influenced The Megaphone from the start.

39.5 A Deeper Look into the Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb

A key trigger of the Panthers' emergence was the global financial crisis of 2008–2009,⁶ particularly its rapid impact on Swedish industries. Factories in Gothenburg greatly reduced their work forces during 2009 and many uneducated young people from the immigrant-rich suburbs lost their jobs. Mullan X, a 25-year-old male interviewee with a Kurdish background and one of the Panthers' founders, describes the background to the organization's birth as follows:

You know what happened when so many of us with darker skin from the neighborhood here in Bishop's Yard received notices from Volvo ... and there was a lot of us you know ... we got the feeling that we were worthless, we were second-class citizens and antagonisms

⁶Three researchers are engaged in the research project *The Suburb and the Renaissance for Adult Education*: Dr René Leon-Rosales, Associate Professor Johan Södermalm, and Professor Ove Sernhede who are respectively based in and responsible for collecting data collection Stockholm, Malmö and Gothenburg.

between people escalated, it became worse and worse, and then people started shooting at each other with guns. The situation we have today, with fights between different groups or gangs grew out of the desperation caused by the crisis. I was kicked out from the factory because I did not have a high school diploma, so I started at the Folk High School.

Mullan X is not the only one who began to take courses at the Folk High School in Bishop's Yard. Many with the same background started a new educational career as a result of job losses in the manufacturing or construction industry. Few young men and women from Bishop's Yard had previously considered the Folk High School as an option, although it had been in the area for many years and was widely known to have strong social commitment.

39.5.1 A Revival of Adult Education (Folkbildning)

In the above quotation, Mullan X tells us that social tensions with deep historical roots played key roles in the Panthers' formation. Such tensions were also major parts of the Folk High School of Bishop's Yard's curriculum. Resonant themes covered by the school included (*inter alia*) the history of the Swedish workers' movement, creation of the welfare state, history of immigration into Sweden, post-colonialism, neoliberalism, and racism in Sweden. This school is part of Gothenburg Folk High School and today is mainly financed through funding from the State, but the whole idea of Folk High Schools emerged more than 150 years ago as a way of providing education for the peasantry. In the late nineteenth century they became crucial elements of the workers' movement as providers of an important form of adult education. Then the trade unions and workers parties financed the Folk High School system. At that time it provided the only route for the working classes to obtain knowledge and education on premises they collectively owned. It also formed a cornerstone of *Folkbildning*, a form of adult public education, together with various associations that organized study circles, sporting activities or clubs in factories and neighbourhoods. The explicit aim then was to mobilize people through knowledge and learning. The goals of the Folk High School in Bishop's Yard today are even more oriented towards addressing social issues, with a mission to involve individuals in self-reinforcing, empowering processes (thereby strengthening democracy and addressing inequities). The Folk High School was a strong social force in the heyday of the workers' movement, and it is still important in poor Swedish metropolitan districts (Rubenson 1995).

The Folk High School of Gothenburg presents itself on its website as follows:

- Gothenburg Folk High School should through education challenge and provide tools for social change and create participation for a democratic and inclusive society.
- By pursuing sustainable and qualitative activities we want to be a leading organization in public education.

Mullan X and others in similar circumstances have declared that they can identify with the whole idea and tradition of the Folk High School. He continues in the interview quoted above:

The way they taught at the Folk High School was different from what I was used to at school. The teachers were interested in me and I became interested in school. I had heard about Martin Luther King before. I was interested in politics so I had wide knowledge of Latin America and Che Guevara, and so on ... then at the Folk High School I started reading about Martin Luther King and I read about Malcolm X. Then I wondered what came after Malcolm X when he was assassinated, what happened? King was also killed, that's when I learned about the Black Panther Party (BPP). What I saw was people of color with confidence, aware of where they wanted to achieve, and they were interested in questions of power. This I liked. Every organization needs a trigger to create an identity.

The organization grew very quickly during the first year and in 2012 the Panthers arranged the first ever Mayday celebration in Bishop's Yard. Bobby Seal, the founding father of the Black Panther Party in the US, was invited and gave a speech. A thousand people participated in this whole-day event, which also included several hip-hop concerts, poetry readings etc. In the next Mayday celebration the Panthers were supported by international speakers like Emory Douglas, the former Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party, and radical internationally acclaimed hip-hop acts like *Dead Prez*, who also participated in seminars and workshops with local rappers. The events were bigger than the Labour movement's traditional Mayday demonstrations in the centre of the City. Through these activities, the Panthers showed that it had become a mature organization that had no problems collaborating with ABF, the cultural branch of the labour movement, or the University of Gothenburg. In 2014 the Panthers arranged a whole day and night festival called *Speak Your Mind* on Mayday, for the first time outside Bishop's Yard. The festival was held in Angered, the biggest poor high-rise suburban area in Gothenburg with 50,000 inhabitants. More than 5,000 people from all over Gothenburg attended the event, listened to the music and talks, had a sandwich and coffee in the park, checked out the art exhibition, played with children, bought books and joined in discussions etc.

The Panthers have also received recognition for interventions in media debates and serious seminars, such as a series they arranged entitled *Harakat*, which have been widely popular and attended by many people outside the organization. Sandor, a 26-year-old male with parents born in Bolivia, explains that the Panthers have adopted *Harakat* from the Megaphone and gives his perspective on knowledge and learning:

Harakat is not just lectures, the actual *Harakat* is getting knowledge and using it, *Harakat* means motion and knowledge should be put into motion, we are not interested in knowledge for its own sake. *Harakat* is a process. A lecture may be good but a lecture is not [by itself] *Harakat*. This is our philosophy when it comes to seeking knowledge, so to speak. *Harakat* is more like: 'Give me this knowledge because I need it, I intend to go out and change the way things are...'

A major theme of discussion within the Panthers has been how to realize their educational ambitions. Alkani, a 19-year-old female Panther born in Iran, also sees a connection to local religious everyday life:

The Panthers need to get together with the college thing, but that is a long way ... so we started getting smaller and we made Harakat, you know various lectures. For that's what people want. People like to go to lectures, we have this tradition in our neighborhoods, you know ... on Friday we listen to lectures in the mosque and stuff. There are many who go. One may not believe that there are so many young people who go to the mosque to listen to lectures, but there really are. Every time I went to lectures in the mosque there were perhaps 20 young people there, sitting in one of those small local mosques and listening to someone talking about different stuff, so we are used to like having seminars and stuff...

The Panthers have many ideas, but now they are planning to establish a Folk High School focusing on the creative arts, together with the Association for the Promotion of Art, which has an established presence in the Swedish folkbildning system. In the near future they also intend to start vocational training courses in professions with recognized manpower shortages. They run creative training courses in fields such as journalism, creative writing, and filmmaking. Indeed, young people of the suburbs with immigrant backgrounds seem to be showing more drive and interest than anyone else in preserving and developing the heritage of the social movements that founded and cemented the democratic ethos of Swedish society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, here too hip-hop culture has enabled dissemination and realization of key ideas. In Sweden youths in a rap-group or B-boy crew can easily form a study circle, which (as a modern form of traditional social movement-based educational organization) entitles them to subsidies from the State. During the past 20 years these educational organizations have functioned as a kind of alternative school system for young people in the focal neighbourhoods. Here they have learned about their own history and, hence, acquired understanding of their own position in Swedish society. Moreover, they have learnt how to organize themselves and develop strategies to counter discrimination and denials of citizenship.

39.5.2 *The Local and the Global*

The Panthers of Gothenburg regard themselves as participants in global battlefronts for justice and democracy. As Alkani, the 19-year old female Panther activist born in Iran mentioned above, said in an interview:

It feels like it all fits together, we are a part of the world as well ... it really is the whole world it is all about ... there is a global upper class and ... yes, but there are struggles all over the world as well. And that is precisely the problem, there is an upper class here in this country and in the world. And it is (laughs) an obstacle to our freedom ... it's wrong that a small minority has access to more than 50 percent, or whatever it is, of all our resources on the whole earth... and the only way to resolve it is to allocate the resources. But it doesn't seem like they want to do that ... still we'll have to do it ...

It is not difficult to understand how this perspective has come to be incorporated in the Panthers' understanding of the world order. It is part of a range of ideas that are related to and inter-woven with the continuous inter-cultural dialogues in a

neighbourhood like Bishop's Yard. An interesting dynamic aspect is the extreme ethnic heterogeneity in Swedish suburbs, and accompanying hybridization processes. The people who live in the "Million Programme" areas have roots and connections spanning the entire globe.⁷ These neighbourhoods often contain no more than 7–8,000 people, but their residents often speak more than 100 languages. No ethnic group dominates over any other group. In Gothenburg, a city with more than 500,000 inhabitants, there are dozens of such neighbourhoods.

Mullan X gives the following perspective on the Panthers' relation to current post-colonial conditions:

The Black Panther Party said that they were a result of colonialism, black people were in the United States because of slavery and colonialism, and I could identify with that. We are in Sweden not because we are slaves but because there has been interference in our home countries, the involvement of the US and other powers that led to my parents being forced to flee, so we are also a result of colonialism and imperialism. I live in Sweden, I was born here but I'm not Swedish, and I'm not Turkish - black people in the United States are not seen as full citizens of the USA, and they are not Africans either – we Kurds are children of the same colonial oppression and we are in exile in France, Germany, England and so on without being Europeans. Our parents were grateful that they were given shelter here, but we young people are no longer so grateful, we do not want to be second-class citizens and that is why we are part of the same movement as BPP and that's why we say that we want change, 'By any means necessary'.

Many commentators assume that there is little solidarity and community in multi-ethnic areas in the European metropolises, in contrast to traditional working class areas. However, in major Swedish cities (at least) they appear to be generating new forms of collective identities and strategies for dignified living rooted in their specific contexts. This applies primarily to young people who continually meet and interact in their everyday lives: in the streets, schools, youth clubs, etc. They develop communities and friendships that do not recognize many of the ethnic boundaries enclosing their parents. Several studies have shown how hip-hop culture in these areas provides a basis for multi-ethnic meetings that can also be described as ethnic alliances. In all the areas where these new forms of social mobilization are emerging we may also identify a history of strong local hip-hop environments that have often come to represent specific suburbs (Sernhede 2005, 2011). However, as already mentioned, there is also an equally important domestic historical dimension that may surprise those who lack familiarity with the attitudes, commitments and activities of youths in the suburbs constructed in the "Million Programme". Following the traditional ethos embedded in late nineteenth century Swedish social movements (revivalist and temperance, as well as the workers' adult education movements), the Panthers demand the recognition and rehabilitation of marginalized groups who have been forced out into the urban periphery by the coercive transformation process of recent decades.

⁷The Million Program was an ambitious politically motivated housing program realized in 1965–1975. It was intended to rehouse less well-off residents of dated buildings. It represented the biggest political venture of both the Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Welfare State. Today these dwellings in the urban periphery house the poor, immigrant part of the Swedish population.

The Panthers could be considered a community of practice, in the sense that they provide a communicative environment where language is a mediating resource for learning and meaning construction (Lave and Wenger 1991; Nielsen and Kvale 2000; Wenger 1998). All learning is both an individual and a collective process. Communities of practice are characterized by social activities, through which skills, knowledge and values are acquired. The participants in a community of practice develop patterns of meaning as well as identity. Research has shown that many young people living in disadvantaged suburbs have a habitus and access to cultural capital that are of limited relevance to their ability to succeed in school (Bourdieu 1986; Bunar 2001, 2010; Runfors 2003; Sernhede 2011). As schools in these areas often neglect young people's potentials for learning, it is important to explore what and how young people learn in contexts that they constitute themselves.

39.5.3 *Learning Processes in the Panthers' Everyday Praxis*

The experience of being regarded as a second-class citizen because you live in the wrong neighborhood, have the wrong skin color, speak Swedish with the wrong accent, or have the wrong last name has led to the emergence of various counter-strategies. In this respect, the Panthers could be seen as a manifestation of a collective compensatory, and identity-creating process (Fornäs et al. 1995).

The Panthers actively reflect on the surrounding world as well as on their representation of themselves as a group. The commitment, earnestness and intensity shown by the Panthers are seldom found in the compulsory schools situated in Bishop's Yard or other high-rise suburbs. The behavior patterns manifested in the group's relations with the surrounding world, the members' interactions with each other, and their attitudes to work within the organization, are major constituents of the organization's identity. The Panthers' strategically oriented ambitions can be seen in how the group represents itself (on posters, and through their style of dressing, speech and behavior in public, etc.), and in the communication patterns and self-understanding that develops within the group. However, there are also aspects of the group's activities that are less reflective and thus may be considered less conscious sides of this community of practice. From this perspective, we can see how the Panthers as a community of practice is engaged in strategic as well as non-reflective processes.

A political organization such as the Panthers and a school are obviously strikingly different arenas for learning. Notably, the learning that occurs in a group such as the Panthers involves competences that have not largely been acquired through formal training or courses, but through sheer necessity to respond to the external social environment. Immediately apparent is the groups' acquisition of several *practical skills* and *administrative capabilities*. Members of the Panthers may learn (for example) to manage study circles, handle the group's finances, arrange and conduct meetings, or advertise various activities. In addition, and most importantly, they develop *cognitive knowledge*. This is crucial because in order to have and artic-

ulate coherent visions for changing a society one must clearly know a great deal about how the local society functions, historical matters, current laws, the governance and economics of the municipality etc. The Harakat seminars, with invited speakers from academia, the political parties, and officials from various agencies in the city, are all related to such issues. However, the importance of national and global socio-economic histories and current trends is also recognized, as well as local events, and many Harakat seminars have focused on key issues in the post-colonial world. These are crucial elements of the Panthers' understanding of their position in Swedish society. For this reason, amongst others, they read and discuss texts such as the Brazilian theologian Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and the French-speaking West Indian philosopher and psychiatrist Franz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*. Selima comments:

When we read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* we understood the crucial importance of our own experience and history. That discussion helped us to understand our own struggle in a historical perspective and relate what we do here in Sweden today to what our parents did in the countries where they were born...

The acquisition of such practical, administrative and cognitive abilities exemplifies a kind of learning that is also prominent in the schools. But this learning occurs in an activist collective for the purpose of satisfying subjectively experienced needs to change conditions the members think are unfair.

39.5.4 Gender Issues

Back in the 1960s the Black Panther Party was accused of being an organization with strong macho ideals (Bloom and Martin Jr 2013; Wallace 1978). The women in the organization played an inconspicuous role in the political agenda that the Black Panthers created (with some exceptions, notably Angela Davis, even if she was not a member *per se*). Similarly, in recent decades there has been strong criticism of the male-domination in hip-hop culture, which is slated for being a misogynist, sexist, homophobic and (heterosexual) male-glorifying culture. The debate on life patterns in urban immigrant-rich suburbs has also focused on gender issues and many social commentators have argued that there is widespread oppression of women in these districts.

The young adults in the Panthers are well aware of this discussion about the living conditions in their own suburbs. It is true that the organization was started by young males, and that few females were initially involved. However, this has changed. Mullan X:

When we started, we had only one girl and 14 guys, and now it is becoming quite the opposite. I can't explain it, in fact I don't know if there is an explanation, but I can say why there were more guys at first. It's because the ones who came up with the idea knew more guys. But you know there have been problems in our neighborhood to create a place for boys and girls to meet, so it has been very gender segregated. But in the Panthers it's fifty-fifty right now, there is maybe a slight advantage for girls and it's good ... we live in Sweden, we're conscious in a different way about gender, but when we formed our organization it was

mostly guys. You know hip-hop when it started in Sweden it was only guys, but in a very short time it has changed, the girls have taken over. It's the same with the Megaphone, the girls have taken over and the same with the Panthers, and the girls are making their way to the top of hip-hop in Sweden too ... I think it's very invigorating for them that they're building their Feminism as Creoles, there's an extra strength and that has set up a women's movement in the Panthers called Hayat.

The mentioned feminist organization within the Panthers called Hayat was initiated by Alkani, she tells how it happened:

It started when we had a dinner for girls arranged by the Panthers, it was during Ramadan ... there were maybe ... 45 girls and we were in the Kurdish PKK head office in the main square. Then we discussed things, and thought that we should do something to strengthen the girls. So we decided to create our own organization within the other organization, we thought that this might help the Panthers, to organize the girls. In the beginning there were not many, we started a boxing club for girls too.

Interviewer: What does Hayat mean?

A: Hayat means life in Arabic. That was what we talked about, what we do with our lives and we do it for our lives: this is no hobby.

During the past 2 years, more and more young women have joined the Panthers, due to strategic efforts to raise the profile of females in the organization. Whenever the Panthers are invited to participate in a conference, seminar, demonstration or protest meeting they must be represented by both a male and a female. The organization's new chairperson is Selima, a 24-year-old woman of Palestinian origin who has already been quoted. She has meant a lot to many of the girls and young women who have joined the organization. Like many of the other members I have interviewed, she strongly relates to hip-hop and strongly insists that females are represented as well as men on all levels in the organization:

I've always felt the oppressive structures. They've been there during my childhood. But it's been more a feeling that I don't fit in here ... Society isn't for people like me, so I have to adapt myself. But I can't ... I can never be like an ordinary Swede. The feeling has always been there ... then I started thinking 'But why is it like this?'. I feel that this is my country ... but why am I not allowed to make myself feel that way?! Then I understood that I have to do something about this. I was inspired by hip-hop ... you know the entire movement in the United States ... it was so inspiring, the movement began through culture, music and lyrics, people began to express how they felt ... all the injustice and so on and I also felt that. And then came the Panthers and put what I felt into words. The Panthers gave me the theoretical concepts and explained my feelings. We also talked about our gender roles ... what it meant to be a boy and what it meant to be a girl ... the Panthers really encourage me and every girl to take part in the work, and now I think that the girls do most of the talk and much of the work.

39.5.5 The Panthers' Knowledge-Promoting Practices: A Summary Analysis

By organizing *Harakat* seminars and events like *Speak Your Mind* the Panthers of Gothenburg engage in concrete educational and democratization processes that are key elements of *folkbildning* (Rubenson 1995). Scandinavian *folkbildning* has close

connections to democratic processes, and can be linked to the concept of empowerment. From a global perspective, the African American intellectual Du Bois (1903/1999) had similar thoughts about self-education and its connection to the German tradition of 'Bildung'. He was convinced that people could be empowered, attain self-esteem and gain full citizenship through holistic education. The Panthers from Bishop's Yard in Gothenburg explicitly refer to Du Bois and his thoughts on "double consciousness" as an inspiration. Folkbildning may also be considered a particular learning tradition within a specific social context and with a specific purpose. Hence, it can be seen as a movement to provide politically charged education for the general population. Folkbildning is also strongly connected to the process of self-education and regarded within a Scandinavian context as crucial, not only for civil society but also for every human being's liberation, regardless of tradition, class, and place in society (Gustavsson 1995).

Just as the labor movement once created its own cultural and educational organizations in order to instill sufficient courage via knowledge to demand universal suffrage and access to social rights, young people of the suburbs today engage in mobilization via seminars, study circles, lectures, homework assistance, and cultural arrangements. In addition their own cultural articulation and expressions will enable acquisition of the knowledge required to attain self-confidence and authority. Where the regular school has failed alternative structures are about to be created. These may well provide second chances for all those who lack education and hence hope for the future.

Previous research on processes related to civil society has largely neglected the roles of young adults, and the social implications of learning processes (formal and informal) outside the school system. Ethnographic research on youth from poor neighbourhoods has mainly focused on groups or collectives that have access to channels for developing their own musical cultures and multi-ethnic communities (Sernhede 2002; Sernhede and Söderman 2010).

The Panthers consciously raise social, pedagogical, and political issues in efforts to improve local civil society. Research on civil society has highlighted the importance of trust for a socially coherent society and the development of social movements (Putnam 2000; Rothstein 2003). Other studies have (similarly) noted the need for credibility and reliability for a civil society that functions well, and sustainable social mobilization (Blackmar 2006; Ostrom 1990). Sociologists have also noted the necessity of symbolic systems capable of disseminating messages to the world inside and outside the group, symbolic production that also strengthens the group's identity (Castells 1983, 2010). The Panthers are clearly well aware of all these requirements, although they have not read the academic research on these matters. Urban studies research has pointed out the importance of "urban commons" as foundations for the emergence of vibrant institutions in our contemporary, globalized civil society (Harvey 2012). The Panthers' activities can be seen as efforts to develop a form of such "commons" – spaces where trust, common norms, reliability and forms for symbolic communication can be developed. Similarly, the Panthers seems to be aware of points raised in academic discussions regarding gender power order, the construction of gender and associated issues, although they have never been involved in such discussions, at least formally (Connell 1995; Gilroy 2000).

39.6 Discussion and Tentative Conclusions

The emergence of the Panthers has raised issues that generally receive relatively little attention in compulsory schools, but are highly resonant with their marginalized immigrant pupils. "Why did we immigrants, of all people, end up in these poor areas"? How should the increasing class divisions be understood; "we are stuck at the bottom because we are dumb, or because the die are loaded against us"? "Does society have to consist of winners and losers"? The young people in the Panthers search for answers to these questions. If the compulsory schools of the municipalities in marginalized suburban areas want to develop opportunities for dealing with their situation, they must open up to the world of their pupils. Thus, suburban schools must learn to respect the political and cultural expressions developed by the youth in these neighborhoods. In recent times it is also possible to see, probably as a result of the work by the Panthers, a growing interest in what is happening in the local community, especially from young teachers who aim to keep up with contemporary social issues and trends in the youth culture.

By refusing to listen and attend to the insights and criticism developed in organizations such as the Panthers or hip-hop collectives, we may miss essential perspectives in discussions on social issues and developments, and ways to address social problems. If Swedish society had been open to the invitations to dialogue embedded in the political messages of suburban youths' cultural expressions we may have been spared the riots in Stockholm in 2013. The autonomous activities of organizations like the Megaphone, the Voice and the Face of the Street, and the Panthers can be seen as attempts to obtain, provide and disseminate various forms of learning in the contemporary urban context. However, the ultimate objective can be summarized as breaking the stigmatization that threatens to trap the youths in the poor suburbs perpetually in ghettos, where they have very limited contact with the surrounding society and even more limited prospects. Thus, an important aspect of efforts to break segregation patterns in Swedish society must be to create arenas in which young people from the suburbs, particularly, can be seen, heard, and interact with youngsters from other areas.

In this context, political, social and cultural expressions provide ideal starting points for building bridges and fostering encounters between different social, ethnic and religious groups. In this way, young people can play important roles in improving civil society. Even though many politicians talk about the necessity of integration and making visible immigrant youth from these neighborhoods, not much seems to be happening.

Various agencies, like the Panthers, The Megaphone, The Voice and the Face of the Street and other grass-root organizations are now trying to build such bridges in many metropolitan suburbs in Sweden. However, active participation is also required from schools that embrace the creation of truly democratic living conditions for all citizens as self-evident objectives of education and learning. The pupils could perceive such schools as their own, providing answers to their questions, and both speaking openly about and problematizing discrimination, 'othering', stigmatization and poverty gaps.

Such schools' staff and pupils would perceive themselves as being deeply involved in efforts to promote genuine, inclusive citizenship for the entire population. The staff and pupils must be prepared to meet and learn from the world around them, and their schools could then play important roles in building a globally connected and vibrant civil society. Such schools would also have much to learn from organizations like the Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb.

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Chapter 40

Young People and Local Power Geometries in Helsinki. The Intertwining of Social Class, Gender and Ethnicity in Public Spaces

Tarja Tolonen

40.1 Introduction

Young people and their relation to and identification with public, semi-public and private places have been researched for a number of years in many parts of the world, including Finland. Youth groups or cultures are often identified by their place, and spaces are markers of identities, for example suburban youth (Lähteenmaa 1991), the boys of 'Koskela', a suburb of Helsinki (Louhivuori 1988), street corner society (Whyte 1943), club culture (Thornton 1995), girls' horse stable culture (Tolonen 1992) and girls' bedroom culture (McRobbie and Garber 1986).

In the light of youth research, the questions of social identity, belonging, marginalization, citizenship and urban education often have spatial dimensions. Here, young people's relationships to urban space and school space are inspected in view of gendered, classed and ethnic informal practices. And, vice versa, I claim that the social orders of everyday life are formed and reformed within practices of using the space. These informal spatial practices are also reflected in formal legal rights and the current political atmosphere.

In this chapter the pluralistic cultural and social practices of young people are traced within the context of urban spaces. Special attention is given to physical and social spaces, such as schools and shopping centres, to show how the social and spatial are intertwined. How the rights, abilities and will to use the space and act as 'active citizens' in it are central to young people's belonging, is also examined (see also Gordon 2007, p. 447). In addition, the changing power geometries of local places (Massey 1994) are traced.

Young people's resources and possibilities to use urban public space as active citizens vary. The chances of acquiring the potential respected membership of a

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community are strongly framed and intertwined with gender, class and ethnicity (Skeggs 2004). I will show how the use of public space has varying and contested meanings in the minds of a group of young people who have taken part in the present empirical study conducted in eastern Helsinki youth clubs, schools and urban spaces in 2008 and 2009.

According to Elisabet Öhrn and Gaby Weiner, urban education refers to interrelationships between poverty, immigration, and poor schooling often in inner city areas (Öhrn and Weiner 2007) where the quality of the neighbourhood is central: 'When accounting for patterns of pupil behavior and achievement in schools, the location of neighborhood remains connected to social and cultural behavior' (Öhrn and Weiner 2007, p. 400). In the Finnish context, and more specifically, that of the City of Helsinki, researching urban education is a rather different matter. Instead of being deprived, inner city schools in Helsinki are more like elite schools, often specialized in certain subjects like languages, math, music or sport. However, the questions of poverty and social inequality as well as class, cultural patterns, being an immigrant and educational equality are valid and applicable in suburban areas surrounding the city centre of Helsinki. In this chapter I present a suburban area in eastern Helsinki, not particularly poor or problematized, but which if compared with other areas of Helsinki does feature some social, cultural and economic differences, as shown by a range of social indicators. It is a district of small semi-detached private homes, and rental housing owned by the City of Helsinki. According to the publication 'Helsinki by Districts 2011' (City of Helsinki Urban Facts), the proportion of people with university-level education in the area (in 2010) was approximately 30% (the national average is 38%). The unemployment rate was approximately 11%, with the average being 8% in Helsinki proper. Roughly 15% of the inhabitants have a first language and nationality other than Finnish; in the area's western parts it is 6%. In eastern parts the proportion of 7–15-year-olds is approximately 10%, and in some western parts 6%. (See http://www.hel.fi/hel2/tietokeskus/julkaisut/pdf/11_03_30_Tilasto_hki_alueittain_2011_Tikkanen.pdf, see also Helsingin tila ja kehitys 2013)

Here, I continue to trace what Tuula Gordon (2007), p. 447 stated, that cities can be studied 'as political spaces where rights and duties of citizenship can be enacted.' In urban spaces, moreover, pluralistic practices that intertwine with social class, ethnicity and gender, are traced. My starting point is similar to Gordon's: namely 'that local areas contain formations of political spaces where processes related to belonging, inclusion and exclusion are played out and contested.' Furthermore, I will reflect on certain *informal* cultural practices of young people in the context of a specific district in eastern Helsinki. Before doing so, however, I explain some *formal contexts* by giving examples of Finnish education and youth work legislation, and will also make reference to the current political discussion and atmosphere.

40.2 Official Finland and Equal Rights

Finland is a country where equal rights have been valued and promoted, as reflected in a large body of legislation. For example, the Basic Education Act states that ‘The purpose of education referred to in this Act is to support pupils’ growth into humanity and into ethically responsible membership of society and to provide them with knowledge and skills needed in life.’ And: ‘Education shall promote civilization and equality in society and pupils’ prerequisites for participating in education and otherwise developing themselves during their lives.’ (Basic Education Act 628/1998.)

In addition to promoting civilization and equality, Finland officially supports the pupil in becoming a *responsible member* of society, referring to the Protestant ethic of earning one’s right to be a citizen through bearing responsibilities. In addition, the Youth Act, which concerns youth policy and applies to persons under 29 years of age, goes even further by aiming to promote *active citizenship* and empowerment, based on values such as equality, multiculturalism and internationalism.

1. The purpose of this Act is to support young people’s growth and independence, to promote young people’s active citizenship and empowerment and to improve young people’s growth and living conditions.
2. The implementation of the purpose is based on communality, solidarity, equity and equality, multiculturalism and internationalism, healthy life styles, and respect of life and the environment.

Youth Act (72/2006) (webpages of the Ministry of Education and Culture, unofficial translation)

However, at the political level these themes of citizenship and multiculturalism are contested. The themes of ethnicity, multiculturalism and racism arose in political consciousness with the success of the ‘ultra-nationalistic’ True Finns party in parliamentary elections in the spring of 2011, and again in 2015. In 2011 the True Finns won over 19% of the popular vote and in 2015 formed part of the coalition government. In addition, journalists, politicians and researchers have been harassed for being too ‘immigrant friendly’, and on many public webpages the amount of hate speech has increased. Some MPs have also made openly racist comments. On the other hand, strong opposition, including a spontaneous movement called ‘We have a dream’, has arisen in social media and on the streets of many cities. Some of this socio-political context was already evident in the school and street atmosphere while collecting the data for this research, and is important to understand it as a background to the present chapter.

Questions of gender equality have also been at stake in the agendas of Finnish state policy. According to the Act on Equality 8.8.1986/609, passed in 1986, women and men are to be treated equally:

The objectives of this Act are to prevent discrimination based on gender, to promote equality between women and men, and thus to improve the status of women, particularly in working life.

Therefore in the eyes of the law women are equal to men, and this is to be promoted by national and municipal organs, employers and educational institutions. The discrimination and harassment of women are also forbidden by law, and compensation is to be expected if it occurs. In addition, a quite liberal law on same-sex marriage was passed by the Finnish Parliament on 28.11.2014, again with lively political discussion both for and against it.

Legislation concerning education, youth work and gender equality reflect the values of the parliament and thus of the whole nation. That is, equal rights, active citizenship and nondiscrimination are mentioned in many laws, and are practiced by public administration and also many NGOs and development projects. It is, however, interesting how these (also contested) equal rights, memberships, citizenships and responsive memberships of society are played out in the everyday lives of young people in Helsinki, where the present research project's data has mainly been collected. Later, I will turn to particular cases of experienced urban space, citizenship and equality, as well as rights and belonging.

40.3 The Practices of Spaces, and Different Shades of the Power Geometry

I claim that the political, social and physical spaces, as well as formal and informal ones, are closely related with each other. In my understanding, both place and space are deeply relational, and intertwine with the social and 'mental' (see Massey 1994). Doreen Massey sees the spatial as socially constituted and the social as spatially constituted. Both space and place are seen as 'natural objectives' but dependent on social relations. Places can be seen as networks of social relations, and Massey uses the term *power geometry* to emphasize how groups and individuals are differently positioned in these networks, and in relation to each other. Here, I focus on local youth groups and their ways of forming a style (for example in relation to school, popular culture, gender and ethnicity). Different individuals as well as groups recognize each other as distinct from other groups and their ways of being in the public sphere (see later examples). These processes of group formation, styles and distinctions take place in local institutions such as school and youth centres, as well as the local public sphere. These different processes form power geometries and balances. Massey also claims that the identities of places are constructed through the specificity of their interaction with other places rather than by their counter-position to them (see Massey 1994, p. 121). These different formations of groups and styles are made through subtle distinctions – at times they are counter-positions and contested – but the main point is that they are formed in relation to each other, as power geometries.

One's relation to space is therefore also social – and one can have a feeling of belonging or of being dominated, or one of being marginalized in relation to a particular space. Fangen (2010) has distinguished several aspects of marginalization:

educational and labour market exclusion, as well as e.g. spatial, relational and socio-political exclusion, in relation to family, friends, civic society and leisure activities. Elsewhere I have discussed educational transitions and exclusion, along with leisure activities and friendships (see Tolonen 2013). Here, I concentrate on the relationship between spatial and social aspects, and how these resonate within society as a question of belonging or as one of urban citizenship, meaning educational practices in different urban spaces (see Gordon 2007; Öhrn and Weiner 2007). Here the different institutions and spaces used by the young in the area form local political and social power geometries which are related to each other. Examples are presented later in the chapter.

My claim here is that local social gendered, classed and ethnic orders are performed in local schools, streets, youth clubs and shopping centres. Even though both gender and ethnicity studies have histories of their own, gender and ethnicity are defined here as symbolically, culturally and hierarchically marked. They are seen as everyday action that is repeatedly performed according to the local gendered, classed and ethnic orders of everyday life. For example, in the everyday life of the school young people form a local, gendered order through different competing performances of masculinities and femininities (in relation to sport, fashion, popular culture and political opinions). These local gender orders are repeated, contested and ever-changing, and are made and remade through performances in everyday life. In addition, different nations, localities and schools value different kinds of masculinities and femininities, and in this way support the formation of gendered youth cultures in the school (See Tolonen 2001, for more on gender see Anthias 2005; Butler 1999; Jokinen 2004; Skeggs 2004). In the field of ethnicity studies and studies of racism, it has been shown that racism is an ideological construction which creates 'others'. It is also structured in the sense that racial and ethnic domination has a history, laws and practices, and yet it is process since racism is re-created and re-confirmed in everyday practices (see Essed 2002, 185; and also Hall 1990; Rastas 2005, 2009.) So here I combine such everyday orders made through gender and ethnicity, and assume that they are local, but formed historically through the relationships between domination, social division and social class (Skeggs 2004). In addition formations of these everyday orders are framed by the current national political agendas as well as formal laws and regulations of equal rights.

The examples presented in the next sections are drawn from empirical data consisting of 39 interviews with young people aged 13–17 years, of whom 23 were boys and 16 were girls. In all, 33 interviews were conducted in the Helsinki area. Other interviews were carried out in the small north-eastern Finnish city of Kajaani, known for its paper industry but also high rate of youth employment. Here, however, it is the Helsinki data that is referred to, and more specifically, data collected in eastern Helsinki to describe the power geometries (Massey 1994) of a particular suburban area from various points of views.

In addition to the interviews of students and some parents, the data include ethnographic observations, photos, pictures drawn by students, as well as discussions with teachers, youth workers and police. The data were collected mainly in youth clubs and a school in Helsinki in 2008–2009 as part of the research project 'Young

people's leisure time' funded by the Youth Research Network, and the University of Helsinki's 'Material formation of the family' project. The names of all the informants in this study have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the interviewees.

40.4 School Space and Youth Clubs: Divisions and Encounters

My analysis is inspired by Gordon et al. (2000), p. 53), who distinguish three layers of the school: the official, informal and physical. The official school is stipulated in the documents of the school and the state. The informal school means socio-cultural practices and interaction other than instruction between students and between students and staff. When focusing on the physical school, the above researchers examined the possibilities and limitations offered by school buildings and spaces (see also Souto 2011; Tolonen 2001).

The school is an important site of becoming a formal and active citizen (see Gordon 2007). It is a space for education and career, and also social control and policy. At the formal level of the school, one can gain respect through the positive assessment of school work. Here, it is the informal and physical school that will be primarily referred to when analysing the everyday social orders created by young people. The informal school is a level dominated by peers, and where another kind of value of the self is formed (Souto 2011; Tolonen 2001). In accordance with Carol Gaskell (2008), I see that the school acts as a space where respect and reputations can be fought over and negotiated. Further, the school is an ideal space for negotiating social status, reputation and 'social and active citizenship' since there the dynamics of negotiations can be witnessed and redistributed by school peers and also brought to the street (see also Manninen et al. 2011; Nayak and Kehily 2008; Tolonen 1998, 2001).

At this informal level, different styles and social positions can be distinguished. One of the styles relates to official school, that is, of being a successful student (with good grades and motivation) (see also Willis 1977). One of the social positions relates to informal youth cultural styles (sports, computers, popular culture), and in addition, another relates to ethnicity. Young people read these styles and social positions in sensitive and innovative ways, and situate themselves socially in relation to both formal school (grades) and informal school (youth cultural styles, ethnicity) (see Souto 2011; Tolonen 2001).

As one interviewee, Tia, a 15-year-old girl from a Finnish working-class background said about her classmates, and herself:

Researcher: What sort of youth cultural styles can you point out in your school?

Tia: There are different styles of rockers, the ordinary ones, then the heavy ones, then Lizzies, and then there are all sorts of different groups of people (...) To be honest, no one in our class really likes people from abroad/immigrants. Except I don't discriminate against them.

Despite her classmates' attitudes, Tia distanced herself from this power geometry and prejudiced thoughts and actions – not out loud, but by avoiding these boys at school. Another student of the same school situated himself in the social setting through youth cultural styles and school success, but also in relation to his immigrant background:

Arif: There are heavy rockers, there are those who don't study, and who do; there are ordinary Finns, and then foreigners (=immigrants), and I am mostly with the immigrants. Then there are the racists ones, and those who do sports, the ones who play with computers and talk about them (...) I am among the foreigners, and those who study.

I visited this school for some months, interviewing the young people about their leisure time, and writing down my observations. I mainly saw peaceful events but at times I also witnessed racist bullying among the boys. Some of these young people appeared to be skinheads: along with their racist opinions, they wore pilot jackets, jeans and army boots. They used mental tactics to control their classmates and their public opinions, and some attempted to control the school space in physical ways, such as standing like a guard in front of the class, and staring at certain students. I never saw them touching anyone, apparently because I was present, and they also had an active and firm classroom teacher who did not tolerate such behaviour. But it did affect the social atmosphere. Occasionally other boys in their class took part of the teasing, like the 'hockey player' in the next example.

Research Diary 4th of May 2009: I went to school this morning before 11 and hung around in the corridor where ninth graders congregate(...) Some students I knew were present, and one ninth grade boy (a hockey player) teased a Somali boy. The Somali boy walked upstairs and this bigger boy tried to prevent him, clearly wanted to give a performance about teasing this smaller and darker boy. He mentioned something about the boy's big brother. A teacher came and stopped this unfair wrestling. The bigger boy had a hesitant smile on his face, but I did not see the smaller one smiling. This was not a game between friends.

I could see these 'Finnish boys' (in skinhead outfits) upstairs, and downstairs there were more immigrant children and their friends. This social line was not always kept, and different groups of young people seemed to gather in different places. –

I learned that the spaces and social orders of everyday life seemed to go together in this school. While carrying out the interviews I also learned that the students with racist attitudes did not like certain places in the suburb. Further, there seemed to be a strong social and physical division of space in the school – a certain power geometry or 'balance' was evident at the time. The informal school was divided physically and socially into 'upstairs' and 'downstairs' (cf. Souto 2011). von Brömssen and Risenfors (2014) have written about spatial distinction as expressed at the 'immigrant corner' of one Swedish school. As in this Swedish research, the students with an immigrant background in my study used their corner downstairs as a strong place for identity work. It was socially loud, with the students concentrating on having fun there during the school day, similar to the findings of von Brömssen and Risenfors (2014). Further, the students in this space presented themselves as proud multicultural persons. There seemed to be more boys at the corner than girls, but 'everyone' was welcomed if they were friends of the people there. I did not observe as strong a social hierarchy among the immigrant background students in this school

as did von Brömssen and Risenfors (2014), where even the seating order was set. To the contrary, this school had a changing ‘everyday social order’, based, however, on ethnicity and gender.

In brief, the everyday social order was continuously made and remade within the power geometry of the school space and social space. However, it was not neutral, free, similar or equal for everyone. One’s position in this order was tied to divisions established by gender, ethnicity and class. The school was in a mixed suburb in terms of social class and ethnicity, and also the number of boys and girls was similar. Working-class boys in particular seemed to be more street-wise and not so interested in education and official school than, for example, middle-class girls and a number of ethnic minority youth. Some of the school’s social and spatial power geometries were constructed through cultural style, ethnicity and gender: the young people actively read each other’s styles and ways of publicly acting in the school and on the street (see also Gaskell 2008), drew up the social categories, and decided who belonged to which group and in which position. Even the youth-culture options were not open to all; for example there were no ‘heavy rockers’ among the young people with an immigrant background, who identified rather with American Hiphop or R&B music (see Tolonen 2013).

As well as the school, I visited several youth clubs in the area, and observed different communal histories and power geometries in them. Unlike the school, entering the youth clubs was clearly voluntary: young people could choose where and with whom to spend their leisure time.

Researcher: I have been to the school and have a feeling that there is segregation between immigrant young people and others. What do you think about this? And there are also some conflicts at school.

Youth worker: Well, one can see in our youth club that the immigrant youth are one big group, like based on boys from African countries and then some others like Russians or boys from Kosovo will join them. But here they get along. On the other hand, some more quiet Finns are not familiar with their noisy ways and don’t hang around with them.

Researcher: Any differences between the youth clubs nearby?

Youth worker: Well this used to be a strongly Finnish club. Then we had one youth worker who started to ask young people with different backgrounds to join in, and it was deeply contested if the immigrant young people could join. There were fights over it outside.

But honestly, I think we need to have multicultural clubs. The immigrants have come and have stayed.

At this time the situation at the local youth club was peaceful, but it had not always been. Also, other youth clubs in the Helsinki suburbs have been in a state of change, being contested due to the everyday local gendered and ethnic orders (see also Honkasalo 2011; Perho 2010). Local groups may dominate some clubs, and this may be the case especially in suburban settings. Usually the youth clubs situated near the city centre attract young people from the suburbs who wish to take part in some special activity (computer club, theatre, music) (Cf. Kivijärvi 2015, 2010, 2013), some of them dominated by girls. The local youth clubs have frequently been used by those who have been keen to stay and spend time in their own neighborhoods, having an attitude of neighbourhood nationalism. Working-class and

immigrant boys often dominated the local youth clubs, but at times working-class and a group of girls with various immigrant backgrounds also found their way there (see also Kivijärvi 2015; Tolonen 2010, 2013).

Such articulations of the power geometry (Massey 1994) of the school and youth centres were not born in a vacuum. As mentioned earlier, from the perspective of social class, this neighbourhood's educational average was slightly lower than in other parts of Helsinki. However, there were families with academic, as well as working-class and immigrant backgrounds. The educational background and work status of the families actually varied very much. Thus, at school one could find young people with various backgrounds, but those I met at the youth club were mainly boys from a working-class background.

In the schools and youth centres I visited in eastern Helsinki, 20–40% of the young people could be identified as having an immigrant background, and at least 12 of my 33 interviewees in Helsinki had immigrant backgrounds as well, with either one or both parents having moved from another country to Finland. In this particular suburban area the question of dealing with multiculturalism and being an immigrant was important, and was often dealt with by young people in different, often gender-specific ways. Not just segregation, but also togetherness was evident. The young people said they formed spontaneous football teams of 'foreigners' or 'refugees' against 'Finns', even though they may have had an immigrant background but were not necessarily refugees – these terms were used as (ironic) identifications and ways of showing belongingness while playing with and against each other, and can be interpreted as *neighborhood nationalism* (Back 1996; Gordon 2007; Kivijärvi 2015; Haikkola 2011), meaning here a feeling of togetherness among the working-class and ethnic minorities. Girls, too, told of participating in the games, even though these urban articulations of neighbourhood nationalism through football were dominated by boys.

40.5 The Shopping Centre as Contested Urban Space: A Wild Youth Club or Relaxing Leisure Site?

The local shopping centre was rather well equipped, with many culture and sports services and local shops along with a large food store. Local services, as well as a metro station and bus stops were situated near the centre, meaning that it was a central and focal connecting point for almost all the inhabitants of the area, not just young people. Further, a kind of 'field struggle' over this urban space seemed to be going on between the different actors.

The local shopping centre presented a very different place from the perspective of adults. Once at a meeting in one of the local schools, teachers, youth workers, police and some parents debated the leisure practices of young people in the area. I talked with two local police officers, and they apparently saw the shopping centre as a potential crime scene: they told me that many different kind of drugs were on

their way in, and alcohol use was decreasing. Young people would sell anything they could get hold of, even medicine from their parents; at times they sold harder drugs. The police felt they were unable to control this unless someone committed a crime, then they could do a drug test. Sometimes they also got calls from the shopping centre concerning shoplifting or some nuisance, mainly bad behaviour. Especially during the winter, young people spent a good deal of time in the shopping centre. The police officers estimated approximately 30 'regulars' daily, school hours included. According to them, the youths ran around, behaved badly, walked into people and pushed. They also congregated in the nearby park, which according to the adults caused problems. The police were frustrated by their behaviour. The police also told me that other young people avoided the shopping centre, as they were afraid of the youth gangs there. In addition, one youth worker commented on the private security guards who kept order there in addition to the police: they were young themselves, and the young people knew how to provoke them.

The local authorities seemed to have a joint mission – to solve the youth problem in public urban space and correct the power geometry dominated by some young people. Evidently the young people in question acted as active citizens in public space, but did this in a wrong and not very responsible way, resulting in being perceived by other citizens as a threat. This united the different authorities (see Pyry 2015; Tani 2011). The youth workers also had co-operated with the police and social workers, which they felt was positive and useful, with new young people finding their way to the youth clubs which offered support and supervision. They claimed that young people caused trouble at the shopping centre, and called it 'a wild youth club'.

What about the young people themselves? How did the local youth see the very same place? What would different young people say about this place, and what kind of social practices and power geometries were to be found there as a public space?

I interviewed Oskari, a 15-year-old boy from a working-class background, who had quite poor school motivation and success, and he expressed a high level of interest in hanging around at the shopping centre with friends:

Oskari: Well we hang around here and there, sit down and do something.

Researcher: With whom?

Oskari: Depends who turns up there. (...) Well we see each other there (in a certain place) and meet, so we don't have to call each other. You just go there. We then go somewhere else, or just stay there. (...) There is this place close to stairs, behind them. That is where we sit.

Researcher: You sit and talk then (...) Have you ever been in trouble? Like with the guards? I interviewed some youth workers, and they say some of you do get into trouble.

Oskari: Yeah. With the guards. Sometimes the guards come over and then some of us start to argue with them, if we are bored. It is fun to irritate them, we get something to do, and some fun also (...) With all the authorities, it's fun to be mouthy with the police.

Researcher: Well how often do you hang around there?

Oskari: Almost every day.

The shopping centre seemed to offer him a pleasurable place with a large community of his own, where everyone can be friends, and one can spend time without the demands of school success or goal-oriented hobbies. For him, it was simply a

pleasure to be in a city space as a ‘flexible citizen’ (cf. Gordon 2007; Ong 1999; Pyyry 2015), to emphasize social togetherness. Oskari did not see himself and his friends as active in petty crime, as a nuisance to others (asserted by the police) or as wild youth (asserted by the youth worker). However, he did agree that they provoked the guards or other authorities – if they were bored (cf. Hebdige 1985; MacDonald and Shildrick 2007; Whyte 1943).

Oskari was an example of working-class boy who spent his time mostly in local urban space with other working-class and immigrant friends, but he also moved around the city. Similarly, some of the girls in the study spent their time in other Helsinki shopping centres, not here in the local one. Nelli, in the next example, was a working-class girl who did not particularly like school and was intent on vocational training. She, too, avoided the local shopping centre. In her leisure time she more often sought relaxation with friends than action. She said she liked to play outdoor games and spent much of her free time at the local youth club. She did not like the young people at the local shopping centre: she felt their way of behaving in this public space was not her style, since they acted tough and immature, and not responsibly.

Researcher: So you don’t spend time in the shopping centre?

Nelli: No, I really don’t (...) Those who hang around there, they pretend to be drunk or something, they like to present themselves as tough (...) I don’t like to spend my time with them. They are so childish.

Nelli’s friend Milla was also from a working-class background, and liked to spend her time at the youth club in a more private girls’ group with immigrant background girls, rather than with many people in a public space. Being in this group, she said, made her feel welcome instead of like an outsider.

Milla: I mainly have friends who are from another country (than Finland), then I don’t feel like an outsider since I am a foreigner (born in Eastern Europe). I have some Finnish friends but only a few. My friends are mostly foreigners.

She expressed feelings of ‘neighbourhood nationalism’ (Back 1996; Gordon 2007), meaning that she belonged to this neighborhood, but, mainly to her multicultural group (Honkasalo 2011; Kivijärvi 2015), which she found supportive. These girls distanced themselves from the bigger youth crowd at the shopping centre whose behaviour they disliked. However, some, like Lea, would also spend time there just to sit in a cafe.

Lea: Oh yes, there is (trouble) nowadays. In the newspaper there was a story that there has been trouble with young people, but they are some strangers, I don’t know them at all. Sometimes my friends are there also.

Jani was a 15-year-old lower-middle-class boy; his parents had a secondary education and worked in the service sector. Concerning his leisure practices, he claimed he had some hobbies elsewhere, including making films and music himself. Jani liked his class as well as going to school, and did not like hanging around at any of the shopping centres, even though he shopped there at times.

Researcher: How often do you go to the (local) shopping centre? And what do you do there, what is nice about it?

Jani: I think some of the shops there are nice. If I go there I do some shopping (...) a few times a week.

Researcher: You don't hang around in there?

Jani: No I don't.

Researcher: Why? Some young people do.

Jani: Well I think it is quite stupid, that they spend their time there in the shopping centre. They always, like, throw stuff around, or something like that.

Jani was clearly distancing himself from the young people in the shopping centre. He thought it was stupid, and not a very sensible or respectable way to spend one's leisure time (Skeggs 2004).

Using a shopping centre as a place to hang around in was contested in many ways – while some did so daily, others, young people as well as authorities, had strong opinions that loitering in the street or in a shopping centre was a sign of 'doing nothing' or a way of getting in trouble with the law (see also MacDonald and Shildrick 2007; Massey 1998; Robinson 2009; Tani 2011). The opinions of the police, youth workers and various young people were all different articulations of the power geometry (Massey 1994) within this particular shopping centre, and exemplify 'a field struggle' over the proper use of a public urban space along with the articulation of the right kind of active citizenship.

A continuum of power geometries between the school and the street was also evident. As in many other studies, here it was more likely that working-class boys with a negative attitude to official school were the ones who felt more at home in the public, less-controlled space of the shopping centre. This hanging around in city space gave them the possibility to feel that they belonged to their neighbourhood (see MacDonald and Shildrick 2007; Shildrick 2006) and to express 'neighbourhood nationalism' (Back 1996; Gordon 2007; Kivijärvi 2015), at times together with some of the working-class girls and immigrant boys and girls. Middle-class boys and girls tended to have some kind of hobby (sports or cultural), and many, along with immigrant girls, saw it as not particularly respectable or sensible to hang around in this shopping centre (see discussion on respectability in Skeggs 2004; also see Hollingworth and Williams 2009; Isotalo 2015; Peltola 2015). An everyday social order, as well as a contested power geometry (Massey 1994) seemed to be evident in relation to these places among the local youth. This order had its classed, gendered and ethnic measures.

40.6 Urban Spaces, and Ethnic and Gendered Risks

All the young people participating in this study used the city space in multiple ways. At times, they stayed more at the local shopping centre during their leisure time, at other times they would prefer to ride the metro and buses, staying in different stations. Other shopping centres were also popular, as well as some petrol stations with coffee bars, hamburger restaurants, sports fields and open parks. Many of the interviewees of all ages (12–17) moved freely in the city space, both girls and boys.

They travelled daily from local premises and streets to sport clubs, to reach their hobbies, or to the city centre. For some, this moving about was an important basis of their identity; for others, staying in the local surroundings was important in terms of neighbourhood nationalism (Back 1996; Gordon 2007; Kivijärvi 2015).

Moving about and facing risks were experienced in many ways, and these risks also had gendered and ethnic power geometry (Massey 1994) measures. Most of the girls in the study claimed they were not afraid to move around in Helsinki by themselves or with their friends, although they preferred the latter. However the girls claimed they became very angry at times. Some had experienced sexual harassment, either verbal or physical, often in connection with public transportation. They felt that their right to be mobile urban citizens was violated when their free movement around city was interrupted by strangers.

Researcher: Have you ever been afraid in the metro station here?

Tia: Well every week, I said to my boyfriend, I don't want to go alone anymore – always some men, and sometimes women, come and talk to me at the metro. Sometimes they are just lonely, that's ok. But there are these guys who come – and I always try to go where other women are sitting – since these men come and sit too close to me and start talking to me. I don't like it. Sometimes they are drunk. At times some of them speak English, and I can't speak English that well.

However, as well as irritating or anger-provoking experiences in the city space, sometimes the girls were actually frightened, as in the following case of Riina, a 17-year-old working-class girl.

Riina: I am into Thai boxing (...) I wanted to start doing a self-defence hobby. My mum asked me why not something like dancing, but I said I would soon be 18 and starting to going out. Who would defend me then, dancing wouldn't help me. (...) Once I came home late from my boyfriend's, and near our house there are these bushes, I was just crossing the road and two boys came after me. There was a crowd of boys coming from the football field and two started to follow me. They ran after me and grabbed me, and I was quite scared. I got away, but later I felt kind of traumatized, I mean I don't necessary want to walk alone in the dark, I am scared.

The power geometry and gendered order was changing in everyday life – but even though women have full rights as urban citizens to move about, this was at times jeopardized by threatening situations. Hille Koskela has written about gendered spaces and the gender-related production of urban space and fear. She claims that gender is one of the most crucial factors regarding fear of violence and geographic mobility in urban areas (Koskela 1999, p. 111). In addition, Koskela claims that women who have been exposed to violence in the street are more afraid afterwards (Koskela 1999, p. 116).

Experiencing the urban space as safe is therefore strongly gendered, and the girls in the present study felt they were open to certain risks, ranging from unpleasant or annoying, to truly frightening (see also Aaltonen 2006). As well, it was evident that the existing power geometry between genders was at times potentially threatening to girls.

However, moving about in public urban space was not without risks for boys either, with both Finnish or immigrant backgrounds and looks. Next, I show some examples of risks experienced by immigrant boys, since they often circulated

through urban space. For some of them, mobility seemed to be a crucial basis of their identity, in addition to having a space of their own, the ‘immigrant corner’ at school (see also von Brömssen and Risenfors 2014).

Many immigrant boys told me in the interviews that they had several hundred friends, whom they met both virtually and face-to-face while on the move. Katrine Fangen (2010) has named these large networks ‘communities of difference’ (see also Vestel 2004), in which young people with immigrant backgrounds can support each other with respect to racist and prejudiced attitudes and experiences in school and outside of it. The ritual of moving about and occasionally meeting in a sense reinforced these large networks, as well as the power geometry (Massey 1994) and balance of ethnic relations in public spaces. It reinforced their right to walk or otherwise move in the city space, like the young women above, as active urban citizens. But also like the young women, the young men, too, could be exposed to risks and there were occasions in which the power geometry was challenged.

A 16-year-old boy with a Mediterranean background, Ollie, said he moved quite a bit both socially and spatially. He belonged to a socially and ethnically mixed eastern Helsinki group at the local youth club as well as many other groups and networks involved in his favorite sports. He also knew people who had contested official city space in search of excitement: these young people painted graffiti in places controlled by guards. As well as excitement and having fun, marking the place with illegal graffiti had its risks.

Ollie: I always liked the graffiti paintings (...) Well I have lots of friends who do them as well (...) Once I saw my friend (...) all beaten up by the guards, they had caught him in the woods.

Young men who painted graffiti took risks, and if caught, had to deal with the consequences. Here, adult members of society, the guards, tried to prevent an illegal marking of space from taking place, but by questionable means.

The power of the group and of networks, as well as the power geometries between groups of young men, is shown to be at stake in the next example. Mahad, a 16-year-old boy, told me that the use of the N-word is very humiliating for him, and often prompts him to fight. I continued the discussion he had brought up:

Researcher: Well who uses the N-word anyway?

Mahad: Those skinheads do. At school. In seventh grade. Not anymore. And if they don't shut up you ask more people (...) that has happened. A gang fight. In the centre, at the shore. I was there also. We walked by, they just challenged us. The heavy metal guys. All the immigrants together fought against the skins and heavy rockers. (...) But I don't think they say this (N-word) now, since there are so many of us, a big bunch of people.

Researcher: So there is a sense of safeness when there is such a big group. But would you dare go there (a certain square) in the evening by yourself?

Mahad: Oh yes (...) But once someone beat me up there. A big man, a kind of skinhead, someone 50 years old or so. He just came from a bar, near this food shop.

Researcher: Terrible. I am truly sorry. Does it affect where you go now, and what you do?

Mahad: No, no. I was a coward then, I didn't dare to do anything. But since I got beaten up I've become a tough guy (...) I won't let anyone touch me, to beat me up.

The contested moments of power geometries presented here are the fights between immigrant background boys and skinheads and heavy rockers, as well as a

violent adult man in the nearby square. Similarly to Gaskell's (2008) study, the power geometry of the streets and the school was interconnected in the above example. For some boys, learning only the school subjects as well as rules and duties as citizens was not enough (see Gordon 2007): becoming streetwise and learning how to negotiate in terms of respect and the use of violence were also relevant (Gaskell 2008; Manninen et al. 2011), and a way to survive.

Anoop Nayak writes about racist name-calling in the classroom. He claims that even though young, black people can also call white students names such as white duck or ice cream, these names do not refer to slavery, imperialism, apartheid and discrimination (see Nayak 2003, p. 149–151), and thus do not trigger feelings of humiliation and a devaluing of oneself as a citizen. Calling immigrants and other students with darker skin derogatory names is also common in Finnish schools, streets and other public spaces (cf. Hautaniemi 2004; Souto 2011), not to mention physical encounters or even assaults: all leave an unpleasant feeling of not belonging due to the colour of one's skin. In order to move about in public spaces freely as an urban citizen, it was safer to have the support of large networks (Fangen 2010) – this was clearly experienced by boys from immigrant backgrounds.

Even though a majority of the young people felt it was safe for them to move about in public city space, some had experienced risky and unpleasant situations, leaving deep marks on them, and these experiences were intertwined with gender and ethnicity. Both girls and boys had encountered frightening situations. The above-mentioned boy felt he had become 'tough' after being attacked. The girl in the example no longer wanted to move around alone. Experiencing these risks confirmed that actually open free urban space was not the same for all: one needed to learn that there are risks, and that the risks and ways of dealing with them were not only gendered and ethnic but also classed, as the lives of middle-class youth appeared to be more centred on their hobbies than working-class youth, which affected their use of public city space.

40.7 Conclusion: Urban Space as Open City Space: Can Anyone Go Anywhere and Feel They Belong?

Defining the use of urban space, as well as the relationships between youth groups and between youth and adults, is hardly ever seen as neutral. I agree with Öhrn and Weiner (2007) that school and neighbourhood are interconnected: as well as social and cultural behaviour, school achievement can also be influenced by a school's surrounding neighbourhood.

In this chapter I have given several illustrations of the use of different spaces and power geometries within one urban neighbourhood in eastern Helsinki. School was found to be a space with many layers, and the young people presented different positions in relation to school success, local youth styles and gender, as well as ethnicity, all of which were displayed by strong spatial practices and mainly

dominated by boys (see also von Brömssen and Risenfors 2014). The spatial divisions of school by ethnicity were not so strongly evident within the local youth clubs that the young people visited voluntarily in their leisure time. However, in the past, rivalry based on the use and ‘ownership’ of one particular club had arisen between boys from different ethnic groups (see also Kivijärvi 2013). On the other hand, the dominance of boys over girls in the public space of the school and youth clubs was not explicitly questioned, and contested moments in the gender relations were not widely reported in the data even though girls criticized the boys’ speech and actions, and mimicked them in an ironic way. Furthermore, girls spent less time in the shopping centre than did boys. In addition, girls’ behaviour in this public space was not seen as problematic as that of some mainly working-class boys, who found their social lives to be richer and more relaxed outside the school and youth clubs run by adults. The shopping centre was more a basis of their identity than school (see also MacDonald and Shildrick 2007; Massey 1998; Willis 1977).

In the streets and on public transportation both boys and girls felt vulnerable at times. Despite feeling safe in urban spaces in Helsinki, some conflicts and actual attacks were also reported by the girls and boys. When experiencing an actual attack by a stranger, both girls and boys reacted strongly. It seemed to challenge their right to belong in the public space and to act as active urban citizens. Being subjected to an attack did not only change their feelings about the urban space in negative ways, but also their behaviour towards others. Boys formed large networks to avoid (racist) attacks and remain safe (Fangen 2010); girls did not report having large safety networks but rather smaller and trustworthy girls’ groups.

Varying and changing gendered, ethnic and classed orders as well as different power geometries among different social groups therefore occurred in the urban space examined. Other’s views concerning the urban space were particularly negative if youth practices in the public sphere attracted (unwanted) attention or were worrisome (see also Tani 2011), or if the youths’ actions were not interpreted as respectable, that they had not learned to act as proper urban citizens (see also Gordon 2007). Every city, region and nation is alarmed if their young people appear on the streets too often, are too loud or behave in an anti-social manner (Cf. Hjelm et al. 2014). The practices of the young people here varied from hanging out and meeting friends to possible petty crime. Not just streets and shopping centres, but also youth clubs and the school space were presented here as contested, and in addition, as self-made and remade within local power geometries (Massey 1994) by different youth groups in relation to others, including the authorities.

In urban spaces, informal relations meet formal demands, regulations, laws and the political atmosphere in sensitive social ways. The building of respectable and active citizenship takes place in informal social relations, and these processes are contested through power geometries and balances formed in different urban spaces such as schools, youth clubs, shopping centres and the street. The everyday social orders of who is who, and who is respected and valued, are constructed in these different urban sites.

This valuing and revaluing of young people takes place in urban spaces: young people learn where and how they are welcomed and what is possible for them, as

well as what is expected of them in order to act as members of a local and national society. Young people also learn that they cannot claim a natural-born right to citizenship, as in the eyes of law (see Gordon 2007); rather, in order to achieve full, appropriate, active and responsible citizenship (Acts of education and youth work) they need to learn their classed, gendered and ethnic intersectional places in the everyday social orders fashioned through local power geometries. The urban spaces seem to teach each person where and how to belong. There are formal laws which assume that everyone is treated equally, yet here are informal local power geometries which contest public values.

But what kind of practices might be generated to dissolve the current inequalities based on social class, gender and ethnicity in urban education? The answer may lay in city planning with the aim of preventing segregation of the everyday spheres of young city people in levels, for instance, housing, education and youth policy. In educational and youth policy we can promote equality by eliminating the segregation processes inside and between schools or youth clubs: we need to take the teaching of social tolerance even more seriously in the schools. In addition the quality of public discussion including high-standard journalism needs to be improved and control of anonymous hate speech on social media restricted. The creation of space for equal policy is important. Policing urban spaces requires listening to different groups of people in the local areas, and strengthening young people's skills to take part in public discussions and spaces in a civilized manner.

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Part VII
North America

Chapter 41

Urban Education in North America: Section Editor's Introduction

Paula Groves Price

In 2008, the world, particularly North America and the United States, rejoiced the historic election of President Barack Obama. With the democratic election of the first African American president in the continent, citizens across the USA believed that change was on the horizon. The feelings of hope and optimism were strongest in large urban cities, where the economic downturn from the George W. Bush administration left unemployment at record highs, particularly in communities of color. Urban communities were hopeful that the policies and practices of a president of color, a president who spent some of his early career as a community organizer in urban environments, would support the revitalization of urban cities and people.

What emerged over the past 9 years since the publication of the first *International Handbook of Urban Education*, is a stark realization that when it comes to urban education in North America, the more things change, the more they stay the same. While some of the Obama administration's policies have made significant improvements in lives of citizens across the USA—access to affordable health care and economic stimulus policies to curb unemployment and create jobs—urban education has made little progress. Urban communities and schools are still struggling with inequality of access and opportunity, and the centrality of race in the struggle has never been more pronounced. While Canada is often recognized for success in more equitable outcomes in urban schools, as compared with other areas of the world, it also is not immune to inequality and stratification along race and economic status.

North America, because of its wealth, power, and influence, is often looked upon as a leader in urban education and school reform. In discourse and policy, emphasis is placed on raising student achievement in schools and improving teaching and learning, particularly for students from historically marginalized backgrounds who

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live in poverty. While the policy and school-based approaches differ somewhat in Canada and the United States, the ideological, political, and economic impacts of globalization and neoliberalism across North America remain at the core of the inequality that is experienced in urban cities.

This introduction is organized into three major parts to provide context for some of the major themes that have emerged in the field of Urban Education in North America over the last decade. These themes are also evident in various forms in the chapters included in this section of the *Handbook*. I begin with a central question that may seem absurd at first glance—what is urban education? Embedded in this question is a larger discussion of shifting definitions and conceptualizations of “urban” that is often racialized, and connected to notions of place and space. Next, I continue with a discussion of neoliberalism in urban education, as it is not just a theory, but a set of policies and practices that have had real effects on the lives of urban communities and schools in North America. Without a doubt, neoliberal ideologies and policies have guided many actions in urban education that have had devastating effects on communities of color. Finally, I end the introduction with a preview of the six chapters included in this section and their connections to the larger discussions of (re)conceptualizing “urban,” neoliberalism, and their implications for greater equity in North America.

41.1 What Is Urban Education?

In 2012, H. Richard Milner wrote an editorial in *Urban Education* questioning exactly what is meant when a school is called “urban.” From his experiences in the United States, he encountered numerous superintendents, researchers, and policy-makers that all made reference to urban education and urban schools, but seemed to have no shared definition of urban or urban education. How could schools located in rural and suburban areas, geographically a far distance from any city, still be classified as an urban school? Irby (2015) agreed, noting that in the field of urban education, it is used to describe “anything and everything” related to the education of children in poverty, regardless of where they live. Increasingly, people across North America classify schools as “urban” because of the characteristics of the people in the school, not the geographic location. In other words, schools with a significant population of students of color and/or students in poverty are referred to as urban schools regardless of location. Milner (2012a) argued that in order for the field to develop and evolve, shared definitions are required to differentiate among the social contexts of schools and communities. He developed a typology of three categorizations that he surmised would help researchers and practitioners communicate with a shared language the various contexts in urban education. He suggests the term “urban intensive” should be used to describe schools in large metropolitan cities with a high population density and scarcity of resources; “urban emergent” describes schools located in large to mid sized cities, but not with the density of the urban intensive; and “urban characteristic” describes schools that are not necessarily

located in cities, but experience some of the challenges associated with urban contexts such as increases in English language learners.

While these classifications might indeed provide helpful language and frameworks for making sense of different social contexts of urban education, the lack of connection to the significance of space and place is a limitation of a descriptive typology (Irby 2015). For many urban education researchers, the location and significance of the city is one of the most defining aspects of urban education, as it is the production of place and space that mediates the production of inequality in global capitalism. Removing the specificity of the city in the tethering of urban education as ecological or socio-spatial systems, however, plays into the general public's lexicon of urban associated with particular people and communities.

The works of Buendia (2011) and Daniel (2010) call for urban education researchers to (re)conceptualize or (re)imagine the urban-suburban binary, as those binaries feed representations of people in racialized and classed terms. Of particular significance here is the dialectical relationship between blackness and whiteness as oppositional subjectivities in the imaginary connected with the terms urban and suburban. In the same way that whiteness in North America has no meaning if not connected to the significance of blackness, the meaning of urban and suburban are engaged in a symbiotic relationship. According to Daniel (2010), who speaks from a Canadian perspective, "the imagery that is attached to urban schools (i.e. schools located within the areas marked as the inner city rings) continues to be mired in deficit constructs and the pathologizing of students, parents, and communities" (p. 824). This imagery of urban is steeped in ideologies of blackness and whiteness, and is rooted and reproduced by American media representations. According to Daniel (2010), the representation of "urban" as poverty, dilapidated schools and buildings, and minoritized bodies is not the reality of urban spaces in Canada. In her analysis of Ontario, urban and suburban realities, particularly as it relates to space, have become enmeshed, as low income housing projects are often located in suburban settlements to create mixed-income neighborhoods. The government housing that exists in the cities, she asserts, at first glance is indistinguishable from surrounding buildings, but is largely inhabited by new immigrants. However, similar to the United States, gentrification projects have continually displaced low income and racial and ethnic minorities from their spaces in the city to facilitate the needs of high-income earners seeking the urbane experience. Relocation policies for the poor to suburban developments, therefore, supports the Canadian myth of inclusion while also masking some of the inequality that is often associated with the image of "urban." To reinterpret the meanings of urban and suburban, however, "requires a rethinking of location, subjectivity, and practice. It requires the engagement of leaders at the communal, educational, and political levels who are willing and able to challenge these constructions to facilitate a reimagining" (Daniel 2010, p. 825). From a critical race theory perspective, because racism is endemic and normalized in much of North America and the world, this reimagining proves to be very difficult, particularly in the context of globalization and neoliberalism (Zamudio et al. 2011).

The centrality of race is increasingly the major factor in the inequality that persists across the primary areas of difficulty and resource scarcity in urban North

America. Alexander et al. (2014) conducted a 25-year longitudinal study in Baltimore, MD, USA, following 800 children in 20 Baltimore public schools, from the time they entered first grade until they were into their 30s. In what Milner (2012a) would classify as an “urban emergent” city, half of the families were low-income, with most parents not attaining a high school diploma, and 40% of the low-income families were white. This longitudinal study was unique because most urban studies synonymously position “urban” with communities of color, even though white urban poor is not uncommon. The results of this study provide further evidence that institutional and structural race-based discrimination and privilege impact all spheres of life:

...it was clear that African- Americans face greater barriers to employment. ...Racial inequality also is embedded in hidden ways in other spheres of life, including discrimination in housing and banking practices that have kept white and Black Baltimore substantially separate and cut off working class African-Americans from potentially valuable social contacts. ...The race-based privilege that benefits working-class whites over working-class African-Americans has its origins in the discriminatory practices that excluded African-Americans from the skilled trades during Baltimore’s booming World War II and post-war industrial economy. (Alexander and Olson 2014, p. 1)

In other words, this study revealed the myriad ways that race in the “outside of school environments” disproportionately affect families and children of color in urban cities (Milner 2012b). There are similar findings in Canada, however, because of relocation policies, the racialized segregation and density issues are not as pronounced as in the United States (Hulchanski 2007). Looking at some of the major issues within urban schools, however, reveals that in both Canada and the United States, the needs of students of color, particularly Black children, are not adequately served. Race and poverty, therefore, remain the central challenges facing urban cities and schools, contributing to the North American conceptualization of “urban” as Black and poor. Daniel (2010) notes that the dropout rate of Black students in Ontario, which is above 40%, has been cause for alarm and has prompted Canadian urban educators to critique the structures of inequality in the system and the superficial ways multiculturalism and inclusion are approached in Canadian schools. Culturally responsive Alternative Schools, similar to some charter schools in the USA, have now been developed in Ontario. The high failure rates of Black students, First Nations students, and immigrant students in Toronto is also prompting more choice schools, and similar to the USA, market ideologies are driving reforms aimed at addressing increasing inequality in schools.

41.2 Neoliberalism and Urban Education

One of the central features of urban education in North America is that it is often the site of school reform efforts that influence the policies and practices of schools throughout the continent. Corporate models, school choice, accountability policies, and charter school policies are all “experiments” in reform that have emerged from

the United States that have influenced educational reform around the world. In the decade since the publication of the first edition of the *International Handbook of Urban Education*, the discourses and policies grounded in neoliberal ideologies have heightened and dominated all reform efforts in the United States. Canada has also seen a rise in neoliberal ideologies of choice and market ideologies. Lipman (2011) describes neoliberalism as “an ensemble of economic and social policies, forms of governance, and discourses and ideologies that promote individual self-interest, unrestricted flows of capital, deep reductions in the cost of labor, and sharp retrenchment of the sphere” (p. 6). Central to neoliberalism is the privatization of social goods under the premise that competitive markets are more effective and efficient.

In the United States, with the rise of Arne Duncan as the Secretary of Education in the Obama Administration (2009–2016), neoliberal ideologies and policies have dominated nearly all aspects of education, particularly in urban cities. As the former CEO of Chicago Public Schools (2001–2009), his urban educational policies quickly became the national model for attempts to improve schooling across the country. The result proved devastating for many predominantly African American schools and communities, where “failing schools” in cities like Chicago and Detroit were closed and/or subjected to takeovers by mayors, states, or corporations. These corporate “turn-around” models also focused on expanding education markets in urban schools, encouraging teacher incentive pay based on student test scores (Lipman 2011).

Duncan’s \$4 billion signature policy, *Race to the Top*, required states to compete for federal allocation dollars by submitting proposals for reforms that included expanding charter and choice schools, greatly undermining the power of teacher unions. The intense focus on charters, choice, competition, and teacher unions was the focus of the critically acclaimed and controversial documentary *Waiting for Superman* (2010) by director Davis Guggenheim. Following multiple families searching for quality schools amidst urban decay, the film positions charter schools as one of the solutions to improving urban education. Because of the limited resources and number of seats available in these schools, gaining access to a quality education in urban America was represented as literally winning the lottery. Critiqued for its lack of teacher voice, presentation of teacher unions as the major inhibiting force in school reform, and questionable data regarding the overall performance of charter schools as compared to traditional public schools, *Waiting for Superman* ignited a public spotlight on urban education and the need for more school reform.

Without a doubt, there are some charter schools in the USA that are excelling and better meeting the needs of historically marginalized students. The rapid increase in charter schools, however, supported by federal, state, and local governments, at the expense of community public schools is putting the future of public education at risk. Privately operated but publicly funded charter schools are also shifting the values and identity of education, as corporate models treat school administrators as managers tasked to reach production targets, and teachers sometimes resort to unethical tactics to meet test score benchmarks for incentive pay or punitive

consequences. Perhaps the greatest example of the threat to public education by neoliberalism is in New Orleans, LA, USA. In the 10 years following the devastating hurricane Katrina in 2005, the state of Louisiana opted to place the rebuilding of education on the open market. Partnering with education reform corporations, the New Orleans Recovery School District (RSD) is the first all-charter district in the nation. While the boards of each school, which sets the hiring practices, dress code, and operating rules are non-profit, the schools can be run by a management corporation which can be for-profit. The results have been many corporate run schools across New Orleans that have shifted to “no excuses” models, focusing on strict discipline, testing, and routinized structure (Kimmitt 2015).

Disproportionately used in the poor and largely Black communities, residents and researchers note that the school to prison pipeline is more overt than ever, as the schools look and feel like jail, and students are suspended, expelled and placed into the juvenile justice system at alarming rates. In the 2012–2013 school year, three of the Collegiate Academies, which operate under corporate control and the “no excuses” model in New Orleans, had the largest out of school suspension rates for minor infractions, at 58%, 61% and 69% (Kimmitt 2015). While empirical research on the impacts of these models on student achievement success has yet to be determined, it is clear that urban schools in the United States are at a moral crossroads in recognizing the costs of such reform efforts, particularly the impacts of “selling” mostly Black schools in urban communities to the highest bidder.

Black public community schools, which also employed teachers and administrators from the community, are closing and replaced at alarming rates with corporate charter schools that operate for a profit. This trend in urban education has gained great momentum—16 schools in the city of Detroit have been closed and placed under emergency management; 20 of the 27 schools in Memphis are charters and under a new management system—and more are likely to follow as neoliberal discourses and practices are pushed at all levels of government.

Urban communities, however, are resisting some of these reforms and are mobilizing against corporate takeovers, filing civil rights lawsuits, and coming together out of concern for the loss of community control over schools. At the heart of these resistance movements is the threat to democracy and the racialized implications of replacing public goods in the hands of private interests. As neoliberals have attempted to redefine democracy in terms of choice in the marketplace while replacing notions of government responsibility for the collective well-being of citizens with notions of competitive individualism and personal accountability, the “neoliberal project” is shifting our understandings of the meaning of education from social good to private investment (Lipman 2011).

The call now is for urban educators across the world, but particularly in North America, to actively engage in activist scholarship that links critical research with the current social movements that are mobilizing across cities. The authors in this section of the *Handbook* are examples of scholar-activists who are working in solidarity with urban communities to improve urban education and the conditions surrounding urban children and communities. While certainly a continent as expansive as North America cannot be easily encapsulated in only six chapters, the authors in

this section take us back to some of the critical themes that were briefly introduced in this editor's introduction. Questions of the significance of place and the defining, and redefining of urban; the centrality of race and inequality in schools and communities, social activism and community mobilization, and the impacts of neoliberal ideologies and practices in urban cities and schools are all addressed in this section.

The section begins with a critical discussion of *why race still matters in urban education*. Evans, Cardenas, & Dixson utilize Critical Race Theory to show how neoliberalism, particularly colorblind ideologies, have ushered the destruction of public education. The authors connect the macro issues that many communities of color face in urban cities—wealth and income inequality, housing, access to health care, and the prison industrial complex—to the ways in which children of color are perceived, treated, and educated in urban schools. Their analysis showcases the ways neoliberal ideologies and policies not only support negative stereotypes about urban children, but also work to legitimize the school to prison pipeline in America.

Parekh & Gaztambide-Fernández discuss structural inequality and segregation in Toronto despite progressive integration strategies. The chapter draws on data from the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), Canada's largest and most diverse public education system, to show how different forms of segregation, particularly race-based and class-based, continue to manifest despite policy efforts to counter such inequalities. While Canada is often praised for its public education system in promoting equitable opportunities for diverse students, the authors also show the ways that choice programs, special education, and streaming practices promote inequality and segregation. The chapter investigates the current demographic trends as well as the barriers urban school systems encounter in effecting sustainable change.

John Lupinacci showcases some of the resistance activism enacted by educators in Detroit, MI, USA specifically around environmental justice in urban communities. As a scholar-activist, Lupinacci shares the power of grassroots and community organizing to push back against neoliberal agendas to gentrify and privatize. Here, the significance of place, space, and city is highlighted in light of larger social justice issues related to sustainability and food sovereignty. The chapter is a unique case study that illustrates the ways grassroots activism and education can successfully respond to neoliberal attacks on education and urban life.

Continuing with the theme of community activism, Clemons, Price, & Clemons discuss Hip Hop Based Education as a means for student and community engagement and activism. Highlighting the voices of Black urban students and parents in a mid-sized southern city, their work points out the importance of culture, identity, and culturally responsive methodologies for urban children to develop a sense of self and pride in community. In their study, Hip Hop is not positioned as just an urban musical culture, but also as a means to facilitate critical thinking skills to mobilize youth for community activism. Grounded in the Children's Defense Fund Freedom Schools movement, the chapter discusses how a civil rights based curriculum and Hip Hop Based curriculum can work together to empower urban children and families.

In the chapter *Latina urban education: At the crossroads of intersectional violence*, Mariscal, Velasquez, Agüero, and Urrieta push urban educators to critically think about the ways urban education reproduces oppressive, racist, heteronormative, and patriarchal ideologies. Approaching their analysis from an intersectional framework, the authors discuss urban Latina schooling through a mind-body-spirit lens. Aiming to disrupt the binaries often found in the literature on urban education, the chapter proposes that intersectionality is the framework with the capacity to support the social justice pedagogies of resistance that are needed to decolonize urban education.

The section ends with Hollis and Goings and their discussion of a culturally responsive model designed to improve urban schooling and achievement. Approaching urban education from the perspectives of the fields of psychology and prevention science, the comprehensive CARE framework is designed to address the academic, social, and emotional needs of students and teachers to improve urban education. This model, which connects culturally relevant pedagogy, attachment to school, emotional health, and high expectations from and for teachers and students, is a holistic approach to educating the whole child. This approach is counter to the ‘no excuses’ and disciplinary focused models found in many urban schools, and is presented as an approach to increase student achievement and reduce the school to prison pipeline.

Collectively, the articles in this section of the *Handbook* provide theoretically rich critiques coupled with examples of community resistance and pedagogies of hope. The articles also represent a mixture of emerging and established scholars in the field of urban education, as many of these co-authored pieces are in collaboration with doctoral students. In content and methodology, they are testimony that urban education in North America has moved in the scholar-activist tradition, as it is one of our only weapons to fight against neoliberal agendas that threaten our dignity and existence.

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Chapter 42

Why Race Still Matters in Urban Education: Critical Race Theory and Urban Education

M. Alex Evans, Nancy Cardenas, and Adrienne D. Dixon

Imagine a first grade student, Brooklyn, on the Wednesday morning after the 2008 election results were announced. She stands proudly in a classroom among her peers with her right hand confidently placed over her heart reciting the pledge of allegiance. She smiles cheerfully shouting, “with liberty and justice for all!” Still filled with the high-spirited energy of her parents and grandparents whose tears of joy flowed freely as they witnessed the first African-American win the election to become the 44th President of the United States of America. Unable to grasp the full context of their emotional outpour, their collective elation had a profound impact on her because for the first time in her life she believed that even for her anything was truly possible.

Darell, her older brother, sits quietly in his ninth grade homeroom class reflecting on President-Elect Barack Obama’s acceptance speech, “if there is anyone out there that still doubts that America is place where all things are possible, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.” Though he could grasp the historical significance of this event that Brooklyn could not, even he bought into the notion that things would change for the better allowing everyone to be afforded equal opportunities in America.

“Doesn’t a black in the Oval Office put the lie to both black inferiority and white racism? Doesn’t it imply a ‘post-racial’ America?” (Steele 2008) After the election black conservative Shelby Steele used this momentous occasion to suggest that the U.S. had realized the erasure of the stigma of America’s racist past. Steele asked, “Does his victory mean that America is now officially beyond racism? Does it finally complete the work of the civil rights movement so that racism is at last dismissible as an explanation of black difficulty?” (Steele 2008) While it isn’t difficult

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to understand how our hypothetical characters Brooklyn and Darell might buy into narratives suggesting a new anti-racist America, first we simply answer each question posed by Steele, no. America is not post-racial (Dixson 2015).

In order to provide evidence we fast-forward 8 years to 2016, President Obama's last year in office. With Donald Trump's ascension as the leading Republican Presidential candidate even young students like Brooklyn and Darell are able to experience the sharp departure from previous messages of progress to more conservative racialized discourse in efforts to "make America great again." Largely because of Trump's popularity as a television icon, much of the news coverage surrounding the 2016 presidential election focuses on his rhetoric that closely mirrors historic methods of oppression, which is a stark contrast from President Obama's themes of change.

Though their diverging political views are due in large part to political party affiliation, this chapter argues that conservative colorblind and post-racial values are a direct response of retrenchment to President Obama's tenure in office. On the surface of arguably the World's largest political stage, all of our society witnesses the open condemnation and removal of Black Lives Matters members as well as silent Muslim protestors from presidential rallies, proposals of pseudo-concentration camps based on religion, and building walls to keep "Mexicans" out of America. However, we believe that this blatant protection of oppressive status quos serves as a microcosm of American society as a whole, which has shattered its own public education systems with post-racial policies that disproportionately cost communities of color.

With looming racially charged issues at the forefront of the 2016 national consciousness such as police brutality, mass incarceration, the Flint water crisis, immigration reform, the armed occupation of federal buildings by "patriotic militiamen," and steady increase of anti-Muslim and anti-Black patriot groups, "race relations" are again at a pivotal point in America's history. We reflect on America's retrogression since the last Presidential candidate took office, not as a comprehensive examination of post-racial versus markedly racial political campaigning, but as a reference point for theoretical framing for the effects of colorblind policies on public education a manner in which young students like Brooklyn and Darell might also appreciate.

This chapter directly addresses the question of *Why Race Still Matters in Urban Education* as it stresses the necessity for theorizing and analyzing educational inequity as a by-product of race and racializing processes (Dixson 2014). We argue that similar colorblind and post-racial philosophies have ushered in a wave of unprecedented destruction of public education that harms not only children of color, but also teachers and communities of color with pronounced racially disproportionate outcomes (Dixson et al. 2015). First, this chapter will examine post-racial and colorblind ideologies as it places the resulting colorblind policies of public education within the American historical context. Then the chapter will outline the racially disproportionate outcomes that currently occur within communities of color such as wealth and income disparities, upward mobility, housing, the prison industrial complex, and health care. Next, we will consider issues facing students of color, as

discriminatory stereotypes serve to legitimize the effects the school-to-prison pipeline. Lastly, we will address the challenges such as the diversity gap, retention rates, and teacher reform in which teachers of color across the nation face daily.

42.1 Post-Racialism and Colorblindness in America

Our analysis of the post-racial rhetoric immediately following the election of President Barack Obama does not focus merely on the legitimacy of post-racial discourse. Rather, we argue that post-racial rhetoric has historically served as the precursor for acts of retrenchment through the implementation of colorblind ideologies, which have historic roots fostering white racial domination (Crenshaw 1988). With the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine established in the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. However, as *Brown II* held that schools should be integrated “with all deliberate speed,” lasting precedents for colorblind decision-making precedent were set, stall or do nothing at all. By placing the burden of enforcement of racial injustice remedies on state and local government, the federal government effectively washed its hands of resolving racial segregation in schools. Disturbingly a number of districts failed to desegregate for decades, and even today public schools are more segregated now that they were over four decades ago (Rothstein 2013).

Subscription to post-racialism legitimizes the implementation of racist practices as colorblind ideologies, disregards the multifaceted socially and historically constructed firsthand experiences of persons of color. Though post-racial ideologies purport to provide universal, neutral, and objective methods of decision-making, they inherently benefit the dominant class as it forces minoritized individuals to divorce themselves from their differing realities from that of the dominant class. Colorblindness on the other hand, typically subscribes to the notion that race-conscious decision-making is synonymous with racism, forcing people of color to seek redress devoid of any attempts to address their experiences of racial inequality. Much like it is impossible for a woman speaking with a group of men to detach herself from her experiences as a woman, it is also impossible for persons of color to rid themselves of their own highly individualized lived experiences.

Generally the conservative viewpoint understands racism as acts of discrimination, involving malicious intent, which are inflicted primarily by individuals upon others based on the color of one’s skin. However, we argue that racism is “culturally sanctioned beliefs which, regardless of the intentions involved, defend the advantages Whites have because of the subordinated positions of racial minorities” (Wellman 1977). By employing this definition we are able to dispute the element of individual acts as we argue that racism is a product of cultural collectiveness.

In *Racism Without Racists*, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva coined the term colorblind racism, which explains how those who subscribe to the dominant racial ideology, rationalize people of color’s present-day status as the direct results of market

dynamics, phenomena that naturally occur, and culturally assigned limitations. Bonilla-Silva (2006) states that colorblind racism became the dominant racial ideology as a systematic device for keeping racial minorities in positions of subservience. Colorblind racism manifests itself covertly as opposed to the more commonly referenced “Jim Crow” form of explicit racism. Still, colorblind racism is indistinguishable from Jim Crow racism as they are forms of both exerting and controlling political and social power.

In housing, minoritized persons and whites are often directed into certain neighborhoods, or especially in the cases of minoritized persons directed away from affluent neighborhoods. Economically, advertisements for job openings are highly racialized in ways that effectively benefit whites. Lastly in politics, various policy practices such as racial gerrymandering serve to disenfranchise entire communities of color. Colorblind racism simply operates as a totalizing racial discourse that obfuscates the general resentment towards minoritized persons, that justifies the criticism of their morality, values, and work ethic (Bonilla-Silva 2006).

In *A Critique of Our Constitution is Color-Blind*, Neil Gotanda’s examination of colorblind interpretation of constitutionalism is particularly helpful, for a critical analysis of public education as it pertains to the public-private distinction. This distinction splits the private sphere of individuality, under the guise of contractual freedom, from the public sphere of governmental regulation. Further it differentiates actors as private citizens exercising their rights and public officials exercising state power. In other words, while a state may not tell an individual person who their associates must be, the individual acting on their own volition can be as selective or discriminatory as he/she desires.

According to Gotanda, while racial consideration amounting to discrimination is, in most instances, constitutionally permissible by the private actors, such discrimination is only constitutionally prohibited during the course of state action. For example, *Bob Jones University v. United States*, held that parochial schools could not obtain tax-exempt status if they enforce a sincere belief that the Bible forbids interracial dating and marriage. However, within the same case the Court left open the door for a private right to discrimination as it emphasized that the opinion only applied to religious schools, not with churches or other purely religious institutions (Gotanda 1991). This is particularly relevant to the privatization of public school education systems through venture philanthropy, which has created new markets worth billions of dollars (Scott 2009). Kumashiro (2012) claims that venture philanthropists spend millions targeting the largest urban school districts, as they experiment with various models in which they eventually seek to expand nationally. This not only allows for investors to take a more hands-on approach with evaluation and decision-making, but it also lowers the public oversight for assessment of instances of racial injustices thereby permitting colorblind investments irrespective of racial disparities.

The argument against post-racial politics provides a seemingly paradoxical view of post-racialism when considering both President Obama’s statements and his administrations’ policies. During his remarks on the remembrance of Martin Luther King, Jr., President Obama addressed post-racial statements likened to those

suggested by Steele when he stated, “there were some who suggested that somehow we had entered into a post-racial America, all those problems would be solved. That didn’t work so well” (Obama 2010). Ian Haney-Lopez outlines in *Dog Whistle Politics* how few of President Obama’s public statements acknowledge racial realities while a number reinforce the post-racial paradigm.

To illustrate this point further, following the racial statements made by his former pastor, Reverend Jeremiah Wright, then Presidential candidate Obama arguably saved his candidacy by delivering a “race” speech in Philadelphia (Obama 2008). In this speech President Obama referred to the racial discrimination of the past as the cause for today’s racial inequality, rather than providing a more direct analysis of contemporary racism. Haney Lopez (2014) argues that while privately President Obama is well informed on the structural depths of contemporary racism, a large degree of his political success can be attributed to his centrist abilities to appeal to bipartisan constituencies with such post-racial performances. President Obama’s mastery of post-racial performances echoing both liberal and conservative racial politics can be summed up with the *Denver Post*’s reaction to his famous Philadelphia speech: “Obama’s eloquent address revived, for Democrats, [Martin Luther] King’s dream of a colorblind America. No racial quotas; no Jim Crow laws. Just Americas.” (Sugrue 2010).

Consequently, as a society we are firmly wedged between progress and repression where enigmatic conditions force our first Black President to subscribe to post-racial politics in order to navigate through America’s perpetually racist state of white domination. Next, we will argue in greater detail the necessity for critically examining policy through race-conscious analysis as we survey the disparate effects of various educational reform policies that employ colorblind ideologies.

42.2 Effects on Public Education

As we recognize that public education in the American context has suffered from racial disparities from its inception, we offer a comprehensive analysis as to why the election of President Obama did not signal the beginning of a post racial era in the United States. Communities, students, and teachers of color are all faced with wide ranging racial disparities within America’s public education system. Not only are these disparities symptoms of American society at-large, but they are also emblematic of the vestiges of Jim Crow, slavery, and centuries of America’s racist past. In order to improve our public schools, specifically our urban schools, we must examine the deep societal scars of racism as we may find that they are in fact still fresh wounds. As we seek to address issues regarding wealth, employment, constructed criminality, mobility, access, and discrimination through policy, we highlight the manners in which purported post racial and colorblind policies injure people of color in urban settings on every level.

42.3 Communities of Color

42.3.1 *Wealth*

While the nation continues to become more ethnically and racially diverse, wealth inequality remains as disparities widen between racial and ethnic groups. Wealth is the accumulation of assets people own (e.g. homes, pension savings, and bank accounts, business ownership, etc.) minus all debts (Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Shapiro et al. 2013). Wealth can be gained through work and saving, but it can also be inherited. More importantly, wealth can greatly impact ones access to life opportunities. When combined with other resources such as income, it can secure a desired social status and standard of living that includes access to valuable resources (e.g. a high quality education, healthcare, training, career options, high status social connections) that can be passed down to one's children and future generations (Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Wealth is also particularly important due the financial security it provides people during a job loss or an unexpected crisis.

Wealth inequality not only harms economic growth within families but also within communities and in our nation. Such examples of its significant impact was observed in the Great Recession of 2007–2009, where many, but mainly communities of color, were affected by high and long term unemployment and the fall of the housing and financial market (Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Shapiro et al. 2013). Despite economic improvements, not all households have equally benefitted and as a result the racial wealth gap continues to widen.

Since the 1980s wealth inequality has continued to widen between groups of color and whites. For example, in 2013, the wealth of white households was 13 times greater than the median wealth of black households, and 10 times greater than that of Hispanics (Kochhar and Fry 2014). Whites earned a substantial increase in median wealth when compared to 2010 where they had eight times the wealth of black households and nine times the wealth of Hispanic households. As the economy began to recover from 2010 to 2013, whites were the only group that saw an increase in their net worth. As white's median net worth increased from 138,600 to 141,900, blacks and Hispanics experienced a drop in median wealth (Kochhar and Fry 2014). Blacks had a 33.7% drop in median wealth from \$16,600 in 2010 to \$11,000 in 2013 and Hispanics had a 14.3% decrease from \$16,000 to 13,700 (Kochhar and Fry 2014).

Such great wealth disparities illustrate the inequality in wealth but do not explain why many blacks and Hispanics haven't seen much improvement in their relative economic status. Policy makers, researchers, and economists have and continue to overlook racial disparities by focusing only on income, occupational attainment, and education which underestimate the magnitude of the problem. This steers attention away from the historical and current factors that have and continue to perpetuate racial wealth inequality in our country (Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Nevertheless, excluding a large subset of the population from accessing avenues toward wealth

not only poses an issue for political stability but also for the nation's economic stability (Shin 2015).

Given that blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately lower income, their wealth building is greatly affected by national and statewide policies aimed at assisting low income and groups of color (Shin 2015). Instead, federal policies have been reinforcing the wealth gap by enacting wealth-building policies that benefit the wealthy. Current research has found that institutional and policy dynamics in relation to homeownership, income and employment, increased earnings, college education, and family financial support and inheritance are key influential factors of the racial wealth gap (Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Shin 2015). However, homeownership was the largest factor influencing the loss of wealth for communities of color.

For most U.S. families, homes are the largest investments and the main way to store wealth. Yet, inequalities in homeownership fall along racial and ethnic lines. When compared to 45 % of blacks and 47 % of Latinos, 73 % of whites own a home (Shin 2015). There are also significant differences in the median worth of homes between ethnicity and race. For example, the homes of whites are worth approximately \$85,800 compared to \$50,000 for blacks and \$48,000 for Latino homeowners (Shin 2015). Furthermore, blacks and Latinos are more likely to have homes in highly segregated neighborhoods with lower equity values, high poverty rates, lower home values, and a declining infrastructure (Shin 2015). These inequalities stem from the effects of segregation, redlining, and continuing discrimination on mortgage lending practices (Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Moreover, other factors such as labor markets and income can help increase wealth.

42.3.2 Labor Markets and Income

Labor markets can provide economic security through earned income, health coverage, paid leave and workplace retirement, pensions and other forms of savings to American families (Shin 2015). Nonetheless, inequality in the labor market accounts for 20 % of the increase in the racial wealth gap within the last 25 years, as well as about 9 % in unemployment rates (Shin 2015). The drastic racial disparities in employment are outcomes of racial discrimination, geographic barriers, social capital, and structural and institutionalized racism. Acts of discrimination have made it very difficult for groups of color but more specifically for blacks to save and build assets (Oliver and Shapiro 1995).

When examining the income gap, white families made about \$50,400, while blacks made \$32,038, and Hispanics earned \$36,840 (Shin 2015). In addition, blacks and Hispanics earn a lower return on their income when compared to whites. For instance, a white family will typically receive a return of \$19.51 for each dollar earned, while Hispanics will see \$3.63 and black only \$4.80 in return (Shin 2015). Consequently, the lower the income the lower the return for each dollar, which not only affects their ability to save but to turn additional money into wealth. In addition to discrimination and disparities in income between race and ethnicity, communities

of color face a higher risk of short and long term unemployment (Shapiro et al. 2013).

Although unemployment can and has greatly affected wealth accumulation for many American families, communities of color have increasingly faced the burden of being unemployed. Not only are blacks and Latinos more likely to experience unemployment but they are also more likely to stay unemployed for extended periods of time (Shapiro et al. 2013). At the end of 2014, the national unemployment rates were 4.5 % for whites, 6.7 % for Hispanics, and 11 % for blacks (Wilson 2015). In addition, long term employment among black employees was 37 % which was the highest when compared to 29.8 % of Hispanics and 31 % for whites (Wilson 2015). Disparities in income and in employment can greatly reduce the chances of upward social mobility for communities of color.

42.3.3 Upward Mobility

Following the 2008 recession, the threat of economic security is no longer an issue of the poor. In 2010, 32 % of Americans reported not having sufficient funds to withstand unemployment or an emergency (Rapport and Wheary 2013). Economic insecurity now affects those outside the brackets of poverty and include individuals and families from the middle class. From all U.S. households, the middle class was the group mostly impacted by the recession. They not only experienced a job loss of 60 % but also lost 28 % of their wealth. In a Pew survey in 2012, 85 % of middle class adults reported struggling to maintain their standard of living now than a decade ago (Rapport and Wheary 2013). Similar to the working poor, the middle class also face similar issues with upward social mobility but face a higher risk of falling into poverty (Rapport and Wheary 2013). For the working poor and those living in poverty the opportunity to move up and out of their current economic status is not only inhibited but is often cut off. Stagnant social mobility, labor discrimination, and rise of low wage jobs with not benefits are significantly affecting upward mobility for both groups (Rapport and Wheary 2013).

In our current U.S. economic state, “the majority of Americans born into poverty will remain at or near the poverty level throughout their adulthood (Rapport and Wheary 2013, p. 2).” However, communities of color, but more specifically, blacks living in poverty are less likely to experience upward mobility when compared to whites. According to a report by Reeves and Rodrigues (2015), upward mobility for blacks living in the bottom of the income distribution is less likely when compared to whites. More specifically, 51 % of blacks born into the lowest fifth of the income distribution continue to live in their current status at the age of 40 when compared to 23 % of whites (Reeves and Rodrigues 2015). Research also shows that black children born to middle-income parents are more likely to experience downward mobility when compared to whites. While 31 % of black children are experiencing higher incomes than their parents, 45 % of middle income black children face

dropping to the bottom of the income distribution within one generation when compared to 16 % of white middle income children (PEW Charitable Trusts 2007).

When looking at social mobility across the 50 states, 9 southern states including Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina and Texas have the worst upward mobility and higher downward mobility compared to the rest of the nation (Pew Center on the States 2012). Children who were born and raised in the bottom fifth had a 4 % chance of rising to the top fifth in these locations (Leonhardt 2013). Thus, regions with larger black populations had lower upward mobility and higher downward mobility rates (Leonhardt 2013). Interestingly enough, groups living in many of these southern states not only face issues with social mobility but with access to health care.

42.3.4 Health Care

As a result of advancements in technology, medicine, and greater access to health care, more Americans today are generally living healthier lives when compared to previous years. Despite these advancements disparities in health care access in the U.S. have continued to be an ongoing issue. In particular, groups of color face significant disparities in obtaining health coverage and as a result experience poor health access and higher health costs (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2013). With groups of color expected to account for more than half of the population by 2050, it is crucial to address the current disparities in healthcare that affect a disproportionate amount of groups of color (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2013).

In 2010 the Affordable Care Act (ACA) was enacted to help reduce the number of uninsured by expanding affordable Medicaid coverage for millions of low income Americans (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2013). Given that low income and groups of color make up a large percentage of the uninsured, the ACA coverage expansion can particularly benefit them and improve disparities. With its new provisions, Medicaid expanded coverage for adults by extending eligibility to 138 % of adults living in the federal poverty level (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2013). However, the Supreme Court ruling on the ACA made implementation of the Medicaid expansion a state choice. As a result many low income and communities of color continue to remain uninsured due to their states decision to not to expand Medicaid (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2013).

Currently, only 32 states have expanded Medicaid to its residents. The remaining states, which mainly consist of Southern states, have 3.1 million poor adults who continue to be uninsured and fall into the coverage gap (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2016). From this group, 1.7 million individuals are from groups of color and live in poverty (Artiga et al. 2015). In the absence of Medicaid expansion, many cannot afford to purchase Marketplace coverage which begins at 100 % federal poverty level. Among the uninsured, people of color are 20 % more likely to fall under this category and into the coverage gap when compared to 11 % of whites (Artiga et al. 2015). When compared to 16 % of blacks, 27 % of Hispanics are at risk for

being uninsured (Artiga et al. 2015). As a result of residing in the southern states that have not expanded Medicaid, 24 % of black adults fall into the coverage gap, while 11 % of uninsured whites and 7 % of Hispanics fall into the coverage gap. Overall, the states with the largest share of uninsured adults that fall into the coverage gap are Texas, Florida, and Georgia (Artiga et al. 2015). For example, out of 0.9 million uninsured black 19 % reside in Georgia, 16 % in Texas, 14 % in Florida, 11 % in Louisiana and 39 % in other states. For Hispanics, 52 % of the 0.7 million uninsured poor adults reside in Texas, 27 % in Florida, and 22 % in other states (Artiga et al. 2015). Therefore, the lack of expansion of Medicaid largely affects people of color due to the fact that they lack access to Medicaid and are low income. Expanding health coverage can help promote increased access to care and can address the health disparities that many people of color face (Artiga et al. 2015).

42.3.5 War on Drugs/Prison Industrial Complex

Since President Nixon's declaration of "War on Drugs" during the early 1970s, billions of dollars have been spent to decrease drug use and drug related crimes in the U.S. (Sirin 2011). Nevertheless, after 46 years of struggling to combat the issues related to drug use and crime, the war on drugs has resulted in increased racial injustices and disparities that largely target and criminalize minorities and immigrants (Sirin 2011). Policy leaders have enacted and enforced highly punitive policies that have led to an increased number of imprisoned minorities and temporary and permanent disenfranchisement for communities of color (Sirin 2011).

One particular outcome of the war on drugs was the rise in the prison population over the past years. From 1980 to 2008, the number of people incarcerated for a drug offense increased from 40,000 to 500,000. Amongst this group, African Americans and Latinos made up 66 % of the population. Out of 1.5 million drug arrests in 2013, 80 % constituted for possession (Drug Policy Alliance 2015). In federal prisons, more than 50 % of people are imprisoned for drug law violations. Blacks' comprise 30 % of those arrested for drug charges and 40 % of those imprisoned in state or federal prisons (Drug Policy Alliance 2015). Similar to blacks, Latinos make up 20 % in state prison for drug violations and 37 % of people incarcerated in federal prisons. By 2013, Latinos constituted 47 % of all cases in federal courts for drug charges. Thus, 57 % of people imprisoned in state prisons and 77 % of people imprisoned in federal prisons are either Black or Latino (Drug Policy Alliance 2015).

With the recent dramatic increase of heroin use and abuse among whites, many have questioned the response of policy leaders against the current heroin epidemic (Seelye 2015). More specifically, it is clear that the drug related policies are associates to race due to compassion that political leaders are showing for white drug users. When compared to the black heroin epidemic during the 1960, where blacks faced zero tolerance criminal charges and little to no medical help, current heroin addicts are not being viewed as criminals but as having a disease that needs to be

addressed with a more compassionate approach through the use of treatment (Seelye 2015).

Nevertheless, President Obama has begun to address some of the racial disparities on drugs and incarceration rates. On August 3, 2010, President Obama overturned the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 by adopting the Fair Sentencing Act, which changes the cocaine sentencing between crack and cocaine (Sirin 2011). In addition this act eliminates the “simple possession mandatory minimum, limits the excessive penalties served by people convicted of low-level crack cocaine offenses, and increases penalties for high-level traffickers (Sirin 2011, p. 91).” However, more effective policy changes are needed to help reduce the criminalization of drug possession which mainly affect groups of color.

42.4 Children of Color

Defiant, disorderly lazy, disrespectful, dangerous, criminal, immoral, ignorant, and unintelligent; children of color are often branded with these negative stereotypes prior to beginning kindergarten (Crenshaw 1988). While typically viewed as individualized points of view, the practice of utilizing discriminatory stereotypes to justify the mistreatment and disparate educational outcomes of persons of color has a pointed historical legacy of racism (Simson 2014). This racist propagation has roots not only in the history of the United States, but also in the apartheid, the holocaust, as well as colonization throughout all of the African diaspora.

Historically, these bigoted and racialized stereotypes have received heavy substantiation through scientific racism, and have been utilized to justify the domination and embezzling of persons of color for centuries (Simson 2014). In modern times identical sentiments are evident in education policy as they are hidden beneath the veil of post-racial rhetoric with terms such as “urban,” “inner city,” “at-risk,” and “troubled” youth, which operate to signify race without the outright mentioning of race itself.

While education enhances the life chances of disadvantaged classes and provides an avenue for upward mobility (Ewert et al. 2014), for many students of color their sole opportunity for advancement in society is congested with a plethora of racial disparities. In America students of color and low-income students tend to have lower educational attainment than white and more affluent students. One clear example is that young white men in America are more likely to graduate from high school than nearly any other advanced nation, while Blacks are much less likely to graduate or go to college (Ewert et al. 2014). In addition to limited educational attainment (Kena et al. 2014), black students face a number of racial disparities including but not limited to disparities in standardized test scores, low representation in gifted education (Ford 2013), and being over-represented in special education classes (Ahram et al. 2011), as well as remedial courses. While each of these respective racial inequalities harm the educational advancement of students of color, the push out phenomenon that removes students from their classrooms for minor

behavioral issues arguably exacerbates all other disparities as it creates hostile learning environments, as well as takes students outside of the schoolhouse walls.

The “school-to-prison pipeline” is a term that signifies the harsh practices and policies that funnels schoolchildren, particular children of color, from schools directly into the juvenile and criminal justice systems. The racial disparities within the pipeline are due in large part to the social construction of who and what constitutes criminality, which is directly attributable to an exceedingly racialized past. With America’s prevalence of mass incarceration and the prison industrial complex these racial troupes of “dangerous” persons of color as constant threats in need of neutralization play themselves out in a plethora of ways in American society. Weissman (2014) exhibits how punitive school discipline conditions children of color, most notably from poor communities, for what is prearranged to become their own place within the extensive carceral state. Therefore the school-to-prison pipeline is a direct result of punitive policies, which serve as manufacturers of racialized social engineering.

Zero tolerance policies were originally a reaction to widespread anxieties over increased violence, gang activity, and drug-related problems (Losen and Skiba 2010). As a result of the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994, zero tolerance policies led to a number of punitive policies that conditioned federal funding on mandatory 1-year expulsions for students who committed specific firearm offenses (Simson 2014). Although zero tolerance policies were intended to preserve safe school environments by removing students who commit egregious acts of misconduct, they have increasingly been used to remove students for trivial misbehaviors. Under this punitive regime, students of color, especially Black students are disproportionately discipline and suffer the most consequences (Simson 2014). The utilization of these policies often reflect the community in which they serve as zero tolerance policy typically aligns with the view that “inner-city”, and “urban” schools are morally inferior institutions in need of strict discipline procedures (McNeal and Dunbar 2010).

“Minority overrepresentation in school punishment is by no means a new finding in school discipline research. Investigations of a variety of school punishments over the past 25 years have consistently found evidence of socioeconomic and racial disproportionality in the administration of school discipline” (Skiba et al. 2002, p. 318). Although suspension rates since have increased for all students across demographic lines since 1970, children of color have seen drastic increases. Black students’ suspension rates saw a 12.5% increase from 1970 to 2009–2010; and during the same period the rate only increased by 1.1% for white students. This displays a glaring racial disparity, as there is an increase of more than 11 times higher for Black students than for white students. It seems probable that racial stereotyping, whether deliberate or unconscious, has contributed to the inequalities and can shed light upon at least some part of current racial disproportionality in school discipline (Simson 2014). UCLA’s Civil Rights Project estimated that over two million students were suspended or expelled from schools during the 2009–2010 school year (Losen and Martinez 2013). This represents the fact that one out of every nine

secondary school students was suspended at least one time during that school year, with a much higher probability of children of color being suspended.

In a 2010 report, "*Suspended Education: Urban Middle Schools in Crisis*," overwhelming racial and gender disparities were shown at the middle school level as much greater rates of disparities appeared than when collective K-12 data were examined. Almost 30 % of Black boys were suspended in comparison to only 10 % of white boys. Similarly, nearly 20 % of Black girls were suspended, compared to just 4 % of white girls (Losen and Martinez 2013). Further evaluation of data for 18 of the United States' largest school districts revealed that in 15 districts, at least 30 % of all Black boys enrolled were suspended at least once. Throughout these districts, hundreds of schools had remarkably high suspension rates of 50 % or more for Black boys (Losen and Martinez 2013).

Like Black students, Latino students are also overrepresented within the school-to-prison pipeline as 70 % of all students arrested or referred to law enforcement nationally are Black and Latino (American Civil Liberties Union 2012). While Black students are three and a half times more likely to be suspended than their white peers (American Civil Liberties Union 2012), Latino students are also targeted with the use of zero tolerance policies, as they are three times more likely to be suspended, expelled, and referred to court than their white counterparts who commit identical violations (National Council of La Raza 2007). The Children's Defense Fund found that in 2011, for every 7 s one Latino public school student was suspended. For every 27 s one Latino high school student dropped out, and for every 58 s one Latino public school student was corporally punished (Children's Defense Fund 2011). In 2006, although Latino boys only accounted for 10 % of the country's student population they totaled 14 % of all suspended students, while in contrast white boys accounted for 29 % of the national student population but were only 28 % of all suspended students (Children's Defense Fund 2011).

The Civil Rights Project's study displays that 2624 secondary schools in 323 districts across the nation suspended at least 25 % of their student body (Losen and Martinez 2013). The study goes on to show that 519 of these schools had suspension rates of at least 50 % of their respective student bodies. Schools are labeled as hotspot secondary schools if they suspend more than 25 % of any subgroup. Chicago had the greatest amount of high-suspension hotspot schools out of urban districts across the nation with 82 hotspot schools (Losen and Martinez 2013).

Throughout the nation high suspension rates in both middle and high schools have seen dramatic increases for Black students over time. One out of four Black secondary school children, and nearly one in three Black middle school males, were suspended at least once in 2009–2010 (Losen and Martinez 2013). According to Losen, Black girls in secondary schools were the most marginalized group, as they were suspended at more than 18 %, which was a much higher rate than that of any other racial or ethnic group. Crenshaw further highlights the effects on Black girls in *Black Girls Matter: Pushed Out, Overpoliced, and Underprotected*, as she notes that in New York City public schools in 2011–2012, 90 % of all girls expelled were Black. Some researchers assert that out-of-school suspensions and expulsions are

closely correlated with consequent participation in juvenile and criminal justice systems (Noguera 2003; Toldson 2011).

Taking into consideration students' academic development, the widespread abuse of suspensions and expulsions has significant costs (US Department of Education/Department of Justice 2014). When children of color are pushed out of schools, they are often times unsupervised and are unable benefit from instruction by teachers, healthy interactions with their peers, and mature mentorship that are offered within their schools. In regards to suspended students, schools fail to aid student in the cultivation of the skills and approaches to avoid future difficulties. "Suspended students are less likely to graduate on time and more likely to be suspended again, repeat a grade, drop out of school, and become involved in the juvenile justice system" (US Department of Education/Department of Justice 2014). Frequent suspensions of children of color has an immediate and ongoing consequence on those students who choose to apply for college or try to get a job due to the criminal charges that are often times filed against them for trivial misbehavior in the classroom.

The American Pediatrics Association indicated that schools with higher rates of expulsion and out-of-school suspension are not safer for students or faculty (Losen and Martinez 2013). The Civil Rights Project research demystifies the notion that removing the "disruptive" kids out of class will benefit the "good" kids so that they can learn, because there are many feasible options that do not result in hectic school atmospheres. Harsh punitive practices do more harm than good, and retaining out-of-school suspension as a last measure can lead to better achievement outcomes and enhanced graduation rates (Losen and Martinez 2013).

When a 14-year-old student of color was suspended from his high school in Texas for his invention—a digital clock within a pencil box, that he brought to school to impress his teachers, President Obama addressed the issue that had gone viral by the time of his comments. Much like his responses to highly racialized public incidents, President Obama responded with colorblind rhetoric as he stated, "Cool clock, Ahmed. Want to bring it to the White House? We should inspire more kids like you to like science. It's what makes America great" (Berghel 2015). Although his public comments clearly reflect his strategically colorblind political rhetoric approach, in January 2014 the Obama Administration announced new federal guidelines, *Guiding Principles*, which would lead to a number of White House initiatives designed to assist in the dismantling the school-to-prison pipeline. These federal guidelines were aimed at reducing the use of zero-tolerance policies, suspensions, expulsions, and recommended for school districts to use alternative measures instead of arresting students for slight disciplinary infractions (US Department of Education/Department of Justice 2014). The data gathered by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights demonstrates the stark discriminatory racial disparities that exist in school discipline for children of color. Former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder concurred as he indicated that African-American students were disciplined more severely and more frequently because of their race (US Department of Education/Department of Justice 2014). Throughout the 2011–2012 academic year, Black children totaled only 18% of preschool children in the U.S., but

accounted for 42 % of students suspended one time and 48 % of students suspended one than one times from preschools (U.S. Department of Education/Department of Justice 2014).

42.5 Teachers of Color

U.S. school demographics are rapidly changing in terms of students' race, ethnicity, and language. Nationally, students of color make up more than 45 % of the K-12 public school population and will continue to increase, making minority students the majority in the public school system (Boser 2011). Despite this increase, teachers of color continue to be drastically underrepresented in the public school teaching force (Boser 2011; Partee 2014). Between 2003 and 2013, the percentage of teachers of color within the public education system has remained stagnant with only a small increase from 17 % to 18 % (Murray and Jenkins-Scott 2014). Today, teachers of color represent 14 % of the teacher workforce with 7.6 % Latino and 6.6 % black teachers, while white teachers represent 82.3 % of the total teacher population (Bristol 2015). When looking at state level data, similar trends are observed but with the diversity gap largely increasing in some states more than others.

42.5.1 Diversity Gap

According to Boser (2014), there are 35 states with gaps of 20 percentage points or more between the diversity of the teacher and student populations. The top 10 states with the largest gaps include, California with a 44 % gap; Nevada, 42 %; Maryland, 40 %; Arizona, 37 %; Delaware, 35 %; Texas, 32 %; Alaska, 34 %; Illinois, 32 %; Georgia, 32 %; Colorado, 31 %. For example, in California, 73 % of students are of color but the percent of teachers of color range at 29 %. Similarly, Maryland has a large diversity gap between teachers and students of color with a minority student population of 55 % and a non-white teacher population of 17 %. When examining teachers' racial and ethnic backgrounds, Hispanic teachers have a wider teacher-student diversity gap. Hispanic teachers in the state of Nevada account for 9 % of the teacher population while Hispanic students make up 9 % of the population. In some school districts the diversity gap is strikingly wider than that of the state. For instance, in the Chelsea public school district in Massachusetts, there is a 76 % gap between Hispanic teachers and students while in the Randolph district there is a 52 % gap between African American students and teachers. In Santa Ana, California, there is a 67 % gap between Hispanic students and teachers, with 93 % of Hispanic students and only 26 % of Hispanic teachers. In Boston, where minority students account for 75 % of the public school population, African American teachers represent 21 % of the workforce while Hispanic teachers make up 10 % (BPS 2014).

42.5.2 Benefits of Minority Teachers in the Classroom

This issue poses a major concern for our public schools and for our students of color. Educators and policy leaders must ensure that all students, especially students of color, have access to both high quality educational opportunities and to a diverse teaching force that is reflective and responsive to their racial, ethnic, and linguistic cultures and learning needs (Dilworth and Coleman 2014). Research has shown that minority teachers can positively influence the achievement and retention rates of students of color by serving as positive role models, providing more favorable views of their academics, teaching with a greater level of social and racial consciousness, appearing more committed and drawn to teaching in difficult to staff urban schools, and are more apt to persist in those settings (Achinstein et al. 2010; Boser 2011; Dilworth and Coleman 2014; Murray and Jenkins-Scott 2014; Partee and Center for American 2014). In response to the minority teacher employment issue, policy leaders as well as organizations have adopted different practices in order to increase the presence of minority teachers across schools but more specifically for high poverty and high minority schools.

42.5.3 Recruitment of Teachers of Color

Over the past 40 years, organizations including the Education Commission of the States, The American Association of College of Teacher Education, and the National Educational Association have promoted and executed various initiatives in order to recruit minorities into the teaching workforce (Ingersoll and May 2011). In addition, during the 1980s numerous foundations such as the Ford Foundation, the Dewitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund and others have greatly invested in recruiting and preparing teachers of color. Efforts to recruit teachers of color have included an establishment of teacher programs in high schools, bridge programs between community colleges and 4-year institutions, career ladders for current paraprofessionals in the education field, and alternative certification programs (Ingersoll and May 2011). To date, over 36 states have and continue to implement policies to recruit and prepare teachers of color (Ingersoll and May 2011). While these efforts have brought positive gains, teacher retention has been an ongoing issue.

42.5.4 Retention Among Teachers of Color

Since the late 1980s, there has been an increase in teacher turnover rates among teachers of color (Ingersoll and May 2011). From the late 1980s to 2009, the annual teacher turnover rate for minority teachers increased from 15.1 % to 19.3 %. White teachers only experienced a 1.2 % increase in turnover rates from 14.4 % to 15.6 %

within the same period. More specifically, at the beginning of the 2003–2004 school year, 47,600 minority teachers entered the work field but by the following school year a total of 56,000 minority teachers left the field (Ingersoll and May 2011). While there are various reasons for teachers of color leaving the profession, some of the most stated reasons for leaving the teaching workforce was organizational conditions which have mainly resulted from NCLB and mandated high stakes testing. For other teachers of color, such as those in New Orleans, leaving the profession was a result of the charter school movement that took over the city's public schools (Cook and Dixson 2012; Dixson et al. 2014).

42.5.5 NCLB, High Stakes Testing, and Organizational Conditions

With the adoption of NCLB and mandated high stakes testing, teacher accountability requirements have greatly influenced minority teachers' retention rates. In addition, these federal and statewide practices have further affected organizational conditions for teachers of color. Teachers who are employed in high need schools and communities face more obstacles in meeting student performance requirements and thus are more vulnerable to transfer or leave the profession when goals are not met (Achinstein and Ogawa 2012). Since teachers of color are more likely to work in disadvantaged schools their tenure and retention may be less secure.

In a 2007 survey, 200 New York teachers of color reported that as a result of the NCLB requirements, teachers were forced to adopt prescribed instructional programs that narrowed curriculum and limited their autonomy (Achinstein and Ogawa 2012). They also felt that the new form of teacher accountability which included high stakes testing, hindered their personal and professional identities and diminished opportunities to connect with their students. These mandated accountability policies caused job dissatisfaction and resistance among non-white teachers.

Similar trends were observed in an ethnographic study conducted by Achinstein and Ogawa (2012). Findings illustrated non-white teachers' frustration towards the high emphasis on raising test scores among minority students. Having to heavily focus on preparing students of color for high stakes testing led many of the Los Angeles minority teachers to consider leaving the field because it conflicted with their commitment to support and respond to their student's needs. These new approaches prevented teachers from engaging students in multicultural curriculum and critical pedagogy. Teachers also mentioned being closely monitored by administrator who randomly checked in on them during class to ensure they were teaching the district-mandated practices. This created a sense of fear for many teachers that further prevented them from teaching outside of the mandated curriculum. Overall, teachers did not feel supported by administrators to teach students what they thought would be more educationally and culturally relevant. Teachers also felt that they

were not given the opportunities to take part in many of the day to day decisions that affect their students and their own performance.

42.5.6 Charter School Movement and Teacher Reform: A New Orleans Story

With over, 6000 schools across 42 states and the District of Columbia, charter schools have been the fastest growing school option across the U.S. Over the past decade, student enrollment rates have increased by 70 %, with over 2.7 million students currently enrolled in public charter schools (CREDO 2013). This is 5 % more than the total population enrolled in public schools. With its mission of narrowing the achievement gap across race, gender, and ethnicity, and social class, charter schools have continued to attract the attention of policy leaders, educators and families (Zimmer and Buddin 2007). While charter schools are mainly supported by political leaders and private organizations, they have faced criticism by many educators and community leaders who have documented through research that charter schools are generally no better than public schools and instead are often worse (Zimmer and Buddin 2007), causing devastation to low income and communities of color. In the case of New Orleans, the takeover and growth of charter schools negatively affected the public school system as well as the stability of the city itself.

After Hurricane Katrina hit in 2005, New Orleans public school system experienced drastic changes that included a new school board governance and new army of white teachers (Dixson et al. 2015). Along with this new change came the takeover of the Orleans Parish School District by the all-charter Recovery School District, which converted over 70 % of the public schools into charter schools (Barret and Harris 2015). However, one of the many losses that New Orleans public schools faced was that of its teachers and administrators who were mainly African American and part of the community (Barret and Harris 2015; Cook and Dixson 2012; Dixson et al. 2015).

Prior to Hurricane Katrina, the New Orleans teacher profession included a higher percentage of black teachers when compared to other urban school districts. While blacks account for 17 % of all teachers in urban cities, 72 % of New Orleans teachers are black (Barret and Harris 2015; Cook and Dixson 2012). However, from 2004 to 2014 the percentage of black teachers dropped from 72 % to 49 %. What greatly influenced the decrease of black teachers in New Orleans was the mass dismissal of over 7500 teachers, administrators, and paraprofessional (Barret and Harris 2015; Cook and Dixson 2012; Dixson et al. 2015). Education reform organizations worked to replace the mostly veteran African American teaching workforce with white young teachers from programs such as Teach for America, New Leaders for New Schools, and the New Teacher Project (Dixson et al. 2015). As the rate of African American teachers rapidly declined, white teachers in New Orleans increased from about 22 % to 48 % during the same period (Barret and Harris 2015).

The mass dismissal of black teachers after Katrina continues to be a topic of concern due to the high number of black teachers and administrators that were replaced by whites who had no historical roots in the community. From 2003 to 2004, about 60 % of teachers were from the local community, while 19 % were from out of the state, and 20 % from Louisiana (Barret and Harris 2015). During 2007–2014, percentage of teachers from New Orleans dropped from 55 % to approximately 33 %, while percentages for out of state teachers increased from 21 % to 38 %.

After Katrina, percentages of teacher with 5 or less years of experience had increased from 33 % to 54 % (Barret and Harris 2015). More importantly, during the same time, the percentage of veteran teachers with more than 20 years had dropped. Thus, teachers with less experience were being hired at higher rates while teachers with more experience were not. In addition, the percentage of certified teachers dropped from 79 % to 56 % during the 2003–2014 period, causing more concern on the quality of teachers being placed in schools to teach low income students of color (Barret and Harris 2015). While New Orleans was one of the major cities to be negatively impacted by the charter movement, other cities across the nation are largely observing similar trends in their high poverty and high minority communities.

42.6 Conclusion

It is clear that in today's political climate America is fraught with a vast array of racial disparities. By reflecting over the last decade's practices and policies we are about to realize that America's perception of racial progress is at best contradiction from the evidence stated above. Without a doubt there has been extraordinary levels of progress from the most controversial moments of the civil rights movement. However, now we must critically ask one another exactly which direction are we headed in today? Many suggested that by simply electing President Barack Obama, America has officially ushered in the post-racial era. Our analysis proves that not only was this notion false, but we have also proven that in this short amount of time America has demonstrated a continual regression of racial disparities. These color-blind practices and policies in public education greatly effect young students like Brooklyn and Darell, their families, as well as the teachers charged with educating them. As long as racial disparities continue to plague the American education system, and as long as policies directly harm people of color much greater than whites, race still matters in urban education thereby evidencing the necessity for theorizing and analyzing educational inequity as a by-product of racism and the racializing processes.

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Chapter 43

The More Things Change: Durable Inequalities and New Forms of Segregation in Canadian Public Schools

Gillian Parekh and Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández

43.1 Introduction

Canadian public education was established in the mid-nineteenth century with the intention of enforcing Victorian values, promoting industry, and securing the integration of new immigrants into the growing settler nation (Tomkins 2008). Public schools provide opportunities across diverse economic, cultural, and social groups, and today Canada is widely recognized for its apparent success at creating equitable outcomes for its diverse students (OECD 2015). Canadian public school systems are complex, providing instruction in primary and secondary grades as well as continuing education. In addition, and particularly within urban school districts, Canadian schools have historically offered an expansive range of programs through which students can access specialized academic or enhanced technical development. While such specialized programs were intended to provide a wide range of choices and cater to student interests, they have also been an important mechanism for the production of social and economic inequities (Smaller 2014). Despite large-scale efforts to address these dynamics, over the last two decades such “programs of choice” have become further entrenched while also obscuring their role in the production of inequality, usually through the rhetoric of choice and market logics (Parekh et al. 2011). In this chapter, we examine the extent to which programs of choice structures function as an extension of historical streaming and who do these program pathways most affect?

Although these patterns of inequality are evident throughout the Canadian public school system, they manifest in unique and particularly vivid ways within the context of large urban regions. Canada’s largest urban centre, Toronto, is also home to

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Canada's largest public education system, the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). Reflecting the diversity found in many North American gateway cities, the TDSB boasts a significant student population with just under a quarter of a million regular day students and 160,000 continuing education students (TDSB 2014a). As we hope to show in this chapter, the tremendous cultural and socio-economic diversity that characterizes this large population of students makes Toronto an important location for the examination of patterns of segregation and inequality in public schools. Moreover, because of its commitment to a robust and expansive approach to data collection and research, the TDSB also provides a detailed and extensive view of the patterns of inequality that are produced as an outcome of varied programs of choice. As such, Toronto is a unique space for education inquiry, policy development, and implementation.

In fact, over the last several years, reports coming out of the TDSB have raised the alarm over the extent of disproportionate over- and under-representation of ethno-racial, economic, gender, and (dis)ability identities within the board's specialized programs (Brown and Parekh 2010, 2013; Sinay 2010). Analyses of student demographics suggest that all specialized programs, whether they are considered more or less socially desirable, tend to lead to homogenous groupings of students. Despite myriad board improvement and school effectiveness strategies and interventions to address systemic inequity, students within specialized arts, gifted, and French immersion programs are disproportionately White and have more access to social and economic resources, while students within special education and trades/skills focused programs continue to be disproportionately racialized and poor (Parekh 2013a).

Despite deliberate attempts to work against the deleterious effects of streaming policies that sustained unequal access in the past, new programmatic policies collide with old patterns to recreate persistent inequality. However, we argue that neo-liberal discourses and notions of choice have the effect of occluding these patterns and making it appear as if they are a natural outcome rather than a manifestation of what Charles Tilly called "durable inequality" (Tilly 1999). This chapter investigates current demographic trends and examines how new social, cultural, and economic barriers shape the implementation of new programs in urban school systems. Seeking sustainable change, we deconstruct the societal forces and conditions that enable these inequities to persist.

43.2 The City of Toronto and Its School Board

While the population is about a tenth that of the United States, Canada is home to several major North American cities with booming metropolitan areas, such as Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto. The City of Toronto, for example, has a population of roughly 2.6 million, similar to that of Chicago's 2.8 million (UNdata 2015), and the Greater Toronto Area is estimated to have a population of roughly over six million (Statistics Canada 2015). In addition, Toronto boasts an international

reputation for being one of the most multicultural and diverse cities in the world. There are over 140 different dialects and languages spoken across the city and, as of 2006, 50% of all residents were born outside of Canada (City of Toronto 2016).

In 2015, the Economist Intelligence Unit ranked Toronto as “the most liveable city in the world” based upon indicators of safety, food security, liveability, cost of living, business environment, and democracy (City of Toronto 2015). Furthermore, Toronto has been ranked “the best economy in the world for young people” by the CITI foundation, results based largely on entrepreneurial success, cost of living, and gender equity (CITI 2015). Despite these accolades, Toronto has scored high on not-so-flattering indicators as well. In 2015, for instance, a study by the United Way ranked Toronto as Canada’s top city for income inequality (United Way 2015). Due to its size, diverse population, and socio-economic advantages and challenges, Toronto provides an interesting context for research on equity in education.

43.2.1 The Toronto District School Board

The Toronto District School Board (TDSB) is Canada’s largest public school district and one of the largest in North America (TDSB 2015a). With its close to 600 schools, the TDSB is accountable for the education of just under a quarter of a million regular day students and approximately 160,000 continuing education students. Similar to many school districts across North America, the TDSB offers public education to students from Junior Kindergarten (enrolment eligibility for the year a child turns 4) to Grade 12. Elementary schools generally include Kindergarten to Grade 8 and secondary schools generally include Grades 9–12.¹ Its student population reflects the unique diversity and multiculturalism of its host city, as illustrated by data drawn from the Student and Parent Census described later in this chapter (TDSB 2015a). Gender split across the student population is relatively stable at 48% female and 52% male (Yau et al. 2013). Over half of the student population speak another a language other than English and two thirds of students are from families where both parents were born outside of Canada (TDSB 2015a; Yau et al. 2013).

The most prominent racial categories in the district are students who self-identify most commonly as White (29%), South Asian (24%), East Asian (15%) and Black (12%). The remaining 20% include students who self-identify across groups such as Latin American, Middle Eastern, Mixed, Southeast Asian, and Aboriginal. Pulling from the 2011 Parent Census information on students enrolled in grades kindergarten to grade 6, 28% of families reported having an annual household income of less than \$30,000 while 26% reported an annual household income of over \$100,000 (Yau et al. 2013). However, the stratification of income is not equitably distributed across racial groups. For example, while 59% of students (Grades K-6) who identified as White come from families with an annual household income

¹ However, there are various iterations of schools across the TDSB spanning many different grades.

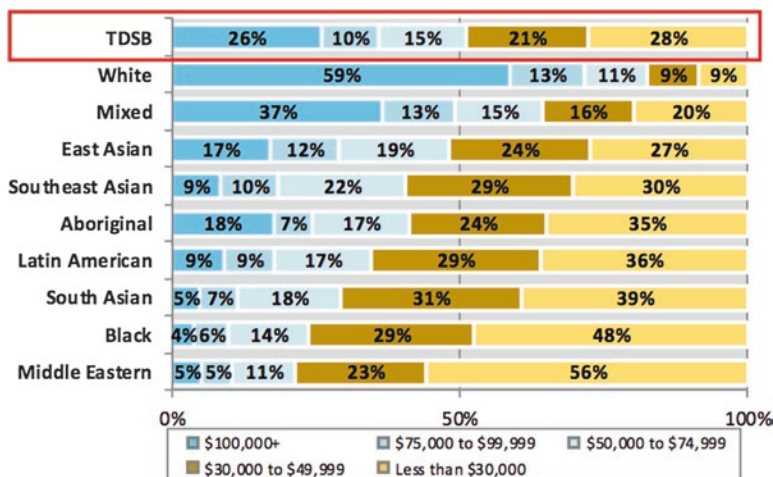


Fig. 43.1 Family income (JK-Grade 6) by ethno-racial group

of over \$100,000, this was only true of 4% of students (Grades K-6) identified as Black. Conversely, while only 9% of White students live in families where the annual household income is below \$30,000, the same is true for 27% of East Asian students, 39% of South Asian Students, 48% of Black students and 56% of Middle Eastern students (Yau et al. 2013) (See Fig. 43.1, also reproduced from Yau et al. 2013).

43.3 TDSB School Demographics and Inequality

The historic amalgamation of the six municipalities that today constitute the City of Toronto led to the 1998 merger of six municipal school districts into what is today the Toronto District School Board (Robson et al. 2015). Prior to this, the Toronto Board of Education developed and implemented the Every Student Survey, or ESS (Wright 1970). Between 1970 and 1995, the ESS was cyclically distributed and collected basic demographic information from its student population, which was then examined against select programming information and achievement indicators. After amalgamation, the TDSB re-crafted the extensive survey, now known as the TDSB's Student and Parent Census, and administered its first iteration in 2006 (TDSB 2014b). Due to the size of the TDSB and the comprehensive nature of the surveys, the TDSB Student and Parent Census is now considered the largest youth survey in the country (TDSB 2014b).

The TDSB's Student and Parent Census collects parental and student demographic as well as experiential information. Parents complete surveys designed for Kindergarten to Grade 6, while students in grade 7–8, as well as students in grade 9–12, respond to the survey themselves. Students in Grade 9–12 are asked to

complete the most expansive version of the census and are randomly assigned either Form A, which has a focus on demographics, in-school experiences and self-perception, or Form B, which focuses on demographics, out-of-school experiences, and academic aspirations. While there is some overlap between both Form A and Form B, the goal is to collect a broad range of information without burdening students with cumbersome questionnaires.

The TDSB Census is also unique in that, while the data collected are kept confidential, the results are not anonymous. Students are asked to provide their student identification number so that demographic and experiential data can be merged with students' program and academic achievement information. Other aspects of student life are also captured through various tools and merged into the TDSB's database. Information such as suspension, attendance, and post-secondary confirmations are also linked to student identification and can be included in analyses around achievement and other socio-demographic trends. The ability to connect across these data provides a robust and thorough picture of students' experiences and other schooling outcomes that is without comparison across Canadian school districts.

While concerns exist around the collection and analyses of demographic data, including apprehensions around privacy and the potential for the stigmatization of particular groups, results and trend analyses offer the opportunity to deepen the investigation into areas of inequity resulting from the structure of the school system (see also Gormley et al. 2012). In addition, demographic, experiential and academic analyses have the potential to promote targeted interventions. Despite its unique size, demographic make-up, and representation of socio-economic diversity, the structure of the TDSB is replicated in other school districts across the province and Canada. With its complexity of collected variables spanning achievement, program and student demographic data, as well as its geographic location within one of Canada's premiere gateway cities, the TDSB provides an ideal location for an analysis of structural equity.

43.3.1 Perceptions of Ability and Program Demographics

One of the key features of specialty programs and programs of choice is that enrolment is often connected to perceptions of student ability. For example, school counsellors, teachers or parents may recommend that students take Advanced Placement courses or the entrance exam for the International Baccalaureate Program based upon students' assumed capacity. Students believed to be creative performers may be recommended to audition for a speciality arts program. Whereas students who are perceived to be struggling academically and require a more 'hands-on' approach to learning may be recommended to consider pursuing a trade or skills based program, perhaps even support from special education. However, perceptions of ability can be subjective as is what constitutes academic success. Demographic trends exploring who is often considered 'able' and who is perceived to be 'less able' continue to be largely reflective of historical patterns of inequality along lines of

gender, racial and class divisions (see Clandfield et al. 2014; Smaller 2014; Erevelles 2000; Gould 1996). Educators, guidance counsellors, and school-based psychologists, for instance, often employ report card grades as ‘data’ to inform their recommendations about what level of programming students should receive (TDSB 2015b). However, what remains hidden within students’ grades, assessments, and report card data are the gendered, racialized and classed perceptions of student ability that shape perceptions of academic potential (Reid and Knight 2006).

The patterns of differentiation that yield groupings that are starkly homogenous in comparison to the school population are also reproduced in more subtle and as such more pernicious ways. Notions of what it means to be “gifted” and “talented” are heavily influenced by dominant ideas about how such characteristics are enacted and the criteria by which they are determined. In their work on how notions of “talent” are mobilized within specialized arts programs, for example, Gaztambide-Fernández et al. (2013) show how these ideas are linked to racial and classed perceptions of what it means to be talented. They argue that who is deemed to be talented and therefore worthy of specialized arts education is heavily influenced by race, class, and gendered perceptions that produce inequality of access and outcomes.

While some groups benefit from established practices for determining talent, potential, or skills, many other students’ life courses are burdened by barriers. When students’ observed differences, learning styles, and diverse approaches to their schoolwork are perceived as extreme, schools involve a separate medicalized system, the special education system, to further justify decisions to reduce curricular expectations and segregate students into classes with stripped curriculum and limited post-secondary opportunities.

Despite the resilient system of sorting and organizing students into homogenous groups based upon perceptions of ability, the research continues to expose the drawbacks of ability-grouping. Supporting the findings in this analysis, Houtveen and Van de Grift (2001) demonstrate how placement in lower-ability groupings further disadvantages students. They claim that creating and placing students in lower-ability groups: imposes low expectations on students; reflects demographic divisions along lines of class and race; is rarely a temporary placement but instead sets a trajectory of placement within lower ability groups; and creates spaces in which students often receive less instruction.

With an abundance of evidence demonstrating the pedagogical and social justice arguments for eliminating lower-ability groupings, promoting heterogeneous program opportunities, and ensuring equitable access to desirable programs, the TDSB and the Ministry of Education have attempted to move towards more inclusionary models of education. In 2009, the Ministry of Education released a planning document entitled “Ontario’s Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy: Realizing the Promise of Diversity.” This document was intended to promote inclusive strategies

and reduce system-wide experiences of myriad forms of discrimination. However, the document ignored systemic issues embedded within the education system and instead focused on teachers and classroom strategies. While important pedagogically, the provincial inclusion strategy did not address the structural barriers embedded within the education system.

43.4 Streaming and the Structuring of Inequality

Scholars have identified the relationship between social privilege, perceived ability, and greater academic opportunity (Curtis et al. 1992; Clandfield et al. 2014; Parekh et al. 2011; Parekh 2014).² The reproduction of social privilege and replication of marginalization of social and cultural groups has been linked to educational mechanisms such as streaming or academic tracking, the Ministry of Education in Ontario insists that streaming does not exist (Brown and Sinay 2008). However, when we explore the trajectories of students based upon the majority of courses taken across the various secondary levels, patterns of streaming emerge.

Within the TDSB, secondary school students can enrol in classes within various programs of study (Brown 2008a). Across the secondary school panel, the TDSB offers seven possible course levels in which students can participate. Students in Grades 9–10, for instance, can enrol in courses at the Academic, Applied, and Locally Developed levels of study, with Academic level courses being the most rigorous. Similarly, for Grades 11–12, students can enrol in courses at the levels of university preparedness (University), mixed university and college preparedness (Mixed), community college preparedness (College), courses open to all students (Open) and workplace preparedness (Workplace). Of all Grade 11-12 course options, courses preparing students for a pathway to university are considered the most academically challenging (Brown 2008a). Course data from 2011 to 2012 shows that almost two thirds of secondary students enrol in the Academic program of study, roughly a quarter enter the Applied program of study and just under 5% take the majority of their courses at the Locally Developed level (Parekh 2013b).

The link between academic streaming and post-secondary access is clear. Even though decisions around academic pathways are determined in grade 8 (and, arguably, before), students entering the Academic program of study in grade 9 have a much greater chance of confirming an offer to university after graduation (55.2%)

²The following sections include select system, program, variable descriptions and data drawn from Parekh (2014). *Social Citizenship and Disability: Identity, belonging, and the structural organization of education*. PhD Thesis, York University, Toronto.

as compared to students entering the Applied program of study at 4.2%. Less than 5% of students taking the majority of their courses at the Locally Developed level access any form of post-secondary education (university or community college) (Parekh 2014). Interestingly, for students embarking along the applied- community college pathway, whose destination is intended to be community college, 79.3% of students do not apply to any post-secondary institutions once they are eligible (Parekh 2014).

The pervasiveness of the academic streaming process is well-defined in terms of the relationship between secondary program of study and post-secondary access. Demographic patterns also exist. Girls are slightly over-represented in the Academic program of study, while males are notably over-represented in the Applied and Locally Developed program of study. Racial disparities are also apparent, with White, East Asian and South Asian students being slightly over-represented in the academic program of study. Black students are notably under-represented in the Academic program of study but substantially over-represented in the Applied and Locally Developed programs of study. Students identified as having a disability or special education need are also under-represented in the Academic program of study and over-represented in the Applied and Locally Developed programs of study. In addition, income has a significant relationship to program of study with wealthier students over-represented in the Academic program of study and students living in lower income households over-represented in the Applied and Locally Developed programs of study (Parekh 2014). In many ways, these patterns are not surprising, as they mirror the findings from a well-established body of research that shows how students are sorted through tracking or streaming practices (Curtis et al. 1992; Oakes 1985; 1990; Smaller 2014). While it is crucial to show how these patterns continue to operate despite attempts to de-stream the system, what we want to show here is how the same patterns are once again reproduced through programs that, at least in principle, should effectively counter demographic segregation. In short, while the system seems to aim to de-stream, new forms of streaming are now operating and yielding the same negative results.

43.5 Data Sources and Analyses

To explore the extent of how programs of choice function as an extension of traditional streaming, we employed data from the TDSB and explored a number of Chi Square analyses to uncover the relationships between program enrolment and student demographics. Data for the following analysis is drawn from two sources within the TDSB. The analyses correlating Grade 12 (year 4) students graduation and post-secondary confirmation draws data only for students who were in Grade 12 for the first time ($n=15,975$) in 2011–12. However, when correlating to responses from the 2011 student census, depending on the question, the number of completed

responses can vary. For all other analyses within this quantitative analysis, all students in the secondary panel (2011–2012) were included, which resulted in an N of 90,838 students.

43.5.1 Program Descriptions

This chapter includes a review of six programs that fall into the category of “Programs of Choice” and which are offered within public secondary schools across the TDSB. Each program has its own unique vision and purpose. Many programs reviewed in this chapter are considered to be elite and competitive programs and are perceived by the public as having high status, particularly by groups that, themselves, have high status. Programs such as the International Baccalaureate (IB) program, French Immersion, Elite Athletics and Specialty Arts programs all offer students enriched learning opportunities and often direct access to university. Many elite programs require students pass an admissions and/or audition process to gain entrance. By contrast, programs such as the Specialist High Skills Major (SHSM) and Ontario Youth Apprenticeship (OYAP), which do not require selective admissions process, are considered as specialized skills development for students who are on the pathways to community college or employment within the trades. Below, we review each of the programs and then explore their relationship to achievement, student demographics and school experiences.

43.5.1.1 The International Baccalaureate Program

The IB program is internationally renowned for its academic rigour (Tarc and Beatty 2012). With recognized accreditation in over 125 countries, the program provides students with first-year university courses while they are still in high school and it is highly valued by post-secondary institutions around the world. Geared towards Grades 11 and 12, the IB diploma program was offered at six TDSB secondary schools over the 2011–12 school year. Students prepare for the highly competitive IB diploma by enrolling in a preparatory program in Grade 9. Exams are sent to a central office and marked externally (TDSB 2013a). For this analysis, students identified as participants in the IB program were students taking the IB preparatory program in Grade 9 and 10 as well as the diploma program for Grades 11–12. It is important to note that most Ontario school districts offering IB require students’ families to pay a substantive fee to access the program. Despite pressure to follow suit, as recently as 2013 the TDSB voted to keep access to the IB program free to students (Edmiston 2013).

43.5.1.2 French Immersion

The French Immersion program offers students who do not speak French as their first language the opportunity to learn French through immersion at school. Both early immersion and middle immersion programs offer 100 % of course material in French, with the exception of some specialized courses such as physical education. Secondary immersion requires students to obtain ten credits in French in order to graduate with a Certificate of Bilingual Studies in French Immersion (TDSB 2013b).

In the TDSB, early immersion begins in Senior Kindergarten and is offered at 56 schools across the district (TDSB 2013b). Middle immersion programs, which begin in grade 4, are offered at three locations, while secondary Immersion programs are offered at ten schools in the Greater Toronto Area. The TDSB also offers a Grade 7 continuation program, which allows students to take 50 % of their academic courses in French. The TDSB offers this program within 22 schools (TDSB 2013b). Given Canada's official bilingualism, French Immersion programming, which provides students with a firm conversational and academic foundation in a second language, can be considered one of the most marketable programs offered within the TDSB, broadening future academic and economic opportunities for participating students (Curtis et al. 1992; Parekh et al. 2011). Students included in this analysis for French Immersion were students who were enrolled in French Immersion programming at the secondary level.

43.5.1.3 Academic Program for Gifted Athletes (Elite Athletes Program)

The APGA or Elite Athletes program provides flexible secondary timetabling and support for students who are competing in athletics at provincial, national, or international levels (Northview Heights Secondary School 2013). Students must have a B average in order to be eligible for entrance into the program in addition to recognized competitive athletic standings (TDSB 2013c). Only four schools in the TDSB host the elite athlete program, of which three were included in this analysis. Students identified as participating in the program were included based on their course codes.³

43.5.1.4 Specialist High School Major Program

Specialist High Skills Major (SHSM) is a program approved by the Ontario MOE. Each program has five components which include 6–12 (generally Grade 11–12 level) required credits within a particular post-secondary pathway. The program includes a co-op opportunity as well. The program makes use of the Ontario Skills Passport as well as “Reach Ahead” opportunities to document achievement

³Course codes are assigned to every course offered within public education institutions across Ontario and denote the program and level of course offered.

and provide students with post-secondary experiences (TDSB 2013d). Areas of specialization include art and culture; aviation and aerospace; business; construction; energy; environment; health and wellness; horticulture and landscaping; hospitality and tourism; information and communication technology; justice, community safety, and emergency services; manufacturing; non-profit; sports; and transportation (TDSB 2013d).

43.5.1.5 Ontario Youth Apprenticeship Program (OYAP)

OYAP provides students with the chance to pursue apprenticeship and workplace opportunities following high school. “The Ontario Youth Apprenticeship Program (OYAP) is a School to Work program that opens the door for students to explore and work in apprenticeship occupations starting in Grade 11 or Grade 12 through the Cooperative Education program. Students have an opportunity to become registered apprentices and work towards becoming certified journeypersons in a skilled trade while completing their secondary school diplomas” (OYAP 2013, para. 1).

43.5.1.6 Specialized Arts Schools

While all other programs reviewed in this chapter, refer to programs offered as options within larger schools, we felt it was important to include the specialized arts schools as part of this analysis due to their reputation for prestigious programming (Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard 2010). Admission is based upon a competitive application and audition process. The current TDSB website dedicated to specialized arts programming states that “these programs are for students who wish to pursue visual arts and performing arts at a professional level. This program consists of intensive programs within select schools as well as specialized schools focused solely on the arts” (TDSB 2013e, p. 24). Only two specialized arts schools were included in this analysis as they were the only two in which *all* students participated in the specialty arts curriculum as opposed to an in-school arts program.

All charts and tables include a variable known as ‘Total across TDSB secondary schools’. This category of analysis demonstrates the overall results from the secondary level in the TDSB were included as a baseline.

43.5.2 Outcome Variables

43.5.2.1 Program of Study

The Program of Study (POS) is determined based on the majority of courses students take over grade 9–10 or the first 2 years of secondary school. The levels of program of study are Academic, Applied, and Locally Developed. The “Undefined”

classification only includes a small proportion of students, namely those who have entered the TDSB after grade 10 or who largely take non-credit or special education courses.

Courses at the Academic level are expected to provide the greatest academic rigour and lecture-style structure. Applied courses are intended to provide hands-on instruction and, while covering the same curriculum as in the Academic program, have lowered course expectations in assessment and production of work. Locally Developed courses are intended to teach life skills and basic curriculum. In addition, Locally Developed courses prepare students for potential entrance into the workplace directly from high school and do not prepare students for post-secondary education.

There is a large variance of participation within levels of POS across school-wide structures. Overall, 65.7% of students in Grades 9–10 take the majority of their courses in the academic POS, while 25.4% take the majority of their courses in the applied POS. Less than 10% of the student population take the majority of their courses in the Locally Developed POS (4.1%) or have an undefined POS (4.8%). However, across programs of choice, the proportion of students taking the majority of their courses in the Academic or Applied program of study varies dramatically. For example, 99.2% of students in the IB program take the majority of their courses at the academic level as compared to only 40.4% of students participating in the OYAP program. While 5.9% of students in the Specialty Arts Schools take the majority of their courses at the Applied level, this is true for 38.1% of students taking SHSM programs (see Figs. 43.2 and 43.3).

43.5.2.2 Post-secondary Confirmation

The TDSB collects post-secondary information from Ontario universities and community colleges, including whether students have applied to any post-secondary institution (inside or outside Ontario) and whether they have confirmed an offer of

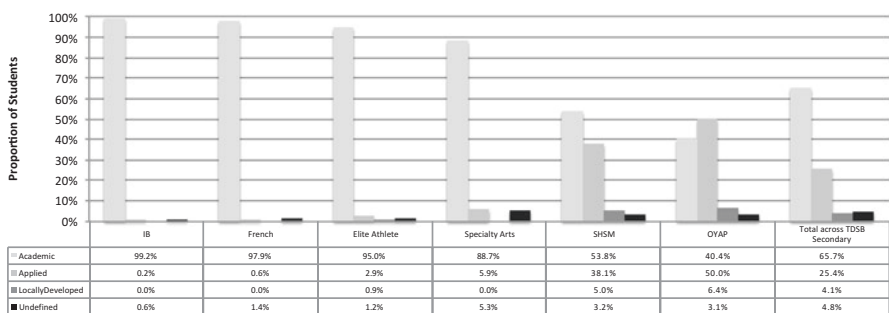


Fig. 43.2 Program of study across programs of choice, 2011–2012

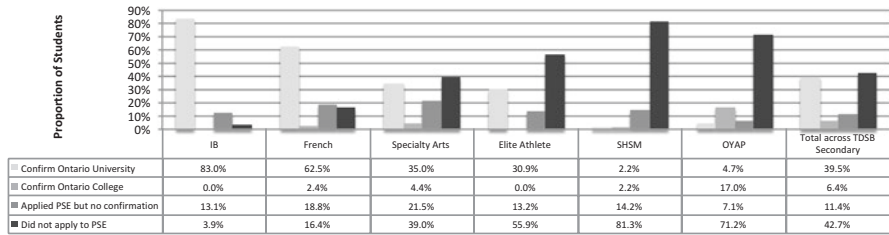


Fig. 43.3 Post-secondary confirmations across programs of choice, 2011–2012

acceptance to an Ontario college (generally a 2-year post-secondary program) or university (comparably, a 4-year post-secondary program). Students are eligible to submit an application to a post-secondary institution while they are in grade 12 as long as they are on course to graduate at the end of the school year. Overall, 39.5% of students at the secondary level in the TDSB will confirm an offer of admission to an Ontario university while 6.4% will confirm an offer of admission to an Ontario college. Students who applied to a post-secondary education (PSE) institution but who either accepted an offer outside of Ontario or were not successful made up 11.4% of the secondary student population. However, 42.7% of secondary students did not apply to either college or university. Not surprisingly, students in the IB program had the highest rate of university confirmations (83%), followed by students enrolled in the French Immersion program (62.5%), both programs far exceeding the TDSB average. Interestingly, all four elite programs had lower confirmations to college than the TDSB average.

While unable to confirm offers of acceptance to institutions outside of Ontario, all four elite programs (French Immersion, Specialty Arts, IB, and Elite Athlete) had higher than average application rates with no confirmation, suggesting greater access to institutions outside of Ontario and perhaps Canada. While 17% of students in the OYAP program confirmed an offer of admission to community college, students enrolled in the SHSM program, a program also highly related to the Applied-College pathway, had an exceedingly low community college confirmation rate of just 2.2%. Most notable in Fig. 43.4 is the variation across programs for students who did not apply to any post-secondary institution. While the TDSB average for students who did not apply is 42.7%, this was true for only 3.9% of students in the IB program and 16.4% for students enrolled in French Immersion. However, for students enrolled in community college bound programs, the rate of students not applying to university or college was 71.2% for students in OYAP and a staggering 81.3% for students in the SHSM program.

To summarize, exploring the results for both academic level of program of study and post-secondary confirmations demonstrate a close relationship between each program of choice, academic pathway and post-secondary access. There is a clear division between program outcomes for students enrolled in the IB, French Immersion, Specialty Arts, and Elite Athlete programs as compared to students

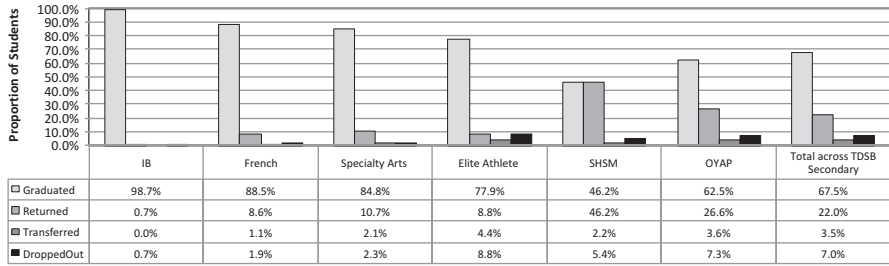


Fig. 43.4 Gender across programs of choice, 2011–2012

enrolled in the Specialist High Skills Major and Youth Apprenticeship Programs. While we cannot determine causality across these relationships, the findings do suggest that further exploration is required to better understand the stratified program outcomes.

43.6 Demographics and Program Enrolment

Having determined the clear relationships between program enrolment, academic level and post-secondary outcomes, it is important to further understand who is most affected by these program pathways. Employing the same data set and Chi Square analyses, program enrolment was explored through the context of gender, race, disability, income, neighbourhood resources and students’ experience of belonging in school.

43.6.1 Gender

Gender proportions varied across school-wide structures. In the TDSB’s secondary panel there is an uneven gender divide, with roughly 5% more male than female students, resulting in proportions of 47.1% female and 52.9% male (Fig. 43.4). Female students are notably over-represented in elite, academic and arts focused programs. For example, female students make up two thirds of the student population at specialty arts schools. Conversely, male students are slightly over-represented within the elite athlete and OYAP program, and make up almost two thirds of students in the SHSM programs.

43.6.2 Race

In the Student and Parent Census, racial identity is determined based upon students' own self-identification. Students have multiple ethno-racial options including an option to write their response. The four largest racial categories across the TDSB secondary panel in 2011–12 were White (28.3%), South Asian (21%), East Asian (17.9%), and Black (12.6%) (Table 43.1). A racial analysis of programs of choice reveals interesting trends. Of the more elite programs, students who self-identified as White were greatly over-represented within Specialty Arts, Elite Athletics, and French Immersion but were notably under-represented within the IB program. While White students were over-represented in the OYAP, they were under-represented within the SHSM programs. Students who self-identified as South Asian were largely under-represented across all programs with the exception of a close representation within SHSM programs, but were almost doubly represented within the IB program. Revealing a similar pattern, students who self-identified as East Asian were under-represented across all programs with the exception of the IB program. However, the overall proportion of students who self-identified as Black were close to the same within French Immersion programs. In contrast, Black students were under-represented within Specialty Arts, IB, and the Elite Athletics and over-represented within the college-workplace bound programs such as SHSM and OYAP.

Table 43.1 Racial representation across programs of choice, 2011–2012

Programs	Aboriginal	Black	East Asian	Latin American	Middle Eastern	Mixed	South Asian	South east Asian	White
Specialty arts	0.5%	3.2%	4.3%	2.3%	0.7%	12.6%	1.5%	1.4%	73.4%
IB	0%	5.9%	23%	0.5%	4.1%	4.3%	40.8%	4.8%	16.5%
French	0.1%	11.1%	8.4%	1.9%	3.8%	12.2%	4.9%	2.2%	55.4%
Elite Athlete	0%	7.4%	1.1%	0.4%	1.5%	12.6%	3%	1.1%	73%
SHSM	0.1%	21.3%	9.1%	4.8%	6.5%	10.3%	21.6%	5.3%	20.9%
OYAP	0.7%	16.7%	8.6%	2.7%	4.8%	7.7%	18%	5.2%	35.6%
Total across TDSB secondary	0.3%	12.6%	17.9%	2.2%	5.8%	6.9%	21%	4.9%	28.3%

43.6.3 *Students Identified with Disabilities and/or Special Education Needs*

Data on students identified with disabilities and/or special education needs (SEN) is based upon special education information. This is a contentious variable as the difference between how students are institutionally defined through special education is highly incongruent with the way students self-identify as disabled (see reported figures, Yau and O'Reilly 2007 as compared to Brown 2008b). Therefore, for the purpose of this analysis, the category of students identified with disabilities or SEN are students who have been both formally identified through an Identification, Placement, and Review Committee (IPRC process) as well as students who have been given an Individual Education Plan (IEP) without a formal identification. Both the student demographic profile and academic trajectories of students identified as gifted and students identified as having a disability or SEN are notably disparate (Brown and Parekh 2010). Therefore, we have excluded students identified as gifted even though they are traditionally included as students with special education needs.

The following analysis looks at the proportion of students across programs of choice who had been identified as having a disability (excluding those identified as gifted). Across the TDSB's secondary panel, 15.1% of students had been identified as disabled; however, this proportion fluctuated across programs of choice (Figs. 43.5 and 43.6). Students with SEN were notably under-represented within IB, French Immersion, and the Elite Athletics programs, were slightly over-represented within Specialty Arts Schools. Students with SEN were greatly over-represented within the SHSM program and almost doubly represented within the OYAP program.

43.6.4 *Income*

By employing students' postal code information, the TDSB linked students to their neighbourhood income. After neighbourhood incomes were tabulated, collective incomes were distributed across ten income deciles consisting of roughly 10% of

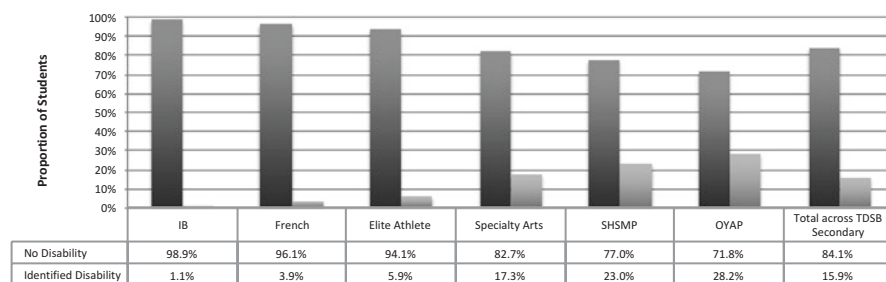


Fig. 43.5 Disability/SEN across programs of choice, 2011–2012

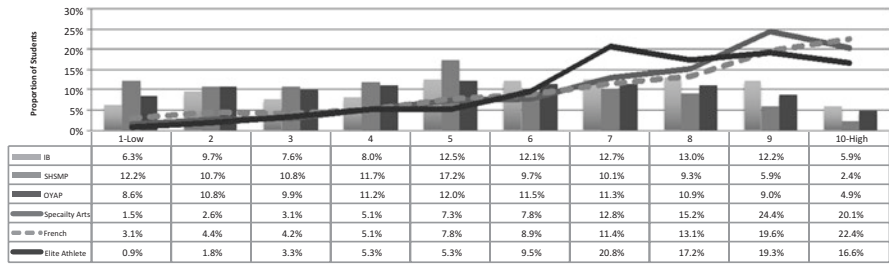


Fig. 43.6 Income across Programs of Choice, 2011–2012

the student population. Exploring the correlation between income and programs of choice reveals interesting trends. Students enrolled in the more elite programs, such as Speciality Arts, Elite Athletics, and French Immersion, were much more likely to come from higher income households (7th–10th income deciles) as compared to students enrolled in the SHSM program, who were much more likely to be from lower income families (1st–5th income deciles). Students enrolled in the OYAP program were much more likely to be from middle income families (4th–8th income deciles); whereas students in the IB program were largely over-represented within the middle income deciles, only slightly higher than OYAP (5th–9th income deciles).

43.6.5 Learning Opportunity Index

The LOI is a school-level scale based upon six socio-economic factors measuring external challenges at the neighborhood level. Factors included in this index are median income, families whose before-tax income falls below the Low Income Measure, families who are currently using social assistance, adults with minimal education, adults with post-secondary (university) degrees, and families headed by a lone parent. Each school across the TDSB is ranked according to this index, lowest ranking indicating greatest challenge (TDSB 2011). The range of external challenge across the TDSB secondary panel had a mean of 0.45 but ranged from 0.001 to 0.956. The closer the mean is to 1.0, the higher the degree of external challenge.

While the LOI for the schools associated to students attending the Specialty Arts program, followed closely by French Immersion, experienced little observable challenge, quite the opposite is true for the SHSM Program. An interesting finding here is that while the IB program is considered a more elite program it is had the second highest level of neighbourhood challenge (see Fig. 43.7).

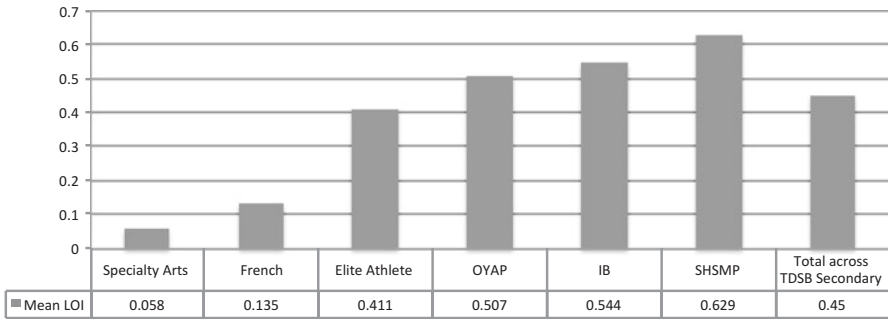


Fig. 43.7 Mean LOI across programs of choice, 2011–2012

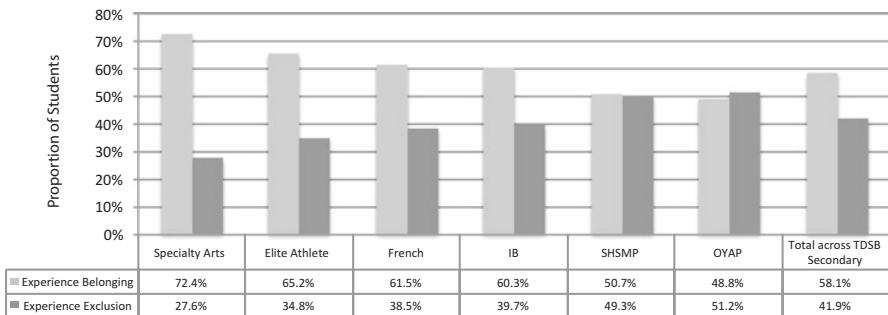


Fig. 43.8 Students’ experiences of belonging and exclusion across programs of choice, 2011–2012

43.6.6 Belonging

The scale of belonging was developed using experiential questions from the TDSB’s Grade 9–12 Student Census (form A). The scale of belonging drew on questions that focused on students’ experience of safety, acceptance, inclusion, and shared power at school and within their classrooms. There is a clear relationship between students’ experience of belonging and the perceived social value or elite status of programs (Fig. 43.8). While students attending Specialty Arts schools were most likely to report experiences of belonging, the more elite programs scored higher than the TDSB average. Conversely, students enrolled in community college and apprenticeship focused programs were more likely to report the experience of exclusion as compared to elite programs as well as compared to the TDSB average.

43.7 Discussion and Implications

Aside from the more ambivalent trends concerning the IB program, which deserve special attention, in this chapter we can point to clear relationships between elite and non-elite programs across achievement, student demographic and experiential data. Drawing upon conceptions of ability and talent to justify access, elite programs such as Specialty Arts, Elite Athletics, and French Immersion provide access to suspiciously homogenous groups of students who are already privileged by other material and social circumstances. Conversely, community college and apprenticeship-focused programs such as the SHSM and OYAP similarly serve groups of students that are starkly homogenous in terms of gender and class even as they are racially diverse. To us, this is a clear indication that Programs of Choice are a more diffuse extension of the traditional system of academic streaming, leading different groups of students towards disparate post-secondary outcomes.

These patterns of inequality are not new even though they are enacted through new schemes. As far back as 1970, Wright evidenced how Toronto students of privilege were accessing greater academic opportunities over their less-privileged peers. In 1992, Curtis, Livingstone, and Smaller demonstrated similar trends and revealed how certain student groups are systematically denied access to more marketable education opportunities, resulting in a reduction of post-secondary access and an increase in more precarious forms of employment and income. Students living in under-resourced neighbourhoods are, both historically and currently, denied equitable access to marketable programs, such as second-language immersion and advanced-placement opportunities and are more likely to be bottom streamed in vocational programming (Deosaran and Wright 1976; Martell 2009; Parekh et al. 2011; Wright 1970). King et al. (2009) reported that under half of students who took community college-preparation courses and under a sixth of students taking work-place preparation (including apprenticeship programs) went to college. By contrast, close to three quarters of students who took university preparation courses went on to university (King et al. 2009).

Key to understanding the patterns highlighted in this chapter is the growing research showing that graduation from high school alone does little to impact students' life course in terms of health and economic security (see Fonseca and Zheng 2011; Kearney et al. 2015). As most students eventually graduate from the TDSB, with or without support, we intentionally omitted an analysis of graduation outcomes. While it is certainly commendable that the Ministry of Education and the Toronto District School Board have given tremendous attention to improving graduation rates for all students, which currently stands at 84% (TDSB 2014c), the focus on graduation alone ignores the structural patterns that have a more significant effect on students' lifelong outcomes. As the bar shifts towards higher education, post-secondary access is now considered a key protective factor against precarious employment and income insecurity (Kirby 2009). It is therefore critical to better understand how structural barriers play a role not only in whether students graduate, but in streaming or guiding particular groups of students towards post-secondary

destinations and high-value careers and others towards low-wage employment (Clandfield et al. 2014).

Insisting solely on providing different pathways toward graduation is to ignore how such pathways also enforce broader patterns of inequality. The patterns of inequality that emerge when we look closely at who takes advantage of specific programs of choice demonstrate that despite the efforts, schooling continues to function as the de facto organizational mechanism for reproducing social inequalities (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell 2008). What is more pernicious is that such programs obscure the role of schooling in producing inequality by shifting the focus to students' choices as the cause of their experiences of failure and/or success. Yet, economic and social stratification are not the inevitable outcome of student choices; they are produced through a systematic channeling of resources and the structuring of pathways that yield particular outcomes.

The case of Toronto is an important illustration, given its reputation as a progressive city with a school board that has taken issues of inequality seriously and has attempted to address how formal structures like streaming produce inequality. The case of the TDSB shows that programming policies that ostensibly give students more options to make decisions about their future end up reproducing the same patterns of inequality that are evident in other urban school districts. As educators committed to equity and social justice, our task is not only to reveal such patterns, but to insist on system-wide strategies for addressing inequality that do not shift the onus to students and their families and that recognize how social and cultural context shapes choices as well as outcomes.

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Chapter 44

Resistance Wisdom and Grassroots Urban Education: Lessons from Detroit

John Lupinacci

We need to leave behind the concept of education as a passport to more money and higher status in the future and replace it with a concept of education as an ongoing process that enlists the tremendous energies and creativity of schoolchildren in rebuilding and respiriting our communities and our cities now, in the present. (Boggs 2002, para. 8)

In the context of recognizing and reconnecting with our commons, and common sense, in efforts to better support *all* students, I find Detroit—like so many other urban communities around the world for which modern economics has failed—to be rich with hope and promise despite the clearly visible economic abandonment and worldwide notoriety for violence and crime. While there is plenty of research that exist to tell stories that further pathologize poverty and criminalize youth, this work resists such a fetish and turns attention to the resilience and political organizing of educators as cultural workers recognizing that schools ought to focus learning around a fundamental student need—the need and right to nourishing and culturally appropriate food and clean water to drink and air to breathe.

It is no secret, as a part of the rust belt, that the city of Detroit offers a now infamous landscape of abandonment, unemployment, and with that a significant amount of crime. Despite the constant depiction of Detroit as a place of abandonment and industrial failure, it is a place of great wealth in terms of resilience and determination. In fact, in response to the many struggles Detroiters face—many of which are akin to folks all over the planet in situations not all that different, their resilience and determination is encouragement to reconsidering the limiting ways our communities often get defined by economics, labor, and production and to recognize how such economic systems of exploitation can distract us from recognizing and valuing the abundance of life sustaining relationship in our neighborhoods and in our neighbors.

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The cultural assumptions that dominate perceptions of Detroit, as city in poverty, tell us that Detroit is a failure—an epic site of ruins ripe for tourism and exploitation. Such assumptions are sadly also applied to how students living in poverty are perceived by schools as in need of being saved. The dominant cultural assumption pervasive in addressing the “hard times” in Detroit is that markets will save the city, that jobs above anything will bring back the economy. Furthermore in regards to students, education is at best often understood as the pathway for youth to either leave the city or to be trained to work in a low-wage economy with little or no social safety nets. At its worst, educational structures in modern society view students as human capital in an industry or an enterprise in which education is privatized and outsourced to companies. Such, assumptions and perceptions play into sorting students into systemic poverty, military service, and/or seeking economic opportunity through informal economies that are illegal and thus tracking youth into prisons.

If as urban activist-educators we rethink how we frame success towards recognizing and valuing the cultural commons, the day-to-day non-monetized traditions and practices that support life, we might look at how amazing it is that despite the political and economic enclosures contributing to poverty in Detroit life still exist. In Detroit, a city that many consider “a canary in the coal mine” for what happens when industry collapses and abandons the local, it is important that we learn from the ways that the city is alive and growing. What is brought to the forefront of our attention when we recognize the value in alternatives to the exploitation of free market capitalism are the efforts of local people as they respond to local conditions with an interest in valuing equity in both human and the more-than-human world. When rethinking the role of education, we can learn a lot from the diversity of local efforts around the globe that support neighborhood subsistence and find strength through intergenerational learning as such efforts are often inextricable from the wealth of wisdom that resides locally. A wisdom that gets passed on as people share experiences together to teach and learn local traditions that support local subsistence.

Confronted by the systemic violence of Eurocentrism—or white, male, wealthy supremacy—a group of activists and educators set out to interrogate systems of such supremacy at work in their neighborhoods and confronted the need for establishing food security—or their rights to have access to healthy food. The following chapter briefly introduces environmental justice and eco-racism in relationship to education and then addresses how when faced with such a challenge the radical activist-educators in urban communities asked: How is it that such exploitation and systemic violence is rationalized, justified, and/or ignored and what could be done to resist such violence and engage youth in building healthy and autonomous communities? While often responses to address conditions faced by students, teachers, and families in urban educational settings include the intersections of race, class, and gender, examinations of urban education are rarely connected with the high levels of environmental racism experienced by urban communities. The story that follows in this chapter is a story about what happens when educators and activists in an urban community have had enough and take action to resist the poisoning and imprisonment of their community. As a result, an embedded story within this story

of resistance, is a story of how schools—more specifically culturally-relevant urban education—can play a significant role in organizing food sovereignty as a key step toward, and facet of, autonomy and self-reliance through access to healthy and culturally appropriate food that is produced by ecologically sustainable means as part of a local economy—in Detroit, Michigan.

44.1 Environmental Justice and Eco-racism

Environmental justice work highlights how destructive environmental practices occur disproportionately in marginalized communities. For example, emissions of dangerous gases and industrial toxic disposal sites are often located near, or in, poor communities. Environmental justice work typically recognizes the intersectional impacts and causes of destructive environmental practices as interrelated and inextricable from social justice issues. With approximately 700 million people on the planet living in extreme poverty (United Nations 2014) and strong support that poverty—primarily through high levels of stress hormones, malnutrition, and exposure to environmental toxins—impairs development for young children (Cookson 2008; Krugman 2008), it seems as if more schools, communities, and educational researchers should explicitly address these inequities and explore alternatives to supporting healthy development for all children (Weaver-Hightower 2011). Meanwhile, for all species on the planet, “global emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) have increased by almost 50% since 1990” (United Nations 2014, p. 40) and scientists report that the increase is caused by human impacts on the environment; changes in climate are causally connected with floods, droughts, famine, and war.

One example in North America that illustrates the connections between childhood poverty, carbon dioxide emissions, and climate change effecting both urban and rural communities is the fact that in 2012 the United States produced an estimated 280 billion gallons of fracking wastewater, which has been shown to contain cancer-causing and radioactive materials that contaminated drinking water sources (Ridlington and Rumpler 2013). For example, in California, fracking—through wastewater with known and unknown impacts—primarily affects low-income communities (Srebotnjak and Rotkin-Ellman 2015), and children and older people are always the most vulnerable members of any such community. The current political climate has recently seen an increased focus on addressing the use of extreme violence against People of Color. The Black Lives Matter (#Blacklivesmatter) movement has recently brought to the forefront many of these intersectional issues marginalized communities are faced with in their day-to-day lives. Breaking stories from Flint, MI in late 2015 and early 2016 reported how—in efforts to save money—financially appointed unelected officials decided to reconnect Flint residents with water drawn from the local polluted river. This decision exposed residents to water that far exceeded legal limits of lead and other toxic and corrosive pollutants. Flint is an urban community abandoned by the automotive industry and is primarily a community comprised of Black and Brown lives (Blow 2016; Eligon 2016; Ganim

and Tran 2016). While activists were able to break this story from Flint, countless other communities around the world endure similar injustices as their water, land, homes, and cultures become so-called collateral damage of progress and growth. The questions remain: “Who/What benefits?” And, “Who/What suffers unjustly?” Furthermore: “How is it decisions are being made with such short-sightedness and cruelty toward specific communities?”

A major aspect of the violence done onto marginalized communities that often goes unacknowledged by privileged—often white—communities, is the disproportionate location of poor families, and Black and Brown families, in proximity to toxic environmental conditions. Alarming levels of toxicity in soil, air, and water—often the result of the disposal of hazardous waste—are all problems that marginalized families must struggle with at much higher than acceptable levels of exposure. While environmental justice activists have worked hard for decades to expose the public health threats of pollutants in all communities, especially as these hazards reflect racist policies and laws, future generations are inheriting these challenges to equity and equality. Another example of environmental racism, sometimes referred to by activists and scholars as eco-racism, is how incinerators and other hazardous waste facilities are much more likely to be built in neighborhoods where poor People of Color and Indigenous communities live. In Los Angeles county, “hazardous waste, treatment, and storage facilities were found to be disproportionately located in areas where African American and Latinos live” (Boer et al. 1997). Robert Bullard (2002), a leading researcher examining environmental racism in North America writes, environmental degradation is much more likely to be experienced by peoples who have also been systematically excluded and exploited economically.

In Detroit, Michigan, the largest trash incinerator in the world burns 4,000 tons of garbage every day, a process that is converted into energy in the form of electricity. The incinerator costs Detroit residents over 1.1 billion dollars and ravages the local neighborhoods with toxic pollution linked to high asthma rates and other illnesses. Pollutants resulting from burning trash are linked to cancer, respiratory ailments, skin diseases, and birth defects in disproportionate levels for working class communities and People of Color. Today, Detroit has higher rates of respiratory illness than the rest of the State of Michigan. Children living near the incinerator are hospitalized three times more often than the state average for asthma and those growing up near toxic sites have been shown by neuroscientists to have severe learning disabilities, and shorter life expectancies. Furthermore, death rates for asthma among children in Detroit is twice the state average (Wasilevich et al. 2008).

Other dangerous toxins include high quantities of lead—a highly toxic metal—found in housing, soil, and water sources in poor communities. Despite lead’s toxic characteristics, it was used for centuries in paint, gasoline, batteries, ceramics, and many other products creating major public health problems. According to the Center for Disease Control (CDC) approximately 250,000 children between the ages of 1 and 5 years have over the CDC-recommended safe level of 10 µg of lead per deciliter of blood (www.cdc.gov/nceh/lead). Medical research demonstrates that exposure to lead has serious neurological and probable behavioral effects on children. According to the American Academy of Pediatrics (2005), the most definitive

effects of the toxicity of lead poisoning are cognitive impairments; however there is convincing evidence that other aspects of brain or nerve function, especially behavior, may also be impacted. The same organization reports that students with elevated levels of lead are not only less attentive and hyperactive, but also show low rates of graduation from high school, evidence of reading disabilities, and increased aggression (American Academy of Pediatrics 2005). These economic, legal, and environmental differences create marked differences in quality of life for people living in poverty and systemically contribute to the marginalization and subjugation of People of Color.

44.1.1 Youth Engagement, Urban Education, and Environmental Justice

Just think of how much safer, healthier and livelier our communities would become almost overnight if as a natural and normal part of the curriculum from K-12, school children were taking responsibility for maintaining neighborhood streets, planting community gardens, recycling waste, creating healthier school lunches, organizing neighborhood festivals. This is the fastest way to motivate all our children to learn and at the same time turn our communities into lively neighborhoods where crime is going down because hope is going up. (Boggs 2002, para. 9)

Challenges of the 21st century require that future generations of decision-makers are skilled at problem solving that recognizes the interrelationship between social and environmental justice. Many radical environmental educators, activists, and scholars take the position that educational opportunities for youth activism is a critical, and arguably necessary, experience toward addressing environmental degradation and increased social suffering. Youth activism, in education, can be broadly understood as youth democratically involved in the decision-making process on matters that will impact their communities—both locally and globally. In short, such activism in schools and communities involves diverse intergenerational, and in some cases interspecies, voices and perspectives in decisions being made by all those directly impacted by the decision. While justice work, whatever the issues, tends to be centered around adult participation, youth activism offers the opportunity for adults to pass on important experience from elders to future leaders in the community while intentionally being fully inclusive of youth as part of the social structures of decision-making. Sadly, current educational settings ridden with high stakes testing, increased standardized curriculum, and zero-tolerance policies in schools place constraints on opportunities for educators to structure youth activism into local curriculum.

One example of urban youth activism is the Toxic Soil Busters (TSB) youth-run worker co-operative in Worcester, Massachusetts. TSB consist of a collective of all youth that offer soil testing, lead-safe landscaping, multi-media public outreach, video production, and training. (<http://www.worcesterroots.org/projects-and-programs/toxic-soil-busters-co-op/>). TSB employs urban youth to test soil and then

work to remediate through the redesign of lead poisoned landscapes. Furthermore, they work on a global level to share their stories through videography that details the youth activism toward environmental justice.

In Oakland, California a hip-hop youth organization called Grind for the Green (G4G) aims to responsibly, through cultural relevancy, mobilize Youth of Color into the environmental movement. G4G works through social media networks and grassroots organizing to organize and host musical events. With their sights on addressing the short fall of the environmental justice movement to reach urban youth in culturally relevant ways, they work to connect environmental literacy with real-world life experiences. G4G follows five principles for mobilizing a youth activist group: “reconnection to the earth, eco-literacy, leadership development, new media, and cultural relevancy” (Florez and Gokaldas 2010, p. 22). G4G not only created and hosted the first ever solar powered hip-hop concert but also that event mobilized youth and their families together with hip-hop fans and artists with environmental activist groups organizing with(in) the community to take action against environmental racism in the Bay Area (Arnold 2009). In addition to organizing hip-hop events as a platform for engaging over 1,500 inner city youth, through events produced by youth, G4G has employed 25 youth with green jobs.

While the examples could continue, we turn our attention to Detroit and the organization of youth as central to environmental justice and systemic racism and classism in Detroit for Families of Color and especially for young women and children. Stand Up Speak Out! (SUSO), an outreach of the East Michigan Environmental Action Council (EMEAC), engages youth and families in Detroit to advocate for environmental justice for Southeast Michigan. Working collaboratively with schools and other environmental organizations in Detroit, SUSO works with urban youth toward influencing policy changes for a Zero-waste Detroit, shutting the city’s massive incinerator, and campaigns like an anti-idling policy for commercial vehicles. In connection with EMEAC, the Young Educators Alliance (YEA) seeks to provide a “pipeline for community activism” through fostering the development of young activists learning “to identify injustices, place them in a historical context, and propose alternatives that involve community input, community organizing, and/or advocacy” (EMEAC 2015, para. 4).

44.2 Food Deserts to Food Sovereignty: Lessons from Detroit

For many folks living in industrialized nation-states like the US, it is likely that they have access to, or even knowledge of, culturally relevant affordable food ingredients and traditions. If they are not low-income or living in a predominantly low-income neighborhood then geographically and economically it is likely that they have access to healthy food choices several times a day. However, if someone happens to live in many of the urban and rural communities in the United States—it is likely they live in what is referred to as a food desert: a locale with limited access to fresh, healthy food. This does not mean that folks living in food deserts do not have

access to any food—it describes conditions under which community members have little or no access to nourishing food and educational settings that promote food traditions that support both physical and cultural health. This growing condition in many of the nation’s cities is a phenomenon referred to as a food desert. Food deserts are geographic locations with mostly fast food, dollar stores, gas stations, liquor stores, etc. These types of food establishments as part of a larger unjust food distribution system are primarily interested in profit and have little if any interest or knowledge in local health. In a food desert, processed pre-packaged food—often laden with preservatives and processed sugars—are directly contributing to the failing health of many of the nation’s vulnerable populations. According to a study conducted in Detroit, Michigan more than half a million Detroit residents live in areas defined as food deserts (MG Research & Consulting 2007). People in Detroit suffer from a lack of access to healthy, fresh food. This post-industrial phenomenon has created populations of people statistically more likely to suffer or die early deaths from diet related disease than people who have access to healthy food. Malik Yakini, referring to the study, explains:

Researcher Mari Gallegher came to Detroit...and characterized much of Detroit as a food desert. An area, according to her definition, where Detroiters have to travel twice as far to get to a major grocer as they do to what she called a fringe food location or what we in Detroit call a party store—a store that sells alcohol, cigarettes, tobacco, potato chips, candy, and other things that can only nominally be considered to be food. (Yakini 2011)

Yakini—a leader, activist, and educator in the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN)—goes on to explain:

Rather than just complain or lament about our condition, our organization practices self-determination. We think it is important that people themselves stand up and find solutions to our problems. One of the solutions to the lack of access to fresh affordable healthy produce in the city of Detroit is urban agriculture. (Yakini 2011)

While the damage caused by food deserts in Detroit is certainly a blow to the local community, there is a movement of resistance to this reality. Local groups are responding to the lack of access to healthy food in Detroit by producing their own food and educating youth on local food production. Such efforts to establish food sovereignty in Detroit have made significant gains through arguing food security as a fundamental human right.

At the dawn of the 21st century, food may very well be a determining factor for human survival as a species. As food traditions rapidly monoculturalize, an associated loss of the health and healing wisdom of the elders in our communities occurs. While discourses of food security inform dominant discussions on food justice, hunger, and health, what is likely a stronger and more sustainable discourse for addressing food justice is the concept of sovereignty.

In 2007, over 500 representatives of diverse grassroots organizations met in the village of Nyéléni in Sélingué, Mali in response to the growing experiences of local “capacities to produce healthy, good and abundant food...being threatened and undermined by neo-liberalism and global capitalism” (Nyéléni 2007 p. 1). Recognizing collective wisdom and self-determination of the world’s women and

indigenous cultures, these *campesinos/las* identified food sovereignty as having the “power to preserve, recover and build on our food producing knowledge and capacity” (Nyéléni 2007, p. 1). The participants produced *The Declaration of Nyéléni* (2007) named in honor of a legendary Malian woman who fed her people—define food sovereignty as “the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems” (p. 1).

Building from the valuable information and language that food security research and policy has to offer, the remainder of this chapter explores how a very intentional group of local activists organize and subvert oppressive social, economic, and political systems to transform neighborhoods in Detroit, Michigan from food deserts dependent on imported unhealthy, cheap food to sovereign food systems with access to culturally appropriate, nutritious, and affordable food. For the activist farmers in Detroit, in solidarity with *campesinos/las* around the world, the question became: How do we learn to prepare and grow culturally appropriate and healthy food for ourselves?

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) “Good nutrition can help lower risk for many chronic diseases, including heart disease, stroke, some cancers, diabetes, and osteoporosis” (CDC 2009, p. 7). Further the CDC (2009) reports: “Health disparities in chronic disease incidence and mortality are widespread among members of racial and ethnic minority populations” (p. 1). Research linking nutrition to physical and mental health has found that malnourishment among adults and children is especially prevalent within vulnerable populations (CDC 2009; Seligman et al. 2011). So while not only do food choices have both short and long term health implications but they are also found to be inextricably linked with systems of racism, classism, and sexism. Food keeps us alive and also connects to our diverse cultures and bioregions in ways that truly support diversity on the planet. However, for many marginalized communities there is an increased incidence of food insecurity (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2012; FAO, WFP, & IFAD, 2012).

44.2.1 Resistance Wisdom: Food Is a Human Right

The drafting of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) in 1948, clearly outlined the importance of access to food for all people, recognizing food as a basic human right:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself or his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (UDHR Article 25, para. 1)

This is reinforced and then further detailed in 1966 by Article 11 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR):

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. (para. 1)

The human right to adequate food falls under a broader human rights framework that insures an adequate standard of living. Access to food and nutrition is often considered an economic right and thus nested in rights to wages, health, and a clean environment. The United States of America is one of seven that have signed but not yet ratified the ICESCR. Meanwhile, there are currently 162 countries are state parties legally bound to the ICESCR. The Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN) addresses these issues through a political discourse that advocates for a food-secure city. Before looking closely at the DBCFSN, it is important to understand the larger international context within which food security has come to be a human rights issue.

A fair standard of living is considered to be dependent on the security of individuals, or groups of individuals, as a fulfillment of civil liberties and freedom. A consistent trend in the world, especially in so-called developing countries, shows that those denied civil liberties suffer disproportionately from social injustice and severe deprivations (FAO et al. 2012). Included in this suffering are food security, hunger-related disease, malnutrition, and preventable childhood mortality.

Unfortunately the ICESCR and the UDHR alone fail to specifically address and meet the needs of the human rights of children. Where there are hungry people there are also hungry children. In 1989 this need was addressed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The CRC, in Article 24, states:

Children have the right to good quality health care—the best health care possible—to safe drinking water, nutritious food, a clean and safe environment, and information to help them stay healthy. Rich countries should help poorer countries achieve this.

The CRC is one of the most widely accepted international agreements in the human rights framework with 193 state parties ratifying. However, the United States have not yet ratified the CRC.

In contrast to any progressive roles of social states working to adhere to the UDHR, ICESCR, and the CRC, even international adherence to policy that protects food and nutrition rights remains more of a hope than an achievement. Attention to hunger concerns, as one of the many human rights violations that impact low-income and marginalized populations, is one reason to argue for a human rights approach to food security. However, in the United States a systematic dismantling of any social safety net has increased human rights violations and transformed a war against poverty to a war against poor people and thus poor children.

44.2.2 Hunger and Food Security in the United States

It is disgraceful that in the United States, one of the world's most wealthy countries, hunger and malnutrition plague the daily lives of people. The most profound aspect of this human rights violation is that it is primarily an act of violence against children. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 2012 there were 33.1 million adults living in food insecure households and 15.9 million children—or approximately 22 % of all children in the United States (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2013). In addition to the 49 million living in food insecure homes, 7 million households were considered to have one or more persons suffering from hunger due to not being able to afford food despite food welfare programs. The number of people denied access to food in the United States has grown from 13.5 % of households were food insecure in 1998 and in 2012 that number grew to 15.9 % (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2013). As a result of a growing financial hardship and a national recession, the number of people living hungry with little or no access to food is increasing. Simply put, access to healthy food is an undeniable and crucial issue in the United States.

In the United States of America, food insecurity refers to being in a position in which persons are unable to obtain sufficient food for themselves or their household. It most commonly occurs that people in this position skip meals or cut back on the quality or quantity of food. In many developing countries around the world famine, and thus hunger, is apparent and visible. However, in the United States hunger has taken root in a form that hides the lack of nutrition in food items behind abundant access to inexpensive yet unhealthy food. While starvation only rarely occurs in the United States, children and adults frequently go hungry and a consistent mild form of malnutrition occurs doing long-term damage (Krugman 2008). Despite the presence of government aid programs in the form of welfare food assistance, hunger and malnutrition most often occur as a result of low financial resources.

In the United States issues of social welfare, like food security, do not go entirely unaddressed. However, with ongoing cutbacks on welfare programing, assistance to support the healthy development of heath food secure households is inadequate and increasingly problematic. The difficulty of access to welfare and/or limits placed on receiving welfare most severely impact children living in poverty. Welfare reform in the United States, under the unfortunate title of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), ties welfare entitlements such as food, childcare, and housing assistance to strict and inflexible work requirements, and has systematical contributed to an increase in the number of children living in food insecure households.

One of the most vital supports for families living in conditions of poverty is food welfare assistance, or in what in the United States is called the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). Food welfare assistance enables poor families to receive government aid that they can use to purchase food. In the United States, it has become increasingly difficult to apply for and receive such food

assistance. Decades of policy reform that has deregulated social responsibility for both federal and state governments has made life increasingly threatened food security in the United States. In Detroit, Michigan, only 8% of the recorded use of food welfare assistance was documented to be as used at food retailers that provide healthy fresh food options (MG Research & Consulting 2007). Despite claims from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) that the food assistance program serves as a first line of defense against hunger, food as a major profit industry has been anything but respectful of human rights, often leaving large communities of people dependent on convenience stores and gas stations for food.

For most of the United States, regardless of social class, food must be purchased. Wealthy food corporations have invested in powerful lobbying tactics that have allowed for little or no government regulation on price or quality of healthy food items. For a growing number of families, grocery stores have moved away from low-income areas thus making healthy food practically inaccessible to marginalized communities. This results in a unique situation by which malnutrition looks different than ever before—in that children are receiving food to eat but all too often it is not nourishing and healthy food. A lack of adequate government supported social welfare infringes on the human right to access nutritious food. Further, the move to relocate food providers out of financial and physical reach from poor families exposes the racism and classism embedded in food policy in the United States.

44.3 Resistance to Food Insecurity: The Black Community Food Security Network

The Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN) is a food sovereignty group that has taken issue with the level of food insecurity in Detroit. They describe the condition of living in a food desert as an act of aggression on racial and class minorities. The DBCFSN is a coalition of local activists who work together to counter the injustices of food insecurity by advocating and acting for strong food secure systems in Detroit. A food desert, in the United States, is a visible phenomenon that exposes the intense levels of economic and racial inequality that exist beyond a deteriorating welfare system and encompass overall food insecurity. The damage caused by food deserts in Detroit has been a crushing blow delivered to many of the city's residents. However, there is a movement to resist the systemic violence inherent in food insecurity. Local groups of activists and farmers are responding to the lack of healthy food in Detroit by producing their own food. Urban farms and local gardens are being established, revived, and maintained throughout the city. A major part of the movement towards strong food security, the food sovereignty movement has been a major influence and a growing source of inspiration.

The DBCFSN was founded in 2006 with the intent to empower members of the community to develop active roles in establishing local food security. Seeing food security as a crucial element in childhood health, well being, and development, the

network grew out of a local emphasis on food as a human right often denied to the black community under the political structures of white supremacy. The DBCFSN is an African-centered learning community of food activists and producers that work within the local community to respond to food insecurity in Detroit by addressing food insecurity as part of the systemic violence of Eurocentrism. While the Network works on many fronts their primary efforts can be summarized as working to: (1) Educate and promote sustainable, equitable, and culturally appropriate urban agricultural practices, (2) Develop and enforce a local food security policy, and (3) Invest in the refocusing education for Detroit's youth toward knowledge of food sovereignty and their right to live happily and healthily in their local communities.

Important to understanding the purpose of the DBCFSN is the group's organic growth in response to the communities directly impacted by food insecurity. The DBCFSN recognizes racial inequality, economic injustice, and environmental degradation as violence justified by policy and practices deeply influenced by political structures and cultural assumptions shaping the politics of Detroit. In the case of the DBCFSN, efforts to improve food security is an issue of justice related to food and thus the group advocates that historically marginalized and oppressed populations establish and protect local leadership. While DBCFSN primarily focuses on the city's African American population, they recognize that improved policy that addresses food insecurity improves and stabilizes local food systems and thus is a benefit to all local residents.

The DBCFSN describes food security as a "condition which exists when all of the members of a community have access, in close proximity, to adequate amounts of nutritious, culturally appropriate food at all times, from sources that are environmentally sound and just" (<http://detroitblackfoodsecurity.org>). The DBCFSN further defines a food secure city as a "city in which all of its citizens are hunger-free, healthy and benefit from the food systems that impact their lives" (<http://detroit-blackfoodsecurity.org>). The DBCFSN, most effectively, has worked to create a discourse in local politics that responds to food insecurity in a way that recognizes the multiple layers in which the local community suffers unjustly and demands an opportunity for local organizations to work toward the human right to healthy food. In other words, the DBCFSN works through a food sovereignty framework to influence food security policy.

44.3.1 Urban Agriculture and Alternative Food Systems

In 2006, the DBCFSN instituted an urban garden program in some of the local schools. This action involved the short-term use of a quarter of an acre plot on the Detroit's east side. Here, they planted and harvested vegetables and herbs and farmed on a community work schedule that involved students, teachers, and parents from the community as well as local urban farmers. However, they were forced to move after 1 year of successful farming when city land was sold to a developer. They continued their mission on another half-acre of land on the city's Westside,

called the “D-town farm”. The D-town farm was a garden site at which the DBCFSN prepared gardening beds, an irrigation system, local farming leaders, and sold produce locally in the neighborhood and at the city’s farmer’s market. One year later, the Network acquired another 2-acre plot of land from the city—a former tree nursery located in a large city park. They negotiated usage of the land for a fixed fee of one dollar a year for 10 years. The D-town farm became an agricultural project that had grown in scale, ameliorating the local impacts of food insecurity. By 2009, the DBCFSN had expanded the number of local markets to which they provided fresh produce and began talks with the Detroit Public Schools in efforts to become a direct source of local healthy food for children (M. Yakini, personal communication, March 26, 2009).

In a short span of time they have become a primary source of food for local neighborhood people through actions that involved the local citizens directly in the food production process. Their effort to farm in Detroit is a political action taken to restore human dignity and make up for a lack of attention to the basic human right of access to healthy food. A strong aspect of the DBCFSN is its recognition of food insecurity as a problem that runs deeper than simply a lack of fresh and healthy food in the city. The lack of access to transportation, an ineffective and almost non-existent system of public transportation, a record high rate of unemployment, and unsafe neighborhood conditions are all contributing factors impacting Detroit citizens’ right to access food. The DBCFSN initiates work that feeds people and engages them in sustained farming and learning culturally relevant food practices that will continue to provide sustenance toward a healthier Detroit. Additionally the DBCFSN recognizes the importance of ensuring that their food sovereignty efforts are supported at the level of local government.

44.3.2 Developing a Detroit Food Security Policy (DFSP)

In 2006, the DBCFSN went before the Neighborhood and Community Service Standing Committee of the Detroit City Council. Here, the DBCFSN highlighted the lack of a comprehensive food security policy, and advised the committee of the importance such a policy. Afterwards, the DBCFSN was appointed by the City of Detroit to draft this policy. Over the following year the DBCFSN researched and wrote a food security policy for the City of Detroit. The DBCFSN recognized this as an opportunity and sought to form a committee specifically dedicated to this massive undertaking. The Public Policy Committee, a division of the DBCFSN, involved the community and several public meetings from which they solicited feedback from several local and international experts and was able to make several recommendations in their presentation to the City Council. The Detroit City Council put the policy to a vote for approval and the Detroit Food Security Policy (DFSP) unanimously passed. Detroit officially adopted DFSP in March of 2008. With official policy in place, the DBCFSN’s battle for food security was granted a voice in the local governmental.

Not only did the success of local government's acknowledgment of food insecurity assist the Network's political agenda, but it also carved out a place at the decision-making table for other local organizations. In a relatively short amount of time, the DBCFSN engaged local citizens, policy makers, and community organizations in collaborating to ensure a food-secure city. The result was a turning point as public officials decreasingly sought outside expert assistance on the issue of hunger in Detroit, and could turn to local organizations for input and assistance. The DBCFSN served as a political catalyst for a political alliance between over 30 of the city's most active organizations concerned with long-term social justice and sustainability of Detroit. This is truly a unique and powerful alliance as many of these organizations, despite their shared interests, are often forced into competing with each other for limited resources and funding. Yet, they find themselves unified by the food sovereignty movement stewarded by the DBCFSN. Under the umbrella of a shared goal of food security they collectively have a stronger voice. The political agenda and policy initiatives of the DBCFSN, set forth by the adoption of the DFSP, has created an opportunity for Detroit to reclaim food security.

44.3.3 Educating and Empowering Detroit's Youngest Citizens

The DFSP reflects much of the vision of the DBCFSN, but most important to the movement, from its inception, is a focus on education. This policy emphasizes the importance of education in playing a role in establishing food security. It also recognizes that providing healthy food is only one step toward food security. A simultaneous, necessary task remains that education supports the development of healthy food conscious citizens who know and are free to make healthy choices in regards to food. The types of education called for in the DFSP directly address the cultural habits of Eurocentrism for all members of the local community and hinge heavily on quality public of education—a healthy, equal, and culturally responsive education free at the point of access for all children. Simply put, the DFSP helps to provide policy that creates the opportunity for a serious conversation about how educational reform might better support children learning in all neighborhoods in the city. For any community that does not know how to access, grow, and prepare healthy food, food security is merely an idea rather than a reality. Without education, the agricultural efforts of the DBCFSN are reduced to short-term aid for the hungry and are not likely to be sustained. Recognizing this, the Network, advocates for citizens to engage in learning important connections between food and health issues in the community. They advocate and practice a strong belief that citizens should have access to affordable, healthy food as well as to an education that exposes the false marketing of the global food corporations that profit at the expense of poor communities.

The DBCFSN has implemented school reform that has reached public schools, public and private charter schools, churches, community organizations, shelters, hospitals and many before- and after-school programs in Detroit. In all cases a focal

point of such local reform is the consideration of the impact that education has on the dietary habits and health of the local community. The Network recognizes the potential impact that can be made by educational reform that purposefully aims to foster and develop learning opportunities for members of the community about not only their rights to a happy, healthy life but how they can actively work to provide such a life for themselves and future generations. The DBCFSN also recognizes that schools and public sites of learning ought to be places that offer healthful food. Interest in healthy school food is on the rise nationally, as advocated by First Lady Michelle Obama in her “Let’s Move” campaign to end childhood obesity (<http://www.letsmove.gov/>) and such initiatives like Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act of 2010 by US Congress to fund childhood nutrition and free healthy lunch programs, the DBCFSN and the DFSP provides a solid model for how to work with schools and organizations to provide educational reform that both teaches the community to be leaders in establishing local food security, as well as becoming the suppliers of the local healthy food.

A fundamental position of radical educators supportive of food sovereignty curriculum in our communities is that if education can play a role in identifying and examining root causes of social suffering and environmental degradation, then we have a collective responsibility to recognizing the limitations to how many of our leaders frame justice work.

Such limits can be understood by looking at how a food security discourse differs from that of food sovereignty. While food security helps to participate in a common language that exists in policy and educational reform, food sovereignty is inclusive of a larger commitment to self-determination and autonomy from a dependency on historically oppressive governing states.

Given such critical distinctions and goals, educators play a role in supporting food sovereignty and teaching toward communities that actively subvert the oppressive food regimes found in a growing number of communities in the United States and around the world. With so much of this work resting on food wisdom being shared and passed on from generation to generation, as recognized by the DCBFSN, education plays an integral role in the movement.

Recognizing the suffering and complex historical, socio-political context influencing life for Detroiters, it is impossible to separate the need for educational reform from the need to establish food sovereignty in Detroit. There are many recommendations that can be made for education that supports food sovereignty from the work that DBCFSN has done over a very short amount of time. Pulling from the Detroit Food Security Policy (DFSP), schools should encourage young people toward an economic future in local agricultural practices that contribute to a direct reduction of dependency on outsiders, who have systematically failed the local community. The work of the DBCFSN, in partnership with schools, has shown that curriculum that exposes the politics of food while offering a solution that simultaneously addresses local hunger, empowers students and strengthens community.

In an age of failure by government to honor human rights, schools working in support of food sovereignty can certainly fill any gaps created and maintained by a cruel system designed to starve and poison the bodies and minds of children. The

DBCFSN recommends that school reform eliminate foods and drinks with high sugar content, artificial preservatives, and artificial dyes from meals and from vending machines. These poisonous so-called *foods* should be replaced with quality locally produced sustenance that supports the right of children to healthy food. If we were to take seriously food sovereignty in our communities then every school should have a school garden that can provide for healthy lunches that also served as an experiential site for learning how to cultivate healthy, culturally appropriate food as a fundamental part of the curriculum.

In all cases school reform needs to commit to feeding children healthy food. Based on research examples and policy standards set forth by the DBCFSN, schools should require that meal programs provide fresh local foods that come from local farmers. This both responds to an economic recession for farmers, as well as creates opportunities for young people to become producers of local healthy food.

44.4 Conclusion

Nationally, food has been and continues to be a battleground in schools, as attention to childhood nutrition has increased through school lunch and nutrition reform programs funded by the Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act. However, federal budget cuts have continued to further reduce SNAP for families in need of food assistance. In connection with the 2013 documentary *A Place at the Table*, TakePart's food editor Willy Blackmore (2013) reports:

While the money is going to other anti-hunger programs, the across the board reduction will affect the ability of 22 million children to get enough food at home. In 2014, the average benefit per person per meal will be a measly \$1.40. (para. 9)

In other words, what is occurring here is one important line of defense against food insecurity is removed, or severely limited, in efforts to fund another—and nothing more is actually accomplished. This is why a food security discourse is limiting as it often relies on government to provide for communities. However, a food sovereignty discourse acknowledges the systematic failures of centralized governments to provide for all people and shifts attention toward investing in living, local systems that recognize and value people taking action and responsibility to provide for one another in their communities.

In the case of the DBCFSN we can learn how a food sovereignty movement can benefit from engaging in political work framed in a food security discourse to begin to shift that discourse to one more centered on food sovereignty. So, while schools across the nation have perpetuated several bad food practices ranging from candy sales to the serving of horrifying meals consisting of processed foods—almost always laden with excessive amounts of processed sugar—that have little or no long term nutritional value, the Network works to establish the right for all children in Detroit to attend schools that plant, tend, and harvest food as part of the school's curriculum. The schools that they have partnered with have become a neighborhood

food source wherein the community, especially the children, folks convene to learn to eat and prepare locally cultivated culturally appropriate, healthy, and affordable food.

While this chapter is not intended to provide a generalized example, it is intended to share how an organization rooted in food sovereignty works through a human rights framework and food security discourse to create space to initiate, develop, and sustain food sovereignty work in Detroit. Food sovereignty movements provide the opportunity for leaders in the community—whether they be teachers, researchers, activists, pastors, or parents—to shift the current access to food and respond to the systemic political and economic rationalization for not feeding our communities. In other words, the DBCFSN help to share the stories of groups organizing and taking direct actions toward reclaiming our collective right of any peoples to have a valued voice in the decisions being made that will impact our communities now and for generations to come. The message is simple, food is essential to the cultural and biological strength of any community and to systematically deny that right ought to be met with strong resistance. Grace Lee Boggs (2002) in a speech given in Detroit at An Educational Summit on the Urban Crisis, describing learning programs outside of the limitations of schools, explained:

[B]y enlisting the energies and creativity of schoolchildren in addressing the urban crisis, they provide children and young people with opportunities to take ownership of problems or issues affecting their school and their town. Thereby they give meaning to the lives of our children in the present while preparing them to become active citizens in a democratic society. At the same time they foster the culture of hope and change in the community which is something we all need, whether we live in the inner city or the suburbs. (para. 12)

Similar to the kind of educational programming Boggs calls for more of when referring to the now 40 year old program she founded called Detroit Summer, the overall strategy of the DBCFSN is to act locally by directly teaching about and addressing issues such as failing welfare assistance, economic abandonment, and the combined health and health care of primarily poor families of color as unjust and unacceptable. The DBCFSN, as a leader in a local food revolution serves as a catalyst for a social movement that *feeds* Detroit. The DBCFSN are a strong model for how to use policy and a human rights framework to reinforce actions they are already taking in order to both insure and grow food security.

The work of DBCFSN could also be seen as utopian; however, time and time again local democratic movements that demand human dignity seem to be a successful model for communities around the world. Claims of idealism have become a marketing tool for global capitalism used by market fundamentalists whose sole food agendas rests on profit. The United States of America is a nation state by which food has been deregulated to the point at which obesity is a leading cause of preventable death and the reports from the Center for Disease Control warn that this current generation of children has a shorter life expectancy than their parents (Belluck 2005). Efforts to maintain high profit margins for corporations have isolated people into survival situations, by which they are forced to purchase unhealthy food or starve—both which lead to early death. Unfortunately for the multi-national food industry, people in places like Detroit are resisting. They resist

through a right to food. Food knowledge and the ability to grow nutritious food locally in abundance is a powerful weapon in a battle to end hunger and local poverty. Fortunately for the children of Detroit the DBCFSN recognizes food insecurity as a dangerous threat and has taken action in solidarity with food sovereignty movements around the world to locally blaze a path for future generations of Detroit as a socially just, sustainable, and healthy community for all.

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Chapter 45

“Hold Up, Wait a Minute, Let Me Put Some Freedom In It”: Hip-Hop Based Education and the Freedom School Experience

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45.1 Introduction

For over 60 years, America’s system of public schooling has undergone a number of “experiments” to reform the nature and process of schooling (Chicago, Houston, New York, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Newark). The types of reforms and the ideologies guiding the different reforms have varied, but all are, at their core, based on liberal ideologies of democracy and universality (Groves 2002). Some reforms have been based on the need to address equal opportunities to a quality education (desegregation efforts); some focused on diversifying curriculum and experiences for students in classrooms (multicultural education movement); and others have been rooted in responses to global capitalism (excellence movement). And while the results of these different reforms are varied and debatable, they all rest on an assumption that there is a “one best system” for schooling in a diverse pluralistic society (Tyack 1974; Groves 2002).

When we look at the experiences and outcomes of the schooling experiences of African Americans, it is clear that under these attempts at this universal system, African American children have been significantly shortchanged. African American children are disproportionately placed in special education, tracked into lower level

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courses and ability groups by teachers, expelled, suspended, and forced out of schools (Linton 2015; Murrell 2002; Oakes 1985). If anything, the experience of African Americans in schools provides strong evidence that there is no ‘one best system,’ or at best, such a system has not been designed and implemented in ways that systematically support the success of all students.

According to Comer and Haynes (1991), American education has failed to address the needs of Black children largely because the structure of public education and the philosophies that guide its development neglect salient features of Black culture and life. In other words, most schools are not culturally responsive to African American children and they do not acknowledge the epistemologies and cultural experiences that African American students bring to the classroom.

This chapter urges readers to critically consider the use of Hip Hop culture as an educational tool and framework for the educational success of urban African American youth. The data presented in this chapter is from the Durham Freedom School, located in Durham, North Carolina. This 5-week summer program was a part of a network of summer programs sponsored by the Children’s Defense Fund (CDF). The CDF is a private non-profit organization that provides programming in high needs areas to “build strong, literate, and empowered children prepared to make a difference in themselves, their families, communities, nation, and world” (<http://www.childrensdefense.org/programs/freedomschools/>).

The CDF Freedom Schools grew out of the work of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Project where over 40 freedom schools were created serving over 2000 young children and adults. This movement was rebirthed in the early 1990s under the auspices of the Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN), a national organization that operated from 1991 to 1996. The BSLN was created to train a group of young activists in movement building and social change. They also wanted to strengthen the intergenerational leadership between activists from the 1950 and 1960s and the post civil rights generation. Utilizing data collected from the 2007 and 2008 Durham Freedom School this paper will: (1) discuss HHBE as a culturally responsive framework to engage urban youth in their education and community; (2) discuss HHBE as a critical thinking and social activism vehicle for youth to mobilize and find voice; and (3) present the voices of urban youth and parents engaged in a Hip Hop Based Education Freedom School.

Over 50 years after the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools, there is still a need for libratory education, particularly for children of color in economically disenfranchised communities. In many ways, the conditions of predominantly African American communities have worsened, as schools deteriorate and the juvenile justice system and prison industrial complex disproportionately incarcerate Black and Brown bodies in what the Children’s Defense Fund calls the “cradle to prison pipeline” (<http://www.childrensdefense.org/library/data/cradle-prison-pipeline-report-2007-full-highres.html>).

For African American children and families living under this system of the “new Jim Crow,” American society has sent a clear message that Black lives do not matter (Alexander 2010). This is the reality Grammy Award winning Hip Hop artist Kendrick Lamar is articulating in his song “Alright” from his 2015 album *To Pimp*

a Butterfly. Lamar describes his psychological and emotional burdens, the racial inequities as it pertains to police brutality against black bodies, and the struggles characterized by the recent Black Lives Matter movement. Similar to slave songs and the Negro spirituals of the Civil Rights Movement, “Alright” is a song of testimony whose significance is also bound in the socio-political context and the expressive needs of the Hip Hop generation. Lamar’s underlying message, like the voices outlined in this chapter, is driven by a specific pain and struggle that ultimately manifests into a mantra of hope and optimism.

45.2 Hip Hop Based Education

Scholars and artists describe Hip Hop as a form of musical, cultural, and social creativity. According to Dyson (2004), Hip Hop expresses the desire of young Black people to reclaim their history, reactivate forms of Black radicalism and contest the powers of despair and economic depression that presently besiege the Black community. Hip Hop Based Education (HHBE) is theoretically grounded in the traditions of critical theory and the field of culturally relevant pedagogy has largely informed its classroom application (Hill 2009). According to Marc Lamont Hill (2009), HHBE is a comprehensive phrase that includes the use of the four elements of Hip Hop (rap/MCing, the DJ/turntablism, break dancing, graffiti) to inform pedagogy in both formal and informal school spaces. He states, “Hip hop pedagogy reflects an alternate, more expansive vision of pedagogy that reconsiders the relationships among students, teachers, texts, schools, and the broader social world” (Hill 2009, p. 120). Scholars of culturally relevant pedagogy have demonstrated through their research and community endeavors the importance of appealing to the worldviews, values, cultural orientations and experiences in order to impact greater educational outcomes (e.g. Lee 1995; Gay 2000; Ladson-Billings 1995, 1998). For the purposes of this essay, we are situating HHBE as an extension of culturally responsive pedagogy. While culturally relevant and culturally responsive pedagogy are often used interchangeably, we believe that HHBE is not only culturally *relevant*, in terms of curriculum and approach, but it is also *responsive* to the needs and conditions of the community and the students. Because of our data and analysis of Hip Hop as a vehicle for greater social action and civic engagement for youth, we are using the term culturally responsive.

Love (2015) reminds us of the lack of attention that has been given to HHBE methods in education programs for elementary and early childhood students. She writes, “HHBE has resulted in many positive education outcomes, ranging from teaching academic skills to teaching critical reflection at secondary levels. Given what HHBE have accomplished, it is troubling that there is an absence of attention to these methods in programs for elementary and early childhood educators” (p. 107). Dimitriadis (2015) agrees and argues for educators to utilize approaches that take seriously how young people respond to Hip Hop texts. This call for student-centered pedagogy, where students of color are valued and understood as both learners and

creators of knowledge, is a powerful epistemological shift in how society traditionally understands the roles of teachers and students (Delgado-Bernal 2002).

As educators, our lot is to make connections between sources of knowledge from both inside and outside of the traditional classroom. Hip Hop pedagogy provides opportunities to make such connections with students. Hip Hop culture is a product of the post civil rights movement that embodies rap music, graffiti, art, breakdancing, spoken word, performance art, and personal expression through clothing, hairstyles and diction. Hip Hop is the culture of urban marginalized youth. It is a combination of the thoughts, words, and behaviors/actions of those who dwell in urban settings and have traditionally been marginalized from socioeconomic and educational attainment (Emdin 2010). Rap music and Hip Hop culture has allowed many Black youths to develop and express a deeper critical consciousness (Dyson 2004). Through Hip Hop, a voice has been established that cries out against injustice, celebrates cultural traditions, and re-affirms a Black aesthetic that has been systematically subordinated through colonization, slavery, and pressure towards assimilation. Critics of Hip Hop and its discourse often present it in a dichotomy of art versus reality where the perspective of Hip Hop's reality is not seen as art. Shusterman (2005) notes, "this dogmatic dichotomy suggests that art is somehow only fiction and deceit rather than a powerful reality that can purvey the truth and represent the real in ways just as powerful as scientific and philosophical discourse" (p. 55). Clemons (2014a) furthers this notion of musical art and listening by stating this artistic familiarity or lack of familiarity in the case of Hip Hop "is a result of a constructed objectivity presents a musical hegemony that places rap music on the margins of what is considered as acceptable forms of artistic representation" (p. 52). Through the use of a Hip Hop pedagogy, educators can encourage students to use Hip Hop culture to tell stories of hope, perseverance, and remain committed to social justice.

45.3 The Freedom Schools Movement

The 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Project was an effort by nonviolent, civil rights activists to integrate Mississippi's segregated political and educational system. Clemons (2014b) reminds us,

The summer of 1964 marked an important time in American history. With little money and few supplies, the Freedom Schools set out to empower African Americans in Mississippi to become active citizens and change agents in their respective communities. In 1964, there were at least forty-one Freedom School sites located in churches, run down taverns, back porches, and under trees in various counties in Mississippi. (p. 141)

Over 3000 students attended the Mississippi Freedom Schools. Originally aimed at school-aged children, the freedom schools also served many adults. The curriculum focused on the philosophy of the Civil Rights Movement, reading, writing, arithmetic, and African American history. Freedom Schools' pedagogical vision began with

the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC wanted to “simultaneously change the hearts of southern Whites, to enlighten America about conditions in the South, and to discover true morality in themselves” (Perlstein 1990, p. 298).

The Freedom Schools of 1964 were part of serious efforts to combat voter suppression and encourage the youth to engage in the movement for civil rights. The members of SNCC knew they needed teacher to confront the segregated public educational school system in Mississippi. The Freedom Schools of 1964 wanted to supplement what children were not getting in their traditional public schools and mobilize voter registration. The Freedom Schools movement was reborn in 1992 under the leadership of Marian Wright Edelman and the CDF’s Black Community Crusade for Children. The contemporary Freedom Schools were created in an effort to strengthen the intergenerational leadership between activists from the 1950s and 1960s and the post-civil rights generation. Presently there are over 150 CDF Freedom Schools’ sites in 96 cities and 29 states across the country (<http://www.childrensdefense.org/programs/freedomschools/>). CDF Freedom Schools are typically comprised of a 5 or 6-week summer enrichment program. CDF Freedom Schools call their students “scholars” to push them in a direction of educational excellence and civic engagement. The ratio between scholars and servant leaders is typically ten students to one teacher. The staff is usually a diverse of group of neighborhood stakeholders and college-aged students that serve as the teachers or Servant Leader Interns (SLIs). The staff must participate in an extensive national training at Alex Haley’s Farm in Clinton and the University of Tennessee Knoxville in Knoxville Tennessee. The facilitators are called Ella Baker Trainers (EBTs) and they work with the SLIs to teach them how to properly institute the integrated reading curriculum (IRC). The national training is also a time for the SLIs to meet other SLIs from across the nation and recognize that they are indeed part of a movement where every student who is participating will be reading the same book, singing the same songs and participating in the same social action in their respective city. Individual grade levels do not separate the CDF Freedom Schools; instead they are separated into four levels. Level I is comprised of kindergarten to second grade, Level II is comprised of third through fifth grade, Level III is comprised of sixth through eighth grade, and Level IV is comprised of ninth through eleventh grade.

45.4 The Durham Freedom School

The CDF Freedom Schools program focuses on the theme “I Can and Must Make a Difference” in my self, family, community, country, world and with hope, education and action. The students who participate in the program are intentionally called “scholars” to empower them to adopt an academic identity that allows them to become their own educational advocates. Scholars are separated into four levels/grades. Level I (K–2), Level II (3–5), Level III (6–8), and Level IV (9–12). The SLIs

use a curriculum designed by the CDF that is equipped with lesson plans, discussion questions, and an outside resource list. In addition to student participation, parents were required to attend at least two parent meetings during the duration of the program. The parent meetings consisted of information about the local and national social action agenda from the CDF and more local information on pertinent issues within the community.

A typical day at CDF Freedom Schools begins with Harambee! a Kiswahili term for “let’s pull together”—a 30-min activity to celebrate and affirm the value of each participant and prepare for work and learning ahead. After Harambee! the integrated reading curriculum (IRC) begins and lasts for 2 h and 45 min. In that time, scholars engage in cooperative group activities, conflict resolution discussions, Drop Everything and Read (D.E.A.R.) time, critical thinking, social action, and group reading. The IRC in CDF Freedom Schools utilizes many award winning children’s and young adult books that are grounded in Civil Rights and Black history and written by African American, Caribbean and Latino authors. For many students, the IRC is their first experience with a multicultural literacy curriculum that is culturally responsive in both content and pedagogy. Consistent with Gardner’s theory of multiple intelligences, scholars have opportunities to report back their comprehension through poetry, song, diagramming, and role-playing (Gardner 1993, 2006; Seiler 2008). Following the IRC, every CDF Freedom school transitions into an afternoon curriculum that is site specific and tailored to the expertise and strengths of the local staff.

The Durham Freedom School (DFS) was a Hip Hop Inspired Freedom School that was connected to the host university’s Hip Hop Initiative’s pre-collegiate program (Clemons and Clemons 2013). The 5-week summer program served children in grades 3–9 in the local community for scholars to experience culturally relevant reading, community action, and a supportive and culturally stimulating learning environment. During the summers of 2007 and 2008, 63 and 57 scholars were enrolled, respectively.

The afternoon curriculum unique to the Durham Freedom School was entitled Hip Hop based. Designed to promote the development of leadership skills, critical thinking, and literacy through engagement in Hip Hop, the afternoon curriculum provided scholars opportunities to write, perform, organize performance venues, and critically analyze Hip Hop history, music, and culture.

One of the initial inspirations for the Durham Freedom School’s Hip Hop based educational approach was sparked from the Hip Hop Arts and Leadership (HHAL) work Mary Stone Hanley and her graduate students developed. Hanley et al. (2005) note, “Hip Hop, an art form that involves music, literary skills, and performance skills, presents a means of cognitive, affective, and psychomotor learning, imagination, qualitative problem-solving, sensory awareness, concentration and focus, literacy, and cultural knowledge—qualities intrinsic to the arts” (p. 4). Grounded in the four elements of Hip Hop, scholars in the DFS learned the art of DJing and the technological and production side of the industry; the art of Mcing and the use of

literary devices used to effectively manipulate language; the art of graffiti and visual art; and the art of break-dancing and the use of dance and creative movement in drama (Forman and Neal 2004). In the afternoons, scholars also worked with Hip Hop artists, co-creating songs, poetry, and performances. Scholars also participated in a Hip Hop club, where they could focus more closely on areas that matched their individual interests. Afternoon clubs included music production, visual arts/fashion design, Hip Hop theater, Hip Hop history, Hip Hop health and wellness, and Hip Hop dance. In each of these clubs, students used Hip Hop to engage in discussions of critical social issues facing the community.

In addition to implementing the CDF’s integrated reading curriculum and an afternoon Hip Hop based curriculum, the DFS also included field experiences and a finale to showcase student artwork and performances for the community.

What follows are the voices of students and parents involved in the Hip Hop Based Durham Freedom School. It is important, however, that we briefly mention our positionality and involvement in the Durham Freedom School and the data collection process, as we believe that identity is a core component of culturally responsive education and research. We are all self-proclaimed members of the Hip Hop generation, growing up in Black urban contexts where Hip Hop music and culture were central to our upbringing and ways of life. As African American scholars and educators, we believe that “Black Minds Matter” and our collective mission as scholar-activists is to improve the education and opportunities for students of color, particularly those in urban environments.

Kristal and Kawachi founded the Durham Freedom School, recognizing a critical need in the community. Paula, who previously lived in the Durham community, and was therefore familiar with the community context, served as an external evaluator. Kawachi served as director of the Hip Hop Initiative at North Carolina Central University. He worked to situate the Durham Freedom School under the University’s pre-collegiate program, R.A.P. (readiness and academic preparedness) and served as the Durham Freedom School’s sponsoring organization. Kristal’s previous experiences as a Servant Leader Intern with the Children’s Defense Fund Freedom Schools in Chicago helped her transition into project director of the Durham Freedom School.

As a part of the external evaluation, Paula conducted focus group interviews with all 55 scholars enrolled in the Durham Freedom School in the Summer of 2008, as well as focus group and individual interviews with all staff members. Kawachi, who also served as the executive director of the Durham Freedom School, conducted the parent focus group interview following one of the parent meetings. The parent group interview included five mothers, one grandmother, and two fathers. All data was transcribed and coded, and using the constant comparison method, organized into themes (Glazer and Strauss 1967). This chapter centers on the scholars and the parents in the DFS because the voices of urban kids and parents are often silenced in public discussions of urban education.

45.5 “You betta Recognize”: Youth and Parents Speak Out

Freedom is as freedom does
 how it is and what it was
 There was a joke, they used to tease,
 but now we have it and can't believe.
 Why we have it, why it's true
 how you know freedom belongs to you?
 It's in your heart, it's in your soul
 people come the more it grows.
 Ain't it nice to just be free?
 it only takes money, power, respect to have freedom.
 So thank the people that are older than me
 because they did it for us to be free.
 -Level III Scholar, age 12, *Durham Freedom School*

During the final week of the Durham Freedom School, scholars were interviewed to reflect on their learning over the summer as well as their experiences in the camp and the public school during the school year. Parents were interviewed regarding the experiences of their children in the Durham Freedom School and any changes that they have noticed in their children as a result of their participation in the summer program. The major themes that emerged from the data are presented in relation to two songs that were co-created by the scholars, servant leader interns and Hip Hop artists: “Freedom School is the Place to Be (Remix)” and “I am Hip Hop.” These two songs, in lyrical content and expression, exemplify the sentiments and voices heard from both the “old school” (parents) and the “new school” (scholars). These two songs also showcase the critical thinking skills, talents, and social activism of urban youth engaged in Hip Hop based education. Under the theme “Freedom School is the Place to Be (Remix), we discuss Freedom School and Hip Hop as culturally responsive education. The “I am Hip Hop” theme further explores Hip Hop based education as a means for self-expression and critical social activism.

45.6 “Freedom School is the Place to Be (Remix)”: Hip Hop Is Culturally Responsive

Freedom School is the place to be
 Where we read a lot of books about our history
 Freedom School is the place to be
 So everybody come and have fun with me
 Verse 1
 Everybody come and have fun
 I am Hip Hop that's fo sho
 But hey, you should already know
 Because especially the way my lyrics flow
 Smooth
 People think Hip Hop is all about calling girls _____
 But I say no

Now I'm in the game and all that's definitely go'in change

My lyrics got so much range

They can make a difference and even break change

Chorus:

Freedom School is the Place to Be (x4)

Everybody come and have fun

Verse 2

We can make a difference

You can make a difference

Hey, we all can make a difference

And I can make a difference so we all can make a difference

Bridge:

Tell me what you feel like doing y'all

I feel like hanging with my tribe

Hold up, wait a minute

Let me put some freedom in it

Freedom in it (x 4)

Freedom School is the place to be (x4)

Everybody come and have fun.

(DFS All-stars Level II & III Scholars 2008, track 1)

One of the major ideas expressed by the scholars at the DFS, was that their experience was very different from their experience in public school during the academic year. Freedom School was the “place to be” because it was fun, engaging, culturally responsive, and empowering. One 12 year old scholar remarked:

[At the DFS] we get to do something fun for once. At my school we can't never do nothing unless we have permission slips. I think that Durham Freedom School's better than school cuz we learned a lot of things. We learned about freedom and Hip Hop and all kinds of stuff.

Here, this male scholar comments that not only does he have the opportunity to engage in fun activities while learning, at the DFS he also learns about freedom while experiencing greater freedom. His comments that at his school they can't “never do nothing unless we have permission slips” exemplifies his frustration at the lack of freedom students possess to do non-traditional activities or engage in field experiences. At the DFS, in addition to their activities across the University campus and in the community, scholars visited the planetarium and a science museum in neighboring communities on two separate occasions.

Freedom School was also “the place to be” because it was a culturally responsive educational environment where scholars “read a lot of books about our history.” Both scholars and parents remarked that a great strength of DFS was the opportunity to learn more about Black history, particularly through literacy. One 12 year old scholar said:

I've been learning about Hip Hop, pretty much. Learning new stuff and reading books and learning about Black history... I learned about Emmett Till and the murder of him. I learned about Martin Luther King, and I learned about Malcolm X, and W.E.B. DuBois. I've learned about clothing, where all the graffiti came from, like, the four elements of Hip Hop.

This scholar explicitly connects his knowledge of Hip Hop to the legacy of Black history and the CDF integrated reading curriculum. Many DFS students also spoke

about how learning Black history and the elements of Hip Hop made them rethink their feelings about school and schooling. Another scholar stated:

I love writing. Cuz I like writing poems, cuz I'm the master at poems. And reading? Reading, it changed me a lot because the books was so exciting and they weren't really boring and they caught my eye. Like, literally.

For this 12 year old boy, the CDF integrated reading curriculum that offered many books written by and about African Americans changed his feelings about reading. The books literally "caught his eye" because he could see himself in the curriculum and connect with the stories. His love for writing and writing poems was supported in both the morning CDF reading curriculum and the afternoon Hip Hop curriculum. This shift in attitudes towards academic subjects is consistent with the literature in culturally responsive pedagogy and multicultural education. This furthers the notion that teachers and educational researchers can "see students take both responsibility for and deep interest in their education" (Ladson-Billings 2014 pp. 76–77). Ladson-Billings (2014) reminds us that this is the secret behind culturally relevant pedagogy: the ability to link principles of learning with deep understanding of (an appreciation for) culture.

Parents also noted that the culturally responsive curriculum and pedagogy at the DFS made significant impacts on their children. One mother discussed an increase in motivation and engagement in her son:

I have a teenager who used to come the last couple years. And when I brought him here he was very apprehensive about being in the program. His self-esteem was a little low, but he had really engaged himself in the program and they engaged him and it, and worked on his reading skills. He reads today, which I was kinda, you know, happy about. He just changed his outlook about school and being able to apply himself. He was motivated during the summer. I mean he wanted to come every day, and it just helped him express himself more. English grades improved....turning that switch on, something that was done here, and I think, also there is interest in a new career path. We've been hearing for the past 13 years I want to be a policeman, well now we wanna be a graphic designer.

This mother attributes the change in her son's "outlook about school" and ability to apply himself to the DFS experience. Because Servant Leaders (teachers) made efforts to engage him and also assist him in improving his reading and literacy skills with culturally responsive curriculum, this scholar became motivated, and that motivation extended into the school year with improved grades and interest in a new career path.

Another mother echoed these sentiments in relation to her daughter's motivation and potential career path. She says:

Yeah I've got a student who is interested in graphic art as well. She always wanted to color and draw and stuff like that, but recently [we] went on a train trip to Charlotte and she was checking out the graffiti on the train cars and thinking "Oh, I think I could do that!" She ended up doing something like that in camp. She applies the things she learned in camp to a lot of different areas in her life and she is really excited about the Harambee. She kept teaching me Harambee, and she's trying. I don't know what it is, but she's trying. The way you format things actually did seem to open her up more, and I liked that.

This mother appreciated the DFS because for her daughter, the curriculum and pedagogy seemed to “open her up more” to applying her knowledge gained to “a lot of different areas in her life.” The culturally responsive educational experience excited her daughter so much that she has been teaching her family central features of the Freedom School experience, such as Harambee, in an effort to replicate it at home. This idea of Freedom School opening up children to more learning and also increased communication and sharing at home was also shared by another mother:

Well I know with my son, he was able to communicate more. Me and him always talk and a lot of times I don't know what he's talking about. Sometime you know, with all the words in the Hip Hop slang, I always wished that I could relate some of his teachings in high school to be able to help him learn more. But Freedom School, it helped him to be able to read more, he wanted to read more, he wanted to, and he would come home and [say] “We had discussions in Freedom School.” He was just like, he knew who did this one thing... you know and it really opened up a lot of communication between us.

This mother attributes the Freedom School experience to improved reading skills and an increased desire and motivation to read and share his learning with his mother. The previous examples also exemplify the power of engagement in a Hip Hop based curriculum. Hip Hop connects with the scholars and has also exposed them to potential career paths that they previously never considered. Learning the different elements of Hip Hop has opened students to considering their passions and possibly involving themselves in a multi-billion dollar industry. HHBE in the DFS context has helped scholars learn, retain and understand the culture around them. One father noted,

I think since like Hip Hop culture has become pop culture, that's what a lot of these children out here relate to and understand. The methods of teaching that you guys use incorporate Hip Hop culture and it makes it more relatable to the kids because, as the lady was saying this morning, a lot of people want to be so formal and structured and rigid, and well a lot of these children are more free flowing because that's just how Hip Hop is. You know? And, I think they retain better, they retain things better that they understand. You know? And the reason why, Hip Hop is so influential to them is because it's real, you know. I think that that's what you guys bring forth.

An important thing to note with the above father's comments is the recognition of Hip Hop Based education as curriculum content and pedagogy. He refers to the incorporation of Hip Hop culture and content as a means to relate to the children, but perhaps more importantly, he discusses the “methods of teaching” utilized in the DFS as being more aligned culturally with the children because they are “more free flowing” because that is the style of Hip Hop. Unlike the rigidity of the public school system, this parent acknowledges that the instruction matches with the Hip Hop identity espoused by most of the children.

When describing the difference between curriculum at DFS and what is learned during the school year in public school, another 12 year old male scholar responded:

At school, really, they learn about math, and language arts, and science, and all that stuff. But in Freedom School we talk about Black history, and music, and plus it's more fun here than at school cuz at school they want you do work behind what you talking about. And here we don't pretty much do work, we just read.

Here we see a shift in consciousness and understanding about school. This DFS scholar does not look as learning Black history or reading as “work” rather he sees it as a source of edification and appreciates seeing his reflection in the curriculum. The use of Hip Hop combined with the CDFs civil rights educational approach functions as Love (2015) describes as “a tool for reflecting on the past to make connections with the present, centered on African traditions” (p. 111). Hip Hop at its core is a space of communal learning, which influences children’s social, emotional, educational, physical, and creative skills from birth (Love 2015).

Another 12 year old male scholar reflected on his social and emotional growth as a result of his participation in the DFS:

I think it’s helping me a lot! Cuz I’m learning more about my culture! And I can go to my school and teach everyone else.

Again, this scholar recognized that engaging in culturally responsive curriculum is helping him grow, and he is excited to teach everyone else his new knowledge of Black history and Hip Hop. Parents overwhelmingly expressed satisfaction regarding the curriculum at DFS and the academic achievements of their children. Many parents realized the DFS experience put their child at an educational advantage by introducing them to texts prior to the commencement of their traditional school year. One mother recounted a conversation she had with her child about Lorraine Hansberry’s *A Raisin in the Sun*:

I told my daughter, “Raisin in the Sun” is on primetime television. My daughter responded, “Oh! I read that in Freedom School.” So I said, when did you read “Raisin in the Sun?” Because I didn’t have the book at home, and that was really impressive. The reading list that you guys have, it’s really helping the kids get ahead.

Another mom shared a similar sentiment when she was going over the school reading list for her daughter’s grade level at the beginning of the academic year. She stated,

You know when they start 7th grade they have a reading list and she started going over it she said “Oh! I read that!” in Freedom School. I said: “Well, go Freedom School!”

The DFS parents were satisfied with the exposure their children had to a more diverse library of multicultural texts. They also noted this type of curriculum fostered a greater sense of community amongst their peers. A mother of a level II scholar discussed the impact DFS’s curriculum and environment had on her shy son.

I think another piece that added was the, just being in the community sense at Freedom School, gave ‘em some, like a really good feeling of belonging and then go out and perhaps open up to other kids. My son is shy, as I’ve said before, but it did give him a means to have a place to come to every, on a daily basis, where everybody was close and interact together and you know, open up more, you know.

Fostering a sense of community and belonging in Freedom Schools is just as important as the academic curriculum. The ritual of beginning the day with Harambee, a pulling together of the group in community, offers multiple opportunities for scholars to affirm one another via songs and recognitions for small and large accomplishments. Similarly, the overarching national theme of making a difference in self and

community reiterates the importance of scholars working together to improve the community.

The notion of community building and safe and supportive environment extended beyond the classroom. A mother of a level II scholar discussed how the DFS curriculum and creative products provided support in a time where she and her daughter were grieving the loss of a loved one:

Well, my [name] missed the last week of Freedom School because my grandmother died unexpectedly. And [when] she got back and got the tape, the video, a few weeks later, and then she heard the poem about, you know the boy who lost his family, she said, “sounds like he’s talking to me” you know, she could relate to that.

The poem she is referring to is entitled “It’s Ok” written by two level III male scholars. They wrote this poem after they completed their morning lesson based on the CDF integrated reading curriculum book *Getting Away with Murder: The True Story of the Emmett Till Case*. They later turned this poem into a rap song during their afternoon music production course. The lyrics are shared below.

Verse 1—I feel sorry for those who lost another momma, daddy, cousin, aunt or brother
uncle nephew, niece or sister

I feel your pain and I know you miss ‘em

Let me tell you something that happened to me

My gramps got cancer, died and left me

I know what you going through and I know it hurts but appreciate what you got and for what
it’s worth

Cause you never know what you got until it’s gone

Then you really gonna feel like God did you wrong

But that’s one of the reasons why I wrote this song to tell y’all that life must go on

Chorus: It’s okay y’all (it’s okay) let your tears fall (let ‘em fall)

Things will get brighter

You will see

Your life will get easy, much more easy (easy)

When it seems like your sadness never will cease

After your struggle there will be peace

Verse 2—Yo, I remember when my aunt died, didn’t know what do when my mom cried

Still keep a shovel in my hand like a drill

Thinking it’s a dream, didn’t know it was for real

Homie in jail

Still missing with the bills

Then we went bankrupt couldn’t pay the bills

Stepmom left had me feeling real sad

Hitting up the way got me feeling real mad

Grandad died didn’t think he would have passed

So I had the blues like I’m playing in a brass

But I stayed strong made it through the hard times

And if I said I didn’t cry, I’m probably lying

Chorus: It’s okay y’all (it’s okay) let your tears fall (let ‘em fall)

Things will get brighter

You will see

Your life will get easy, much more easy (easy)

When it seems like your sadness never will cease

After your struggle there will be peace
(Lemmons et al. 2008 track 6)

Perry et al. (2004) suggest that African American students are academically more receptive and successful when cooperation, harmony, socialization, and community guide their learning environments. Love (2015) furthers this notion by stating, “these learning components are indicative of a Hip Hop community of practice that is racially and ethnically diverse, intergenerational, and rich with learning opportunities for young children to observe, listen, and participate in activities that foster learning and creativity” (p. 125). The level III scholars observed the message about the grief, violence and brutality of losing a loved one in the case of Emmett Till, listened to the stories of their peers, and participated in a creative writing activity that eventually proved to be cathartic for a fellow scholar enduring a similar feeling of grief. Similar to Kendrick Lamar’s “Alright,” the song written by Lemmons et al. (2008) showcases intergenerational grief and sorrow while also offering hope and affirmation. Countering the hegemonic masculinity commonly found in popular rap songs, these two male scholars profess “it’s okay y’all (it’s okay) let your tears fall (let ‘em fall)” because “when it seems like your sadness never will cease, after your struggle there will be peace.”

45.7 “I am Hip Hop”: Hip Hop as Identity Expression and Social Activism

The DFS curriculum also engaged scholars in a social action project for the duration of the summer program. Students participated in a silent march, with picket signs about the Children’s Defense Fund national agenda related children’s health care. The DFS staff engaged with the scholars about the issues surrounding children and health insurance. Scholars completed written reflections on how they felt about health care and how it felt to go the doctor. As a group, students read about the Deamonte Driver story, a 12-year-old Maryland boy whose dental problems went untreated until he succumbed to a severe brain infection and died. The Children’s Defense Fund sent this information to each Freedom Schools site in an effort to mobilize the community to support the nation’s uninsured children. Many scholars shared that they did not realize that health insurance was an issue that concerned them and many children in the world. DFS scholars combined their understanding of the elements of Hip Hop with the mandatory CDF social action project. The blend of social action and HHBE forced scholars to think about the world around them in new and critical ways. One mother of a level II male scholar shared,

Yeah I heard that one. That one really got through, in terms of health education. It was the most powerful health education message that we’ve ever heard, but this was the one that made sense to him. He talked about that one extensively.

A 12-year-old male scholar reflected on his learning at the DFS and shared:

Um, well I learned about Hip Hop and the history about Hip Hop and how it got started. And I learned how to do a whole bunch of art. And uh I learned how to rap. Ok, I learned art, health, and healthI learned about how 9.4 of million children do not have health insurance...and I learned how to make beats. Um, what else did I learn? Yeah, history, theater and Hip Hop.

In addition to providing information about the number of uninsured children in America, the DFS also provided free health screenings. Each scholar that wanted to participate had access to a licensed medical professional authorized to provide physicals for children as a part of our food and nutrition program. While conducting the health screenings, the staff was alerted about a 9-year-old scholar with high blood pressure. The doctor was able to talk to the scholar’s parent about blood pressure and provide tips on how to address the issue. The doctor also spoke to each scholar about their vision, dietary habits, and physical activity, connecting health care and social justice.

The DFS intentionally integrated the CDF’s “I can and must make a difference in myself, my family, my community, my country, and my world” mantra alongside the social action project and the history of Hip Hop. One 12 year old male scholar described the types of differences he could make in his community:

Well I can help my community by like, doing community service even though [I] didn’t get in trouble for anything. Umm, trying to help kids, like young kids, kids that’s younger than me, tell ‘em not to be in gangs, and influence them not to pick up a gun and shoot people.

Here we see a shift in this scholar’s idea of community service away from a punitive action that one does because they “got in trouble” to a model that is about mentoring younger children to make positive choices. This scholar recognizes that in his community, young kids need older children to be a positive influence, and he sees himself serving in that role. This idea of making a difference in the community was common in many of the individual and collective Hip Hop songs written by the scholars at the DFS.

Clemons and Clemons (2013) reflect on the song “I am Hip Hop” in their piece entitled *What the music said: Hip Hop as a transformative educational tool*. The song was a collaboration between two Level III scholars—one male, one female—and their servant leader intern. They wrote this song in response to the question, “What is Hip Hop?” The group performed their song, “I Am Hip Hop” (Garcia et al. 2008, track 8) live at the end of the summer finale.

Verse 1 — Servant Leader Intern
 Freedom School what
 Everybody what
 Can I kick it?
 Yes you can
 Well a’ight Hip Hop lets take a stand
 I can and must make a difference in my
 Self
 Family and
 Community

Country and
 World
 That's right y'all together we stand and
 divided we fall
 I am hip hop, I am on "the
 yes, yes, y'all and don't stop"
 Don't stop we do it,
 Hip Hop is ours so we got to make improvements
 It's a whole lot going on now,
 It's a whole lot of biting styles,
 And that ai'nt cool, cuz we don't style bite in
 the Freedom School
 Naw, we too original
 Make a difference we can make a change this instant
 It's all on us now, we gotta hold this down
 We go'in "touch it, read it, learn it, teach it",
 then tell your friends all about it
 So they can come next year with you so we
 can grow as a crew and stay true
 Stay you
 Cuz I'm a stay me
 H-I-P H-O-P
 _____ spit rhymes so dopely

Chorus:

I am Hip Hop I can make a difference (repeat 4xs)

Verse 2—Level III Scholar, Male

I am Hip Hop you should know
 Wearing fresh out shoes and baggy clothes
 Making a change with a positive rap
 putting hip hop all over the map
 Cuz all these rappers talk about girls
 but this rapper is changing the world
 Hip Hop we ain't doing it right all we talk
 about is getting drunk all night
 Everybody come to Freedom School with me
 _____ on the check sound saying rhymes dopely

Verse 3—Level III Scholar, Female

Freedom School is the place to be
 Come on y'all come party with me
 Hip Hop, I will always be
 Making a change in my community
 It's recognition time
 You will see
 Spreading my wings come fly with me
 I'm Hip Hop and so are you
 I made a difference, you made one too
 You made one too
 You made one too

Chorus:

I am Hip Hop I can make a difference (repeat 4xs)

(Clemons & Clemons pp. 66–68).

This is another example of how students engaged in the process of writing lyrics, producing beats, and organizing live performances can create meaningful work. The scholars used Hip Hop as their lens to remix the CDF’s “I Can and Must Make a Difference” theme. Their translation of this concept into rap songs and poetry expanded the overall mission of the CDF. This extension of HHBE articulated a pedagogy of passion where the scholars and servant leader interns could dive into their artistic repertoire and tell their own stories. Central to this legitimizing experience is the claiming of a Hip Hop identity for both the scholars and Servant Leader Interns (teachers). The lyrical content of the co-created song demonstrates the multi-generational power of Hip Hop as a culture. The Servant Leader Intern’s “Hip Hop is ours so we got to make improvements,” to the “I am Hip Hop you should know” and “Hip Hop I will always be” of the scholars, reflects an identity connection with Hip Hop.

In addition to claiming a Hip Hop identity, many scholars also discussed Hip Hop as way to express identity. One 12 year old female scholar said:

Hip Hop is great to express yourself in different ways. Like you can rap... either you can rap it, you can dance it out, or you can just sing it in the way about your life and what the differences are between your life and what’s Hip Hop... I think they should have it in regular school too because if we learn about it here and we learn about it in there, then we’ll know more and like... cuz it does have something to do with the things that we learn in regular school, like history.

A 12-year-old male scholar sitting next to her cosigned on her reflection:

Basically what she said is, how you express yourself. And singing and dancing. You know, or some kind of art. And like, how you, well, it’s really hard to express yourself. Well it’s a way to express yourself without violence. Well basically Hip Hop is history. And we bring Hip Hop back to life.

An 11-year-old scholar agreed that Hip Hop should be offered in school:

It would help some people if they do have more Hip Hop in um, school, and might help them want to learn, want to learn about it. And, they might want to start even, well learning about, learning how to participate in school.

Another scholar reflected on Hip Hop in his public school:

But the closest we ever get to Hip Hop is literature, and poems and stuff. That’s the closest we ever get. I think we should talk about Hip Hop in school because, maybe arts might not, arts might get canceled again, and we won’t have nothing else to do. And we should, like, represent Hip Hop in a good way, not in a bad way, talk mess about it

Here, these scholars build a case for why Hip Hop should also be incorporated into the curriculum of public schools. They connect various elements of Hip Hop to self expression (and multiple means of expression and engagement) with the content areas of history and English. They also recognize that the benefits of Hip Hop in terms of self expression and connection with the arts are also easily disposable and cut.

Just as the scholars identified themselves as Hip Hop, the parents self identified as products of the Hip Hop generation. Hip Hop history, and its connection to the country’s social, political, and economic landscape, served as a bridge between scholars and parents. Parents were able to talk about the music of their youth with

their children, as the scholars learned about “old school” Hip Hop in their courses. One 12 year old female scholar remarked:

I learned how to express myself in Hip Hop and stuff. We learned about different things, different people I haven’t even heard about or heard their music before. Like DJ Kool Herc.

Perhaps more significant, however, than the bridge between the old school and new school, is the impact of HHBE on the sense of self and identity in the scholars. A mother reflects:

My son is kind of shy and to himself. By the end of the program I think he was more outgoing, and he seemed more confident. And he seems to have more...he just felt better about himself. Not that he had low self esteem, but he was kind of the quiet one and he kept back, he held back. And he interacted more, you know, he made various friends. And it made him feel like he was significant in society, you know. And the people he was schooled with, he was just, he was a minority in his elementary school. And here he felt like “wow,” look at the all of African American males. You know I am powerful and I am somebody. I think that brought him out a lot, increased his confidence.

For this mother, the DFS, a culturally responsive schooling environment, provided her son the space to feel “significant in society” and feel that he is “powerful” and “somebody.” This testimony reflects the common critique that many Black families have of public schools. Too often the messages that Black males in particular receive in school are that they are not significant, and they do not matter. Being in the presence of African American male scholars and teachers at the DFS increased his confidence and affirmed his existence as a scholar who could contribute to making his community a better place.

A father agreed, stating:

Kind of piggybacking off of what she said...I think this program is so great because it teaches these children about their selves. You know it teaches about African /African American culture, you know. Um and it builds value in that person, self pride, self worth. So when these kids go out here in the world, and they’re presented with other culture’s values, they question those values. You know, a lot of times our kids go out here with low self esteem and low knowledge of self and they just want to be a part of something. You guys teaching them more about themselves, it raises their esteem level to the point to where they know how to say “no”, you know to a lot of things that a lot of their parents, aunts and uncles and grandparents, were unable to say “no” to. You understand what I’m saying?

With these two parent testimonies, we also see a connection to what some Hip Hop artists and scholars call the fifth element of Hip Hop, a strong “knowledge of self” as a result of being exposed to the DFS curriculum. The parent and scholar voices in this section build upon what Hill and Petchauer (2013) conceptualized as the need for deeper aesthetic, epistemological, and theoretical engagement with Hip Hop as a holistic cultural movement that moves beyond “teachers and educational entrepreneurs who use live and recorded rhymes to promote the rote memorizations of facts or adherence to dress code policies” (p. 3). The parents’ reflections represent the acknowledgement that the Hip Hop based education is more than just teaching mathematics lessons with catchy rhymes. The power of Hip Hop based education is in the cultural, social, and political connections scholars make with their teachers, each other, the community, and their own identity.

45.8 Conclusion

The fusion of HHBE with the culturally responsive CDF integrated reading curriculum created a sense of belonging to the educational process for all summer participants. A major theme that emerged from the scholar-parent focus group was the presence of a true communal atmosphere within the DFS. In many of the scholars' narratives, they indicated a lack of inclusion in the curriculum in traditional school. They expressed how their personal viewpoints were not always valued which in turn produced a diminished desire and drive to excel. Through culturally responsive curriculum and pedagogy, scholars and parents were able to find voice, and work in an educational space that affirmed their identity. This reflective and powerful element of voice (narrative) builds on what linguists and communication scholars describe as *nommo*. This African idea of *nommo* (the power of the word) generates the energy needed to deal with life's twists and turns; sustains our spirits in the face of insurmountable odds and transforms psychological suffering into external denunciations (Keys 2008). This sentiment echoes what Hip Hop pioneer Afrikka Bambaataa suggests is the true essence and power of Hip Hop, “its capacity to empower young people to want to change their lives” (Watkins 2005, p. 22).

The songs the DFS scholars created articulate what Burnim and Maultsby (2006) call a sense of musical agency. Musical agency, as Burnim and Maultsby posit, seeks “to broaden our understanding of modes of resistance African Americans have utilized from the antebellum period to the present” (p. 5). The importance of allowing the young scholars to write, present, and reflect on their own terms brings on a characteristic where “regardless of where or when it is performed (the) music speaks to and for each generation—especially the generation that creates it (Taylor 1986, p. 22). The Durham Freedom School reminds us of the power of artistic representation, especially from the youth, because it is their voice.

Ladson-Billings (2014), in her reflection of her “[r]evolving pedagogical stance,” reminds us that many teachers express strong beliefs in the academic efficacy of their students, yet they rarely push students to consider critical perspectives on policies and practices that may have a direct impact on their lives and communities (p. 78). Reflecting on her experiences observing teachers in the field she writes, “There was no discussion on issues such as school choice, school closing, rising incarceration rates, gun laws, or even everyday school climate questions like whether students should wear uniforms (which typically sparks spirited debate)” (p. 78). Hip Hop, according to Ladson-Billings, can offer “important opportunities for changing the way we think, learn, perceive, and perform in the world” (p. 78).

The DFS's commitment to building upon the CDF's mission of “I can and must make a difference in my self, family, community, country, and world via the medium of Hip Hop addresses Ladson-Billings' critique and pushes policies and practices that may ultimately impact the scholars' lives. When the DFS actualized its commitment to HHBE by connecting the CDF's civil rights based educational approach

with the elements of Hip Hop culture, it furthered what Jocelyn Wilson (2007) described as “Hip Hop community of practice” She writes,

Focusing inquiry and situating it based on what hip-hop participants “do”—that is, how they practice hip-hop in their day-to-day lives, and how what they do creates meaning and identity. How youth and youth influencers utilize the hip hop community of practice to define, curate, and use artifacts, language styles, kinship norms, schooling methods, epistemologies of authenticity, and aesthetic practices to remix generational narratives about ideology, identity, race, class, and gender (p. 68).

The DFS, with its commitment to fully integrate Hip Hop culture into the curriculum and pedagogy, provided a community space of practice where scholars, teachers, and parents could engage and affirm identity while actively uplifting the community.

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Chapter 46

Latina Urban Education: At the Crossroads of Intersectional Violence

Kathy Mariscal, Yesenia Velásquez, Arturo Agüero, and Luis Urrieta

46.1 Introduction

As a Chicana from south central Los Angeles, as a daughter of Mexican immigrants, a queer Mestizo ni de aquí ni de allá, and an indígena scholar, we do not merely read about education as it happens to Chicanas/Latinas. We are telling and retelling how schooling and education has impacted us as Chicanas, Latinas, a Mestizo, and an indígena. Schooling and education are not the same phenomenon just as education and educación are false cognates of the other (see Urrieta and Villanes 2013; Bernal et al. 2006; Valenzuela 1999). We come from a tradition of educación that speaks to loving, healing and critical pedagogies that honor the voice of our sisters, mothers, tías, abuelas, partners, daughters, and activists who pave the way for us to continue this legacy (Delgado Bernal et al. 2006). Educación has impacted how we have come to understand family, friends, communities, aspirations, and understandings of the world (Urrieta 2010; Valenzuela 1999). We have acquired language and tools that have helped name and understand the manifestations of oppression. Our schools are known to “fail” and to have children who are failed by a system, so why are we here?

Schooling is both a colonial project and a site, both an event and a system we partake in consciously and unconsciously (Tuck and Yang 2012). Oppressive systems of education, schooling, and research act as apparatuses to disseminate dominant ideologies and reinforce the hierarchical configurations of society that sustain racism, sexism, eurocentrism, classism, colonialism, heteronormative patriarchy, and many other “isms” of oppression. Urban education continues to reproduce everyday experiences in schools that need to be explored with Latinas at the center of analysis; thus, moving from the dominant dichotomous thinking that plagues

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urban education systems and places at its margin those it sees as the Other, to one of intersectionality. By shifting away from viewing the Latina from a dichotomy of public/private and theory/practice (Cruz 2001), an intersectional framework provides us with multidimensional analysis to honor the perspective of Latinas as agents in and around their educational experiences. Centering the Latina, re/imagines possibility and simultaneously disrupts the Western-, hetero-, and male-centric educational rubrics and ways of knowing to amplify *nuestras voces*, *nuestras realidades*, y *nuestras humanidades*.

Our use of the term *Latina* attempts to include the many lives and voices of *nosotras* in the United States. Latinas come from diverse nationalities, racial/ethnic backgrounds, linguistic spectrums, educational backgrounds, and many positions; their multidimensional positionality are intersectional and impact Latinxs' social experiences of oppression and discrimination (Pacheco 2014). We acknowledge that our intersectional approach may not account for all U.S. urban youths. Our focus on urban Latina youths is less of an investigation of the polarized opposites of mainstream/whitestream schools: "non-white," "non-male," and more as an affirmation of *being*: Latinx, woman.

Our collective stories as Latinxs¹ guide us throughout this chapter; we have experienced and witnessed the powers of education from multiple identity sites. Our educational experiences and standpoints differ, and yet we can share similarities as gendered, raced, sexualized individuals (Cammarota 2011; Hurtado and Gurin 2004). We purposefully center our analysis within and across those three identity markers, while simultaneously acknowledging the variously complex and fluid intersections of our co-constructed identities. We have choice in the intersections we choose, we have privilege in writing and speaking; however, this paper is about honoring voice.

In this chapter we begin with addressing the (mis)education of Latinas, while outlining the urban crisis in education. Then, we discuss how history, ideology, and process of urban schooling become inscribed on the Latina body. Finally, by centering the body, we bring to light a proposal of intersectionality as a social justice project in education rooted in: resistance, transformative pedagogies that disrupt binaries, and towards a revolution in thought, practice, and theory.

46.2 Intersectionality: Mind-Body-Spirit

Taking together the work of Chicana/Latina feminist thought we analyze the experiences of Latina urban youth with a lens of hope, love, and transformation (Anzaldúa 1987, 1997; Delgado Bernal 2002; Delgado Bernal et al. 2006). We center an intersectional framework rooted in mind-body-spirit (Calderón

¹We deliberately use the terms *Latinx/Latinxs* over more ubiquitous terms like *Latina/o* and *Latin@* to include gender identities and expressions beyond the limiting confines of feminine/masculine binaries. *Latinx* demarcates a calculated and intersectional race-gender category that affirms genderqueer, non-binary, agender, and fluid identities that standardized Spanish grammar forecloses.

et al. 2012; hooks 1986, 1989, 2003, 2014). bell hooks proposes mind-body-spirit through a liberatory education lens that challenges the compartmentalization of our bodies through oppressive schooling (hooks 2014). Pedagogical practices whether classrooms, homes, and communities should promote critical consciousness, so that thought is transformed to recognize oppression but also move towards liberation of the mind-body-spirit (Freire 1970; Akom 2009; Ladson-Billings and Henry 1990). Through “practicing freedom” we humanize the mind-body-spirit where we acknowledge the interconnectedness of our thought, feelings, being, becoming, and knowing (Freire 1976).

There are so many crisis-based “theories” targeting the issues and failures of urban schools, but none make sense if they are not willing to go beyond the boundaries of how we understand *being* in western thought (Yosso 2005). Western thought is hetero-patriarchal violence that produces and supports disconnection, individualism, and competition. Intersectionality, vis-a-vis mind-body-spirit is: human connection, writing, thinking, activism, pedagogy, methodology. Mind-body-spirit is the intersectional lens we need to speak to the experience of Latinas in urban schools (Calderón et al. 2012). The body produces the experience of education, therefore schooling mechanisms must be examined apropos the body. Such that “we must ask how the Brown [Latina] body is regulated and governed in schools and other institutions? How does a regime of a given society become inscribed onto the bodies of our youth?” (Cruz 2001, p. 664). Because the classroom and society are largely situated within a regime of whiteness and eurocentrism, the Latina body is displaced by what she is not: white, male.

46.2.1 Critical Literature Review

46.2.1.1 (Mis)education

Our analysis brings to light violent portrayals of Latinas in educational research that propagate discrimination and marginality in order to invite others to disinvest from “crisis” frameworks.

The literature of urban schools has failed to disrupt the crisis narrative by dehistoricizing and depoliticizing the relationship between schools and student bodies further entrenching colonial ideologies of singles-stories (Adichie 2009; Brown and Donnor 2011). “Schools” and “schooling” are, after all, moribund artifacts of colonial histories stubbornly informed by the power relations of the past (read: racist, sexist, etc.). Our response is to analyze the social-historical-political reality impacting Latina experiences in urban education, while developing and using lenses and theories rooted in decoloniality. Decolonizing these spaces and projects allow us to honor and value the mind-body-spirit that has been fragmented by the violence of *his-tory* (hooks 2014). Chicana/Latina feminist thought names Latinas: Nosotras. Only from this vantage point can Latina subjectivity be made visible and her resistance to these systems and structures reconciled. Problematizing the “crisis” discourses

etched onto the Latina body reframes and recontextualizes our understanding of urban education.

The gendered-raced-sexualized scheme impacts the (mis)education of Latinas; derisively, it is their identities that are perceived as the source of the “crisis” in education itself. In other words, the Latina achievement gap is not attributed to the failures of the urban education system, but rather as a direct consequence of Latinas’ embodied identities (León et al. 2011). We must challenge the crisis-centered educational research (Gándara and Contreras 2009) that (mis)identifies Latinxs bodies as “at-risk” or “high-risk.” Antonia Darder (2012) speaks to this when she writes, “rather than speaking about ‘high-risk’ students, it seems that it would be more accurate to speak of ‘high-risk’ institutions – that is, institutions that adversely impact the academic opportunities and possibilities of bicultural students” (p. 4). Such a (re)calibration of language and discourse would facilitate the mobilization of energies and resources to fix the violence of the system itself, rather than attempt to refigure and remold her performativity. Simply put, “at-risk student” discourses disingenuously obscure the richness of Latinas’ world-making and robs them of their agency, whereas “high-risk institutions” rhetoric exposes the student’s active relationship to the poorly prepared institutions.

46.3 Ideology, Schooling, and Heteronormative Patriarchy

There is a culture that is shaped by “values, rules, and ideology” (for example: sitting still, zero tolerance, and meritocracy) that reform policies sustain and promote (Hanushek 1997). Segregating Latina students and allowing them to passively sit in the classroom, silent and disengaged, values their presence only for filling seats. Schools cut cost by packing classrooms to the brim and maintaining order by socializing the Latina body to be invisible; consequently, (mis)educating her (Yair 2000). Learning is not the priority. Reform policies work under the premise of capitalism where schools are businesses with a bottom line (Anyon 1995, 1997, 2014).

[*Sit with me.*]

The (mis)education of Latinas is historically interconnected and linked to white male supremacy (Lapayese 2013), where white heterosexual males embody the morals, values, and ideals of the dominant norm (Mills 2000). Through official, unofficial, and hidden curriculums, the male body and the white body are made to be synonymous with intellect, rationality, and legitimacy (Chacon 2006), whereas women’s bodies and the bodies of people of color are constructed as lacking, deficient, and in a perpetual state of crisis. In this system, the history of maleness and whiteness are both undergirded by a hetero-patriarchal ideological architecture, which become the foundation for our education system (Urrieta and Villanes 2013; Urrieta 2010). Precisely because of the deficient breadth of a white male hetero-patriarchal supremacy, we consciously position the Latina body as a site for generating knowledge(s) and agency.

School improvement discourses for example, specifically current reform initiatives calling for all-male academies (Pratt-Clarke 2010), rely on the notion that in order to “save” males of color, they must silence and make invisible the experience of women of color to “defeminize” schools, to remove [sexual] “distractions,” etc. These discourses inherently inculcate Latinas as adversaries for Latino achievements in a way that implies Latina resilience and achievements are the effects of (mis)invested resources – resources for men. Suggesting Latinas benefit unfairly at the cost of Latinos illogically situates Latinas as both a cause and a catalyst of Latinx underperformance. The subtext of this line of thinking beckons Latinas to think of themselves as only Latino, to put aside their womanhood, to sacrifice their seat, to let males lead, and/or to go first. This focus on crisis is overwhelmingly focused on males (Latinos) and not the entirety of Latinxs (see Soto 2011; Fernández 2002). And we don’t necessarily disagree, men of color do face particular circumstances, but, while we agree that research on males of color is vital because it sheds light on the intersectional issues of race-gender identities (Delgado Bernal 2002; Howard and Navarro 2016; Noguera 2003; Zarate and Gallimore 2005), we bemoan scholarship that shies away from a stronger critique of white male supremacy, and of heteronormative patriarchy (see Sáenz and Ponjuan 2011; Saenz and Ponjuan 2009; Sáenz et al. 2015; Noguera 2012). This genre of neoliberal Latino “crisis” scholarship forgets to consider how at its core, it demands Latinos only be seen by their most privileged markers: straight, cisgender, men. Again, while the male of color education “crisis” scholarship *does* highlight educational inequities there is a lack of intersectional critique that undermines other ways of being Latinx. Cammarota (2004), for example, analyses Latina and Latino student experiences in urban settings using a race-gender ethnographic approach that complexifies resistance and choice using an intersectional framework rather than a single-axis, binary approach.

46.4 Disrupting Binaries

Latinas are expected, if not demanded, to provide the labors of love [which often is work], to provide for others the essentials of care in life, to metaphorically feed the heart, and to literally nurse the body of others (Sy and Romero 2008). At face value, or rather from the male gaze, absolute self-sacrifice appears to be the paragon of generosity, but from the margins, selflessness is a trap designed to redirect physical, emotional, and psychic energies to invest in the male body (Harris-Perry 2011).

The binaries operate in schools by reducing Latina bodies to objects (e.g. distracting objects, sexual objects, passive objects). Recognizing Latinas as subjects requires first an acknowledgement that, although there is no singular Latinx educational experience, privileging race and overlooking gender and sexuality defaults these experiences as effectively hetero-male. Binaries, after all, are blinders designed to overlook oppressive and intersectional forces that are experienced differently by different bodies (read: Latinas). Schools in particular employ a myriad

of binaries including but not limited to academic achievement (Malagon and Alvarez 2010), citizenship (López and López 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2010), and class (Bettie 2014) to sort and sift out students through the educational pipeline. An intersectional approach disrupts simplistic understanding of schooling experiences by breaking the single-axis approach and exposing other variously overlapping axes that form the context of schooling (Crenshaw 1989, 1991).

The “problem” with gender, for example, is not that it is socially constructed, but rather that it is socially constrained (Flores and Garcia 2009; Butler 1990/2008). Masculinity and femininity are not uniform categories of being but rather multiplicitous, and highly contextual public performances (Kumashiro 1999; Muñoz 1999; Pascoe 2007). In urban schools, women are taught that they are opposite to men, and that only opposites attract (Garcia 2009; Ingraham 1994). This construction of an “opposite sex” operationalizes a common sense discourse about identity, place, and politics. Common sense discourses, however, are not neutral (Gramsci 1971): if there is to be an “opposite sex”, then a “preferred sex” stands as its obverse. When schools subscribe to binaries they maintain hierarchies based on power dynamics that polarize differences that disproportionately undermine the lives of Latinas (Knights and Kerfoot 2004). The violence of the gender binary as a disciplining political technology is teleologically rooted in reproducing patriarchy, masculinity, and misogyny.

Similarly, sexuality remains a missing axis of intersectional analysis. Bettie (2014) accurately argues that sexuality, usually analyzed within the raced-gendered-sexualized triad, has not obtained the same level of examination as race and gender. Understanding how Latinas’ sexuality is regulated in educational practices not only provides a lens for mapping intersectional enactments of social agency, but also serves as an avenue for (re)claiming/(re)writing the available imposed social scripts (Denner and Guzmán 2006). Currently, the Latina body is subjected to a binarist framework of extremes that imagines them as either sexually repressed, virgin-like beings, or hypersexual, hyperfertile, exotic personages (Lapayese 2013; Flores 2013; Garcia 2009, 2012; López and Chesney-Lind 2014). With contempt, we submit that both expressions of the this virgin-whore dichotomy are framed within a heteronormative blueprint that not only erases a queer subjectivity, but also ossifies a tradition of measuring the worth of a woman by her sexual availability to men. Urban schools then, are subject to critique when they reify these constructs by organizing school architecture, curriculum, policies, guidelines, and reform recommendations around policing Latina sexualities (Hyams 2000). Such a figuring of the Latina body in schools, in need of constant supervision, is steeped in an ideology that seeks to perpetuate the Latina subjugation and conserve the purity of the white race hegemony (Flores 2013). Undoing and unlearning these paradigms requires a queering of Latina bodies by refusing to be objects moved around by the education pipeline; subjectivity is found, according to Rodriguez (2003), in naming ourselves and negotiating our own discursive spaces in order to move towards armed social justice practices.

46.5 Pedagogies

To see her, the Latina, is to venture deeper into the borderlands from whence the contours of white supremacy and patriarchy can be seen overlapping in complicity (Anzaldúa 1987/2012; Elenes 2011). However, within the current urban educational context, it is her body that is constructed as unsuitable for education and in need of regulating.

Pedagogies are ideologically charged operations of teaching and learning (Camarrota and Romero 2006). We advocate those pedagogies that ignite critical consciousness that can lead to transformative practices of being and knowing (Sleeter 1995). Lapayese's (2013), "Morena pedagogy: Latina educators and Latina youth in urban schools," provides a feminist epistemology-based intersectional framework. In morena pedagogy, Latina students are encouraged to view the dynamic notion of selves, communities, and cultures as situated within resistance and agency. Through this framework,

Latina students would be allowed to think, write and speak against the grain – to be attentive to elite appropriations of their voices and struggles, and to assess how consciousness may be reconstituted to promote a more socially just world order (p. 495).

In reconstituting consciousness to promote a more socially just world, the singular, one-dimensional, and homogenous view of identity must be transformed into an intersectional reality. Urban education curriculum and instruction should connect the politics of the body to the mind-body-spirit so that they nourish not hinder their subjectivities (Garcia 2009, 2012). By linking the real physical body to our meta-physical sense of self, Latinas are allowed to exist in and beyond the borderlands. Developing our own stories, theories, and practices is a generative process (Solórzano and Delgado Bernal 2001; Delgado Bernal 2001; Brayboy 2005) that makes social justice possible in urban schools where text and subtext are in the domain of whiteness and maleness. Latinas should be encouraged to enact their educación by dialoguing the tensions of liberation and power of urban schooling (Freire and Macedo 2013). This sociopolitical action requires viewing the body as a space for knowledge production (Delgado Bernal et al. 2006).

46.5.1 Revolutionizing Action

The urgency to transform urban education is *now*, thus we call for a revolution in thought, practice, and in the way we honor voice. Revolution in thought follows Chicana Feminist Epistemology rooted in cultural intuition, disruption of binaries, and a queering of bodies (Calderón et al. 2012). Knowledge production should not follow a top-down hierarchical framework that privileges the disembodied archives of only white men. Experiential, generational, and interpersonal knowledges should be seeded – from the bottom up. Revolution in practice mirrors pedagogy of love (Darder 2012), a practice of healing, transformation and liberation for finding

ourselves. Education practices should value and respect both students and teachers as full autonomous beings as opposed to seeing learners through developmental, deficit-based frameworks. Similarly, teachers are also learners; the dialectic transforms both. Revolution in voice does not imply *giving* voice to others. In the same way that we do not empower others – they empower themselves – revolution in voice implies *honoring* nuestras voces. Voice takes many shapes: words, feelings, emotions, [purposeful] silences, memories; all manifestations of voice are worthy of occupying discursive spaces. These revolutions build on an existing knowledge base of Latinas’ ways of knowing (Delgado Bernal et al. 2006).

We must recontextualize the purpose of schooling to create a culture of inclusivity and wholeness that acknowledges all the ways Latinas survive, resist, and navigate schooling and education. Building from the work of Chicana and Latina feminists, we bridge theory and activism to engage in urban education as an act and an avenue for liberation. Social justice manifests itself in different ways in the classroom: ethnic studies, culturally relevant pedagogy, challenging banking notions of learning/teacher, vulnerability, centering student voices, and through actively learning and (un)learning.

Honoring Latina student voices in urban education is the practice of recognizing education (that is, the project of schooling urban youth) does not exist without students. Often, the only people considered “actors” and active in effecting change are teachers, administrators, and policymakers (Palmer and Martínez 2013). This chapter centers the Latina as the agent and subject of her own schooling experience, despite deficit-oriented discourses about Latinxs and education. We are in need of new practices rooted in transformation through the voice of Latinas. We ask: How can we re/imagine urban education reform to foster transformative practices? How can we decolonize teaching/learning in the urban context? How can urban schools eradicate western-, hetero-, and male-centric ideologies? How can we ensure culturally relevant pedagogy and critical pedagogy is relevant to Latinas?

46.6 Conclusion

Intersectional pedagogies are social justice practices because they center/name/account for the experiences of urban Latina youth. Moving towards educación – and not (mis)education – is activism in praxis (Freire 1970, 1998). Every teaching moment should reflect a pedagogy of care and of love. Decolonial work is undoing, redoing, and doing all at the same time (Figueroa 2015) because it rests on “an act of confrontation with a dominant system of thought” (hooks 1992, p. 1). We must be intersectional in the work we do for policy, health care, violence, mass-incarceration, sovereignty, sexuality, and any system where oppression exists.

Anzaldúa (2002) reminds us that:

You examine the description handed to you of the world, picking holes in the paradigms currently constructing reality. You doubt that traditional western science is the best knowl-

edge system, the only true, impartial arbiter of reality... You turn the established narrative on its head, seeing through, resisting, and subverting its assumptions... you must provide new narratives embodying alternative potentials (p. 561–562).

Anzaldúa's words epitomize Arvin et al.'s reminder (2013) that decentering Eurocentric frameworks, requires constant action of decolonization in order for us for us to abolish systems of power beyond white supremacy (Gillborn 2005; Leonardo 2002; Nolen 2015).

Social justice work is rooted in community. As scholars, practitioners, educators, we engage in the borderlands through spaces/ideologies/ways of knowing that have lived in the margins. As Latinxs, we must tell and retell our stories so that they are known, and heard in spaces in and beyond academia. Latina knowledge, experience, and ways of knowing are rooted in resilience that require the love of self.

Of Latinx.
Of Latina.

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Chapter 47

Keeping the Dream Through the CARE Model: Examining Strategies to Bridge the Gaps in Education Among Urban Youth

Tiffany Hollis and Ramon B. Goings

Despite more than 30 years of reform efforts and policy changes, urban education systems have failed to close various gaps (e.g., academic, discipline) among low-income students of color. As a result, ensuring the academic success for students of color in urban school districts in the United States has been the subject of numerous policies, reports, books, and articles. Despite the numerous efforts to bridge the gaps that exist among low-income youth of color and their counterparts, there is much room for improvement. The persistent underachievement of students, especially those in urban schools, has placed a large number of students at risk of school failure (Milner and Lomotey 2015). For many youth who reside in urban areas, school failure translates into disengagement from the schooling process. Students who are disengaged or who do not have access to some of the materials and resources that are needed for them to be successful often do not perform well academically.

Students from low-income backgrounds are at a disadvantage before they even enter a classroom as a result of the differing economic, cultural, social, and academic experiences that they have encountered. In addition, many students arrive at school with different experiences in terms of access to educational materials and resources at home and school. Environmental factors such as joblessness, teenage pregnancy, crime, single-headed families, and welfare dependency may pose a challenge to children who grown up in certain underserved communities. All of these factors tend to exacerbate the problems that are present in urban schools today. In many instances, the aforementioned issues fall under the auspice of educational (in)

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equity in public school systems, particularly in those that are considered urban or have higher concentrations of ethnic groups and low-income students. As a result, these factors contribute to the education of students of color. Educational equity in terms of discipline is a pressing issue that has been examined in detail historically and in the present. As a result, fostering resilience and helping youth to learn to be successful and overcome despite their circumstances, will be integral in shifting the tides of how urban youth are and will be educated, how they are viewed, and the levels of success that they will experience. Moreover, while helping students succeed is integral, a more pressing need is for educators to evaluate policies, procedures, and practices that have caused these educational inequities.

Fostering protective processes in schools and communities requires a major shift in belief systems among adults in the education community. In the new vision of schooling, it is important to view students' experiences, prior cultural knowledge, and language as strengths—not deficits. Believing and expecting that each student has knowledge and experience to contribute to the teaching and learning process is not enough. Opportunities must be created for students to demonstrate what they know and can do in schools and communities. Consequently, youth who have been labeled as “at-risk” in terms of societal definitions can use the protective factors in their lives to transform into “at-opportunity” and become productive citizens who contribute to society.

Despite the increased attention in urban schools highlighting the educational disparities including academic achievement, opportunity, and discipline gaps for students of color, school districts are taking proactive steps to improve. For instance, Miami-Dade County Public Schools (FL) evaluated their suspension data and consequently eliminated out-of-school suspensions. The school system instead has created success centers where students can still receive access to teachers and support staff (e.g., social workers, psychologists, etc.). However, because reforms like the removal of suspensions in Miami-Dade County Public Schools are not systemic throughout the United States, student outcomes such as graduation rates in many urban school districts are not reflective of an improvement. In the scholarly literature, researchers have pointed to a plethora of academic and environmental reasons for the achievement gap and have proposed solutions to improve outcomes for students of color. However, not often discussed is the development of a comprehensive framework that addresses the academic, social, and emotional needs of students and teachers to reduce the aforementioned gaps.

To address this need, the chapter authors propose the use of a CARE model to address the gaps impacting students of color in urban school districts. The CARE model explores the role that (C) culturally relevant pedagogy, (A) attachment to school, (R) regulating emotions (mental health), and (E) expectations of teachers, play in narrowing or closing the gaps. This chapter contributes to the literature by exploring solutions to closing these gaps by utilizing various research-based strategies to engage, educate, and empower students who are frequently underserved, and often profoundly “left behind,” by the educational system. The purpose of this book chapter is to shed light on the gaps that exists among students from low-income backgrounds and their peers who come from middle-class and affluent homes by examining the various factors that contribute to those gaps.

First, we provide a background of the development of education in the United States with a focus on demonstrating the beginnings of educational inequities. Second, we highlight the persistence of achievement, discipline, and opportunity gaps. Third, we introduce the CARE model as a guide for educators to close the aforementioned gaps. We then conclude with recommendations for policy, pedagogy, and practice.

47.1 Background

From the beginning of history, American public education has been perceived by many to be that cure for the social ills produced by inequality of opportunity and poverty can be reduced, thereby becoming the “great equalizer” (Gonzalez 2001). Gonzalez (2001) adds that “Education is the great equalizer in a democratic society, and if people are not given access to a quality education, then what we are doing is creating an underclass of people who will challenge our very way of life.” He further declares that the “civil rights question of our nation today is that of access to a quality education” (Gonzalez 2001, p. 2). Horace Mann envisioned a school that would be available and equal for all, part of the birthright of every American child, to be for the rich and the poor alike. Mann found “social harmony” to be his primary goal of the school (Cremin 1957, p. 8). As a result, education is seen by many as a way to achieve economic and social mobility.

Through the history of the United States, people of color have risked and given their lives in an effort to provide a better life for their families and to pursue new opportunities, as well as provide their children with access to a free and high-quality education. What is missing from discourse regarding access to education is the acknowledgement of racially segregated groups who were denied equal access to schooling for centuries (Tyack 2004). Although it can be argued that education’s key purpose is to provide an equitable education for all students, there are numerous factors that prevent education from being “the great equalizer.” Schools serving low-income students receive fewer resources, face greater difficulties attracting qualified teachers, face many more challenges in addressing student’s needs, and receive less support from parents. This inequality is widely recognized. However, the inequities facing children before they enter school are less publicized (Lee and Burkam 2002).

Education has been seen as more of a “dream deferred” or a dream denied by Black citizens since 1896 when the Supreme Court ruled in the historic case *Plessy v. Ferguson* that “separate but equal” facilities for people of color were deemed as constitutional and legal. The Plessy decision and subsequent Jim Crow era contributed to societal and educational inequities for non-White citizens generally, and African Americans specifically. It was not until the landmark Supreme Court case *Brown v. the Board of Education* (1954), which ruled that “separate, but equal” was in fact, unconstitutional. This law overturned the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, and was considered as a progressive step towards racial equality and educational

opportunity. Yet, as James (2015) argued, “as the playing field appeared to level, the rules of the game changed” (p. 162). In other words, while the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision ended segregation, it was met with much resistance, particularly in southern states where school integration was not widely enforced. For instance, some states closed their public schools as a stalling tactic instead of integrating Black and White students (Douglas 1995).

Over a century ago, W.E.B. DuBois discussed the social conditions of African Americans in *The Philadelphia Negro* (Du Bois 1899). In 1903, he found that the damages of racism and unequal opportunities irreversibly damaged the plight of African Americans in the twentieth century. He coined this term “the color line,” which indicates the damages of racism and discrimination to African Americans post-emancipation (DuBois 1903). However, even within twenty first century contexts, the *color line* is still an eminent problem that disrupts social, economic, and educational opportunities for African Americans today. Within education, race and skin color are still contributing factors to student mistreatment, school inequity, and community underdevelopment. Although race is a socially constructed category that has been assigned based on skin color, physical characteristics, common descent and ethnic background (Yetman 1985), there can be no doubt that race has played and continues to play a significant role in social stratification and inequality. This is certainly evident in the U.S. education system. The discrepancy between the academic performance between white and African Americans leads to a discussion of the gaps that exist and persist; therefore, contributing to the disparities that are currently present. Although DuBois asserted his beliefs about the color line over a century ago, the *color line* still exists in the twenty first century.

47.1.1 The Twenty First Century Color Line

Population data reveals that 31.5% of African Americans currently living in the United States are under the age of 19 years old, while 22.5% of this age group is White (U.S. Department of Commerce 2013). These statistics suggest that a larger percentage of African Americans are assumed to be economically dependent and without primary income. Population data also demonstrates median age disparities between Black and White citizens. According to Wilson (2012), higher median ages are associated with higher income categories and professional occupations. Employment data suggests greater economic strain for younger communities with greater percentages of economic dependents (Wilson 2012).

Aside from age disparities, unemployment also strains urban communities. National unemployment for African Americans is approximately 11.5% compared to 5.4% unemployment for Whites (U.S. Department of Labor 2013). It is important to consider that unemployment data only reflects adults *actively* seeking employment, and does not account for those incarcerated, homeless, and displaced. Meaning, while the unemployment rates for African Americans are high, the actual unemployment numbers are much higher. These unemployment statistics represent

a smaller percentage of wage-earning adults in African American communities. Given the large percentage of African American dependents, unemployment has a major impact on the ability of parents to provide for their children.

Wage earning and educational attainment presents another aspect of the *color line* between Black and Whites. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce (2013), the average monthly income differential by educational attainment between Black and Whites reveals a shortfall of \$527, \$1,001, and \$1,005 for those with a high school diploma, Bachelor's degree, and Master's degree, respectively. Further, the percentage differential in educational attainment between Blacks and Whites is 2.7%, -8.2%, and -3.8% for those with a high school diploma, Bachelor's degree, and Master's degree, respectively (U.S. Department of Commerce 2013). These data suggest that, on average, Blacks are a smaller percentage of the workforce, earn less income at every educational level, represent a larger percentage low education credentials, yet bear a greater percentage of dependent populations (U.S. Department of Commerce 2013).

Segregated housing trends, by race and income, also adds to the *color line*. The Pew Research Center found that 42% of Blacks lived in a census tract that was majority Black, or segregated. Moreover, the average Black person lived in a census tract that was at least 45% Black and the average White person lived in a census tract that was at least 77% White (National Low Income Housing Coalition 2012). The National Low Income Housing Coalition Report (2012) also suggests that housing segregation has increased from 1980 to 2010 in nine of ten major metropolitan cities, as measured by the Residential Income Segregation Index (RISI). Thus, the urban setting, based on the factors of population distribution, median age, unemployment, income and educational attainment, and housing, can be framed as an environment of social and economic isolation and inequity. These factors, along with structural inequalities that exist in the education system leads to the gaps that exist and persist; therefore, contributing to the disparities that are currently present.

47.2 Examining the Achievement, Discipline, and Opportunity Gaps

47.2.1 The Achievement Gap

The existence of the “achievement gap” between African American students and White students and its possible causes and remedies has gained considerable attention in both the public mind and in academia (Jencks and Phillips 1998). For the last several decades, academics and practitioners have sought to understand the achievement gap in racial terms (Ogbu 2003). The achievement gap in the United States often refers to the differences between White, middle class students and their non-White peers. Although it may seem as though the achievement gap may be a Black

and White issue, it is more accurate to refer to multiple gaps. Roughly defined, an achievement gap is the disparity between the academic performances of different groups of students. Several such gaps have been found to be associated with groups of individuals from certain economic, racial, and ethnic lines. For instance, there is an achievement gap between students from low-income families and their more affluent peers. This gap is also noted as a disparity between minority students, especially African American, Hispanic, and Native American students, and their White and Asian American counterparts (National Task Force on Minority High Achievement 1999). With the advent of federal legislation such as No Child Left Behind coupled with the demands of accountability and public unrest, there seems to be another “sleeping giant” in the midst of this struggling educational system. As Haycock (2001) explained, “To increase the achievement levels of minority and low-income students, we need to focus on what really matters: high standards, a challenging curriculum, and good teachers” (p. 1).

Unfortunately, inquiries into disparities in achievement often neglect to consider patterns in disciplinary referrals. Thus, insufficient discussions have taken place with regard to discipline, despite the fact that discipline sanctions have been disproportionately distributed across racial and ethnic groups with a significant overrepresentation of African Americans (Skiba et al. 2002). While many factors have been explored as contributors to the discipline gap, teacher beliefs and practices, biases, and cultural misunderstandings as it relates to discipline has received little attention.

47.2.2 *The Discipline Gap*

The discourse on the achievement gap, does not often focus on the role that the discipline gap and how minority students are subjected to a disproportionate rate of school disciplinary sanctions, which range from being removed from the classroom and being sent to the office, to facing suspension or even expulsion (Krezmien et al. 2006; Wallace et al. 2008; Butler et. al 2012). Consequently, disciplinary sanctions are imposed in an effort to maintain order and safety by removing students who break school rules and who are disruptive to the learning environment. These students are used to set an example to other students in order to deter other students from committing future rule infractions. However, schools tend to rely heavily on exclusion from the classroom as the primary discipline strategy (Arcia 2006), and this practice often has a disproportionate impact on students of color. Exclusionary school discipline practices include the referral of disruptive students out of the classroom and their subsequent suspension and expulsion from school (Losen and Gillespie 2012; Lewis et. al 2012).

From a social justice perspective, one of the main problems with exclusionary school discipline consequences is their disproportional negative impact on Black students, particularly males (Skiba et al. 2000; Smith and Harper 2015; Losen and Skiba 2010; Losen 2015;). The disproportionality of African American students, particularly males, in exclusionary school discipline is termed the *discipline gap*

(Monroe 2005, 2006). The discipline gap, or tendency for African American students to be sanctioned more frequently and severely than their peers, is present in almost every school system throughout the United States (Losen and Gillespie 2012; Losen and Martinez 2013). As a result of being out of class, too many Black students get caught in the school failure, dropout, and juvenile justice cycle, or school-to-prison pipeline (Casella 2003; Osher et al. 2010; Wald and Losen 2003; Losen 2015). As a result, the use of school exclusion as a discipline practice may contribute to the well-documented racial gaps in academic achievement, which, in turn contributes to the achievement gap.

Some researchers argue that teachers lack proper training and preparation to manage behaviors that may be culturally different from their own (Cartledge and Kourea 2008; Klinger et al. 2005). For instance, Eyler et al. (1983) reported that many teachers with socially heterogeneous populations are faced with students whose behavior they do not understand, and they are subsequently feel ill-equipped to respond to or cope with the behavior. Classroom disruptions can be properly managed if behavior interventions that are culturally responsive are implemented correctly (Cartledge and Kourea 2008; Klinger et al. 2005). Consequently, these interventions are seen as promising in terms of serving as preventative measures, given that a majority of teachers in the workforce are White, middle class, and monolingual females (Ladson-Billings 2001). Although implementation of culturally responsive practices must be systemic and happen at federal, state, district, and school levels (Abrams and Gibbs 2000; Klinger et al. 2005), administrators and teachers need to serve as agents of change and advocates of social justice access, equity, and inclusion of all students.

Even though the demographics of the students in schools are becoming more diverse, the majority of teachers are still White (Toldson et al. 2013; Ladson-Billings 2001; Hancock 2011). As a result, these changes have resulted in a cultural disconnect between students and teachers as many educators often do not know how to respond to the behavior needs of students from diverse backgrounds. While cultural differences among students can occasionally create challenges in the classroom, they should be viewed as opportunities to create positive, trusting relationships. This has resulted in a cultural disconnect between students and teachers. In an effort to create a stronger connection between teachers and students, it is recommended to include professional development that emphasizes cultural awareness (Toldson et al. 2013). Consequently, teachers can implement culturally responsive methods of classroom management, such as establishing a rapport with students and creating an optimal learning environment (i.e., warm, supportive, and caring), exploring the concept of cultural synchronization, and developing a greater sensitivity to culture by reflecting on their own instructional practices, interactions, and personal reactions to students and behaviors, as means of closing the discipline gap.

Definitions and expectations of appropriate behavior are culturally influenced, and conflicts are likely to occur when teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds (Weinstein et al. 2003; 2004). Misreading behaviors or communication patterns of culturally and linguistically diverse students (i.e., White, Black, Latino, Asian, Native American) can lead teachers who are unprepared to

meet the educational needs of these students to see them as having a disability and request a referral to special education (Voltz et al. 2003). The combination of interpreting behaviors through singular cultural lens and instructional quality contributes to disproportionality in special education and discipline (Klinger et al. 2005). Therefore, implementing culturally relevant classroom management strategies, encouraging cultural synchronization, and fostering teacher-student interactions and relationships become important tools in the arsenal of reducing and preventing disproportionality in discipline. Problem behaviors among students are often a function of a misalignment of what is expected according to mainstream Eurocentric cultural norms and what diverse students bring to their school environments. Classroom expectations and behavioral norms are based on cultural constructs and as the classrooms become more diverse, students and teachers with backgrounds that are culturally diverse, may experience conflicts in schools.

47.2.3 The Opportunity Gap

The National Opportunity to Learn Campaign (2011) defines the opportunity gap as the disparity in access to quality schools and the resources needed for academic success, such as early childhood education, highly prepared and effective teachers, college preparatory curricula, and equitable instructional resources. Consequently, disadvantaged students are often in classrooms with the most inexperienced teachers, in school settings with the worst working conditions and the least support for educators (Wilkins et al. 2006). The teacher turnover and poor results that follow are hardly surprising, and no evaluation tool or alternative certifications will change this dysfunctional dynamic. In communities across the United States, children lack the crucial resources and opportunities—inside and outside of schools—that are necessary for them to reach their potential in terms of attaining a career, attending college, or achieving citizenship. These children often learn in inadequately funded schools with beginning teachers who have low expectations for them to succeed, participate in classes that do not challenge them, and have little or no access to other supports in their lives such as access to housing, health, and other resources that are often out of the school's control. While the achievement gap has dominated policy discussions over the past two decades, relatively little attention has been paid to a gap that is certainly becoming more and more evident in schools and in society in general—the opportunity gap.

Although opportunity and achievement are connected in more ways than can be imagined, they are very different issues with different concerns. Classes in schools serving mostly African American and Latino students are twice as likely to be taught by inexperienced teachers (with 3 years of experience or less) as classes at schools where there is a majority of White students (Wilkins et al. 2006). Classes in high poverty schools are also more likely to have inexperienced teachers. The percentage of inexperienced teachers in low poverty schools is 11 % whereas in high poverty schools it is 20 % (Mayer et al. 2000). Looking at teacher qualifications, the least

prepared teacher recruits are disproportionately found in under-resourced, hard-to-staff schools serving predominantly low-income and minority students in central cities and poor rural areas. Thus, students who most need highly skilled teachers are least likely to have them, further magnifying inequalities (Darling-Hammond 2010). Reframing the problem in terms of opportunity gaps focuses attention on examining the lack of access to the very resources that contribute to the success of more privileged students. This focus clarifies what actions need to be taken to guarantee that all students do indeed have opportunities to receive a high quality education. As many examples across the nation show, when given the opportunity, students from any cultural or ethnic background and any socioeconomic level can excel (Kitchen et al. 2007).

47.3 CARE Model

In order to address the various gaps previously discussed educators will need to approach these issues from various perspectives. We propose the use of the CARE model as one such solution to address the gaps impacting students of color in urban school districts. Consequently, the CARE model explores the role that (C) culturally relevant pedagogy, (A) attachment to school, (R) regulating emotions (mental health), and (E) expectations of teachers, play in narrowing or closing the gaps. We contend that a multi-faceted approach is essential to meet the needs of youth who are frequently underserved, and often profoundly “left behind,” by the educational system. The CARE model will close the gaps that exist among students from low-income backgrounds and their peers who come from middle-class and affluent homes by examining the various factors that contribute to those gaps.

47.3.1 Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Ladson-Billings (2009) explained that most teachers have concerns about working with diverse student populations and need to examine their beliefs, expand their knowledge, and develop abilities related to students from diverse backgrounds. As a pedagogical tool, Ladson-Billings and other scholars have called for teachers to employ culturally responsive teaching (CRT) which is defined as “a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes” (Ladson-Billings 2009, p. 20). Research studies suggest that teachers have deficit views about their racial and linguistically different minority students. Moreover, teachers also treat these students different from non-minority students and have lower expectations for them (Patton 2002). The reality is that demographic differences between teachers and their students are increasing in America’s classrooms. Thus, it is important for

teachers to become more culturally competent and responsive with their students. For instance, in order for teachers to engage in culturally relevant teaching, they must not only comprehend, but also embrace the roles that racial, ethnic, and socio-economic differences play in schools and classrooms (Ryan 2006).

Ladson-Billings (1994) identifies three components of CRT: (a) the teachers' perceptions of themselves and others, (b) the manner in which classroom social interactions are structured, and (c) teachers' perception of knowledge. Specifically, addressing the needs of African American students, she states that the primary aim of CRT is to assist in the development of a identity that allows African American students to choose academic excellence yet still identify with Africana and African American culture. As this description implies, culturally relevant teachers must be observant and alert to the classroom behaviors and communications, verbal and nonverbal, of students. There is no "one-size-fits all" approach to CRT. Every student must be studied individually and stereotypes about a particular group discarded. Culturally relevant teaching occurs only when teachers are sensitive to cultural differences and when culture is naturally integrated into the curriculum, into instructional and assessment practices, and into classroom management. Therefore, CRT is based on the idea that culture is central to student learning. In fact, the application of CRT relies heavily on whether or not the teacher can understand how a student's cultural complexities impact how they experience the world (Milner 2011). While CRT is critical to success of African American students, this pedagogical approach does not occur in isolation. Consequently, it is important that scholars and practitioners also address how the academic environment impacts the interactions between teachers and their students.

47.3.2 Academic Environment (Positive School Climate)

School, along with home and neighborhood, are the primary environments that impact child development. Schools with a positive climate, where children feel welcome and look forward to attending, families like to visit and volunteer, and staff like to work, are environments that promote learning and healthy growth (Haynes et al. 1997). Haynes et al.'s (1997) defines school climate as, "the quality and consistency of interpersonal interactions within the school community that influence children's cognitive, social, and psychological development" (p. 322). The climate of a school is especially important to the developmental and academic outcomes of vulnerable and at-risk students, such as homeless students and highly mobile students because it could mean the difference between achieving academic success or experiencing failure and eventually dropping out. Why do some children succeed and do well, despite the obstacles that they have had to overcome, while others fail and end up dropping out of school? Many would attribute the ability to overcome the odds and be successful to resilience and being able to regulate one's emotions, which will be discussed more in depth in the next paragraph.

47.3.3 *Regulation of Emotions (Mental Health)*

Another prerequisite for achieving classroom competency is the ability to self-regulate attention, emotions, and behavior (Masten and Coatsworth 1998). Such “executive functioning” in the brain may well be effected by child maltreatment (Child Welfare Information Gateway [CWIG] 2015). Executive functioning contributes to academic and career success and supports the ability for social interactions. Structural and chemical damage to areas of the brain that control executive functioning may result in the learning difficulties, lesser academic achievement, diminished IQ, and declining attentiveness or focus. Not surprisingly, traumatic experiences have the power to undermine the development of linguistic and communicative skills, hinder the formation of a coherent sense of self, and compromise the ability to attend to classroom tasks and instructions, organize and remember new information, and grasp cause-and-effect relationships—all of which are necessary to process information effectively (Shonk and Cicchetti 2001). Trauma can interfere with the capacity for relationship formation and for creative play, the latter being an important way for children to learn coping skills. Additionally, children who have experienced trauma may face one or more of the following: difficulties with sustained attention (Beers and De Bellis 2002; Streeck Fischer and van der Kolk 2000), slow processing speed due to increased arousal (Perry 2001), difficulty with verbal problem-solving tasks and expressing emotions (Coster and Cicchetti 1993), deficits in executive functioning tasks (i.e., goal setting, planning, etc.; Beers and De Bellis 2002), trouble sequentially organizing material which may result in reading, writing, and verbal communication problems (Craig 1992, as cited in Cole et al. 2005), and difficulty accepting others’ perspectives (Burack et al. 2006). Unfortunately, these traumatic experiences adversely impact communities of color generally, and African American communities specifically (Walker 2015).

Related to recurring fear, a traumatized child may experience hyperarousal, an unconscious response to a perceived threat triggered by chronic exposure to traumatic stress (Bloom 2013). As with fear, the brain creates permanent memories of traumatic events. These memories leave the child hyper sensitive to imminent danger as perceived in such nonverbal clues as eye contact, swift movement or a touch on the arm or tap on the shoulder (CWIG 2015). Hyperarousal causes a child to be on the alert for threats and to potentially misinterpret nonverbal cues as threatening even in safe spaces such as school classrooms. Instead of paying attention to learning, the child may be focused on determining whether a situation poses danger. The lack of focus on learning causes the child to fall behind academically and to be labeled with a learning disability. This misdiagnosis overlooks that fact that the child’s traumatized brain had developed in a way the keeps them on alert and unable to calm down and give attention to learning (Bloom 2013; CWIG 2015; National Scientific Council on the Developing Child 2010; Trosche 2014).

Shields and Cicchetti (1998) explain that deficits in the capacity to regulate emotion are a cause for serious concern because “the ability to modulate behavior, attention, and emotion underlie children’s adaptive functioning in a number of key

domains, including self-development, academic achievement, and interpersonal relationships.” (p. 391). Potential difficulties include poor impulse control, aggression against the self and/or others, trouble interpreting emotional signals, chronic uncertainty about the reliability of other people, and lack of a predictable sense of self. Shields and Cicchetti (1998) suggest that hypervigilance, or a constant alertness for danger, may play a key role in undermining the development of emotional self-regulation. They postulate that the hypervigilant child cannot shift away from distressing cues in the service of maintaining emotional regulation. Research now shows that trauma can undermine children’s ability to learn, form relationships, and function appropriately in the classroom (Shonk and Cicchetti 2001). Schools, which are significant communities for children, and teachers—the primary role models in these communities—must be given the supports they need to address trauma’s impact on learning. Otherwise, many children will be unable to achieve their academic potential. Students mentioned being more confident when they have positive role models whom they could trust and who showed them that they cared about them and had high expectations for them. Consequently, relationship with a caring and supportive adult, such as a teacher, can also have a positive effect on student’s success and academic performance.

47.3.4 Caring Relationships and Teacher Expectations

There is often a saying among teachers that “Students don’t care what you know until they know that you care.” Thus, there is a need for schools to have teachers who truly believe their students have the ability to succeed. This is even more critical for those students who have been disenfranchised to the degree that they may not even believe in their own academic ability. Furthermore, Werner and Smith (1992) reminded us of the role that teachers play in creating caring learning environments are critical to fostering resilience. Werner and Smith (1992) found that students mentioned positive role models and individuals whom they could trust and demonstrated deep care. Students tend to excel and do well when they believe that they can be successful. Research shows that the presence of just one caring adult in the life of a child can make a difference between success and failure in school (Gay 2000). Wilson and Corbett (2001) and Delpit (1995) noted that today’s classroom environments should be places in which expectations are clearly stated and inappropriate behaviors are dealt with immediately. Attempting to meet the needs of students requires that teachers and service providers develop an awareness of and explicitly respond to students’ ethnic, cultural, social, emotional, and cognitive characteristics (Brown 2004). Delpit (1995) indicated that many children expect many more direct verbal commands that perhaps teachers may expect to give or provide. If students interpret commands as questions, teachers and administrators may perceive them as uncooperative and insubordinate without understanding their failure to comprehend what is expected and why they choose not to comply (Delpit 1995).

Gaining student's cooperation in today's classrooms involves establishing a classroom atmosphere in which teachers are aware of, and address, students' cultural, linguistic, social, and emotional, and cognitive needs (Brown 2004). The physical features, emotional tone, and quality of interactions among students and between students and teachers have a tremendous impact on how or whether learning occurs. Classroom climates that are "cold," hostile, uninviting, and negative are not conducive to the learning environment for any students, and students with behavioral concerns tend to perform better in emotionally warm, caring, and supportive classroom climates (Howard 2006). As Howard discovered, students preferred "teachers who displayed caring bonds and attitudes towards them, and teachers who establish community-and family-type classroom environments" (p. 131).

Teacher effectiveness has a central role in fostering academic success. Students need master teachers who set high expectations, spend more time actually teaching because of good classroom management skills, encourage questions, promote life-long learning, create an engaging learning environment, and have a good rapport with both parents and students. In essence, the current school system is an alien school system where the curriculum does not motivate the children to want to learn because the coursework does not relate to them or to their experience and may be seen as irrelevant and insignificant. In addition to having a caring relationship with students, teachers and staff can also create a positive school climate.

47.4 Recommendations

Given that the US teacher workforce does not reflect the diversity of students, we provide this model as a guide for educators to use to ensure they are reaching their students of color. Furthermore, we provide three recommendations for education stakeholders concerned with not only addressing educational gaps, but also eliminating them:

1. *Development of Ongoing Culturally Responsive Teaching Professional Development*

Throughout our discussion in this chapter we have focused on the importance of having teachers who understand the culture and values of their students of color. Thus, it is paramount that school districts provide ongoing professional development for teachers on culturally responsive teaching. However, while providing professional development is critical, this professional development must be designed based on recommendations of students, teachers, and community members who represent the various cultures in the school district. Moreover, school district officials should look to teachers in the district who exhibit culturally responsive practices to help lead the professional development sessions as they can provide other teachers with skills that are directly applicable in the classroom setting.

Moreover, it cannot be assumed that all students from the same racial group (i.e. Black or Hispanic) share the same cultural values, thus this professional development must take into account the diversity in culture among students. Additionally, teachers (of all races/ethnicities) should be given the opportunity to first explore their cultural values and ways in which they see the world. This self-understanding is essential as it may be difficult to understand the cultures of others if teachers are not cognizant of how their ideologies, life experiences, and beliefs influence their teaching practices.

Through our personal encounters with teachers engaging in professional development, they often acknowledge that professional development is given in a “one-shot” approach where after one professional development session teachers should be able to implement everything from that session. As school systems develop their cultural responsive teaching we recommend that these sessions are ongoing, where teachers have the ability to learn the information and strategies, have ample time to implement them in their classrooms, and then receive feedback and consultation on how to improve their practices.

2. *Development of Mental Health Support and Training for Teachers and Students*

As described in our CARE framework, students who have had traumatic experiences are less likely to perform academically (Walker 2015). Therefore, there is a need for school districts to be responsive to the experiences (both in and out of school) that their students bring to the classroom. Even among adults, the discussion of mental health, especially in communities in color is a taboo topic. However, in order to support students who need mental health supports, we must be more vigilant in discussing these issues in communities of color. As a result, we recommend that concerned educators, mental health practitioners, and researchers collaborate to provide mental health training to teachers, students, and the community. Schools can serve as the epicenter for the community where all stakeholders have safe spaces with competent mental health professionals to talk through their problems.

We recommend including students in the training because in many instances students are more likely to be open with a peer than an adult. As a result, students should have some background information to know when it is appropriate to talk with an adult about their problems. As educators, this training is important to develop culturally sensitive methods to discuss traumatic experiences with students and be able to refer them to the proper mental health practitioner. Addressing budgetary matters which often cut mental health services in schools (e.g., school counselors and psychologists) will be necessary to ensure students of color have access to training and competent adults who can help them deal with issues that may impact their academic achievement.

3. *Revisions of Discipline Practices that Impact Students of Color*

In their (2015) report on the school suspension of Black students in 13 southern states Smith and Harper found that in more than 100 school districts Black students suspensions account for rates five times their representation in the student population. Moreover, the researchers found that in 84 school districts Black students accounted for 100% of all school suspensions in those districts.

We outline these data to show there is a glaring problem in the ways in which students of color are disciplined in school and we contend that these practices must come to a halt.

In order to change these statistics, we recommend that all school districts evaluate their suspension data and develop strategic workgroups comprised of district and school administrators, teachers, students, and community members that have a mission to understand *why* students of color are being suspended and then develop strategies to lower suspension rates. As we discussed previously, when students are suspended from school and do not have access to the curriculum, they are placed at a disadvantage that will ultimately impact their ability to succeed academically. Thus, strategies to lower suspensions should include in-school options for students and the availability of academic tutors and counselors.

47.5 Conclusion

While pundits from various viewpoints may disagree on how students should be taught and the policies that govern education, all can come to a consensus that *education is an equalizer*. In order to support students of color there is the need to galvanize all stakeholders who care about these students. Moreover, conversations must be framed from an anti-deficit perspective. Stakeholders must truly believe that the future success of the United States rests on our ability to ensure all students have the access to an equitable education that prepares them for success and not prison. We present in this chapter one framework that can be useful in guiding the work of educators, researchers, and policy makers who seek to develop programs, policies, and practices to support students of color. Our hope is that scholars, teachers, administrators, and society at large see the opportunity to support students of color and ensure their success.

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Part VIII
Oceania

Chapter 48

Urban Education in Oceania:

Section Editor's Introduction

James G. Ladwig

Arguably, to understand Urban Education in Oceania, it is important to keep the history, demography and geography of the region in the forefront. That is, while it is possible to make some clear connections between the experiences of education in some Urban centres in the region and those in (mostly) Northern parts of the planet, those connections really misrepresent the region more widely. 'Urban' experiences, as they are known in the North, are the exception in Oceania. Understanding the broader context helps frame the issue of Urban education more clearly.

In geological terms, Oceania is comprised of more than 10,000 islands scattered across the South Pacific Ocean, with three nations occupying the largest of those islands: Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea. (Earliest definitions of the term 'Oceania' were intended to include the Malay Archipelago – what now includes Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and Timor-Leste – but these are typically considered part of Southeast Asia in contemporary parlance and in the World Cup.) The largest of these islands is the continent (and country) of Australia followed in area by the island of Papua and the two main islands of New Zealand.

The more obvious reason to say that Urban Education is more the exception than rule in Oceania becomes evident when considering the population spread across the land mass of these islands. Most evidently, there are actually very few large cities in the region. Only two are larger than four million residents: Sydney and Melbourne – both in Australia. There are also only three more cities with populations greater than one million people: Perth, Adelaide, Auckland (NZ). In total, these cities comprise slightly more than one third of the overall population of Oceania of an estimated 36 million people. It is therefore clear that the majority of schooling (which does formally exist across the entire region) takes place in small (and smaller) regional centres across what is essentially the Southern half of the largest ocean on the planet.

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The question these raw facts bring to mind is, what can the experience of a couple of cities on the far side of the planet offer an international handbook of Urban Education? Here the history of the region, and its relatively recent transition into 'Modernity' provides a crucial key. That is, while it is possible to identify similarities in the economic and social conditions faced by some students in Sydney and Melbourne as proto-typically 'Urban,' it is actually the interface between the clearly imposed modern school system and the many and varied Indigenous populations of the region which makes the link between schooling and 'the Urban' very clear, wherever your planetary location.

Within this broader framing, Australia has individually developed its own history of understanding 'Urban' education in a global view (Connell 1980). Subsequently educational and sociological literature has focused on themes similar to those found in the metropolises of the world. From Jim Walker's well know study of male youth culture and its tenuous relationship with schooling, (Walker 1988), to Parlo Singh's undergoing interest in how marginalised youth (often from other parts of Oceania) live within the margins of Australia's urban contexts (Singh 2005), the Australian education research literature on Urban education has largely mirrored that found elsewhere – with adjustments for its specific local contexts and people. Never the less, the applicability of broader frameworks for social justice and education have clearly found a secure footing in the largest of Oceania's cities, (see, e.g. Blackmore (2007)).

Consequently, to extend beyond what's readily available, in this section, Michael Singh (below) provides a pan-regional insight into the major historical forces that have moulded the development of Oceania education. There Singh notes that the forces of Empire and the colonial are the very foundations of *all* the larger established educational systems of the region, and points to the crucial shift that occurred post-WWII. After WWII, with the previous colonial regimes slowly receding from the region, Singh notes, the seeds of contemporary modern schooling were sewn across the islands. Where colonial powers withdrew, modern nations have been established with substantial 'aide' inputs from several industrial powers: mostly notable (but not exclusively) the US, the UK and France. In these contexts, you see the same technologies used by previous colonialists and missionaries converted into the basic structures of mass schooling systems. Not surprisingly, these structures have never been a simple 'fit' for the Indigenous peoples of the region and the manner in which schooling is (still) imposed helps define the experience of these people sheds clear light on the historical foundations of the 'Urban.'

To put this historical framework into sharp relief, it is also important to keep in mind how the development of the global economy developed throughout this history. Here, the historical role of former colonies as 'primary producers' for their respective Empires has clearly played a significant role in the development of schooling. As Griffiths (below) argues, the development of schooling was one of instruments which propelled economic development in the region – with mass education embraced as a means of collective development at the turn of the twentieth century (in Australia and New Zealand), and later in the quick post-WWII transition into 'developing' independent nations placing more direct economic interests in

schooling. With these two histories in mind (Singh's post-colonial view, and Griffiths world economic view) we see reason for why it is now possible to find local school reforms drawing on the same 'radical' pedagogical frameworks often promoted within Urban America – in contexts that look nothing like the inner cities of the world.

Within the metropolises of Oceania, while the region continues to grow in population, each of the major Urban settings are now going through yet another transition, as they grapple with population growth pressures and the demands that places on infrastructure, and the highly predictable concomitant tensions that come with contemporary global cities. Here, Emma Rowe has been tracking the political strategies and tactics related to schooling among the urban middle classes in one Urban centre. Below she points out early how the now global policy rhetoric of choice has been taken up in defence of public schooling, but that defence is not entirely about making schooling universally public. Rather, the 'choosers', as Rowe calls them, are employing similar parental strategies of educational aspiration we have seen across the industrialised world, with all the paradoxical unions of social inclusion and social exclusion (Popkewitz and Lindblad 2000). The strength of the choice rhetoric, Rowe demonstrates, does raise the question of whether or not mass universal education will in fact, continue to expand throughout the region.

And finally, from the edge of one of Australia's urban cities, where small regional towns are becoming the very edges of the urban centres, Jay Phillips and Allan Luke present a detailed grounded analysis of the ways in which 'deficit' explanations are used at the interface of schooling and Australia's Indigenous populations. International readers will quickly recognise the basic structure of deficit reasoning, as it has been central to many analyses of how disadvantaged populations are governed by schools in the urban centres of the world. Two important dynamics made clear in Phillips and Luke's analysis are especially important from an international perspective: (1) this work carefully documents the ubiquity of deficit reasoning – across all 'stakeholders' perspectives, and (2) the dominance of very clear binary moral judgements that structure the experience of Indigenous students within that deficit reasoning. The theoretical implications of this last analysis carry far beyond the specific location from which it comes. When read in conjunction with the other chapters in this section, it is clear to see that the 'micro' connections between local distinctions and political struggles on the one hand, and the broader global historical 'macro' dynamics of capital and colonialism on the other, are part and parcel of how the urban is lived in Oceania.

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Chapter 49

Urban Education Across the Post-colonial, Post-Cold War South Pacific: Changes in the Trans-national Order of Theorising

Michael Singh

49.1 Introduction

There is more to urban education across the South Pacific than its geography might first admit. The homes of South Pacific Ocean peoples are immense; all made possible by their capabilities for long ocean voyages using the stars and currents to navigate. They themselves represent a vast constellation of hospitable and generous peoples spanning Polynesia and Melanesia. Moreover, the South Pacific has long been part of the urban education of Europeans and North Americans. For the purposes of this chapter urban education is defined as the production and circulation of knowledge for metropolitan populations via an interconnected set of intellectual projects that proceed in unpredictable directions from various geographical points. The spatial distribution of the intellectual resources constituting urban education extends beyond the boundaries of Euro-American post/colonial spheres of influence. This definition opens up possibilities for activating and mobilising theoretic-linguistic knowledge produced through non-Western intellectual cultures. No doubt, this definition challenges the ways in which the South Pacific Ocean peoples are unequally installed in the post-Cold War geo-political ordering of knowledge of urban education.

Here the concept ‘theoretic-linguistic’ captures the idea that all theories are expressed in one language or another and, moreover, that the conceptual divergence expressed in diverse languages can bring forward possibilities for innovative theorising (Singh 2013). This is not a matter of construing an unbridgeable division between theoretic-linguistic knowledge in South Pacific languages and theories in English. Instead, it acknowledges that there are divergences in the devices, strategies and moves used to assemble knowledge in different places (Delsing 2001). Because conceptual categories are bound to the language in which they emerge,

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researchers' linguistic repertoire provides scope for theoretical innovation. This chapter explores four interrelated ways of thinking through urban education within-and-without the South Pacific. The idea of urban education in the South Pacific depends on one's imagination, one's connections with the nations within and beyond the region, and one's role in the forces at work here-and-there. These three concepts invite consideration of a fourth way of thinking through urban education, namely using South Pacific intellectual resources being employed to theorise urban education within and outside the region in the past, present and future. This chapter introduces concepts from South Pacific Ocean researchers to theorise urban education as a challenge to the privileging of extant theory (Refiti 2013; Thaman 2003; Tuinamua 2007; Vaka'uta 2009). Here then, South Pacific Ocean peoples and their ideas are constitutive of urban education, rather than merely a **source** of data to be analysed by theories imported elsewhere.

Producing and disseminating contrasting accounts of urban education is integral to the task of demystifying the idea – and the ideology – of urban education. This chapter draws upon on a range of 'South Pacific Euro-American' literature, albeit situating it **historically** and theoretically within a new framework which contributes to reworking conversations about the globalisation of urban education. In addition to South Pacific theorising (Refiti 2013; Thaman 2003, 2009; Vaka'uta 2009), three related strategies are used for generating a contrasting account of urban education within-and-without the South Pacific in this chapter.

Specifically, Burawoy, Blum, George, Gille and Thayer's (2000) notions of local/global connections, imaginations and forces are used to frame the ensuing analysis. It is argued that the local/global connections, imaginations and forces of urban education find concrete expressions in the dynamics of particular localities throughout the South Pacific where resistance and accommodation are evoked (Jourdan & Salaün, 2013). Local/global connections are taken to mean a thickening of the sphere of urban education. On the one hand, this thickening of local/global connections in urban education is shaped by the post-colonial and post-cold war interrelationships among nation-states (Lotherington 1998; Vltchek 2013). On the other hand, these local/global connections are also solidifying via public efforts to build outward connections via urban education. These are due in no small part to the marked decline citizens now have in determining the policy agenda of their nation-states as their governments' disinvest in their citizens (McCormick 2014). Urban education along with tax justice, labour markets and natural resources, are increasingly marked by a grid of transnational governing forces. Local/global imagination refers to the reactions against the disconnected nation-state through demands to reinvigorate local cultures within transnational frameworks. Burawoy, Blum, George, Gille and Thayer (2000: 34) define local/global forces as "the supranational forces that operate above the nation." These include the world market and its constituent institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United Nations, and the fracturing European Union. They all operate on the back of nation states which are pressed to respond to these **transnational demands from above, rather than those claims coming from their citizens below.**

49.1.1 *South Pacific Theorising about Urban Education*

All too often the South Pacific Ocean peoples are absent from accounts of urban education. Ironically, this erasure of the place of urban education from within-and-without the South Pacific is affected through the forces of colonialism emanating from London and Paris. Over the last five centuries South Pacific Ocean peoples have shaped colonial encounters across the region. Flexner's (2014) analysis of multiple sources of evidence – from landscapes, sites, and artefacts along with written documents as well as oral traditions – reveals complementarities and contradictions that destabilise orthodox historical narratives of colonialism. This research poses challenges for interpreting the local/global tensions in urban education across the South Pacific today. In Hirst's (1974) terms, the urban education institutionalised throughout the South Pacific passed on knowledge that was independent of the intellectual **cultures of the peoples** colonised by London and Paris. Tuinamua (2007) argues that the urban education system introduced by these Anglo-French colonists via pedagogies of rote learning served to impose on South Pacific values urban superstitions concerning the validity of mechanistic thinking, passivity, shame, self-gratification and consumerism (also see Lingam 2004, 2007). Colonialism worked to wipe out South Pacific languages and intellectual resources by not recognizing them as sources of knowledge production because they and the people who created them were considered to be inferior to their English or French masters (Delsing 2001).

However, the socio-political, economic and cultural changes borne of post-colonialism are slowly changing aspects of this curriculum orientation South Pacific urban education (Lotherington 1998; Mangubhai 2002). Significantly, this is occurring through the generation of South Pacific theoretic-linguistic tools for analysing the region's urban education anew (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). It is recognised that 'techno-rational, personalistic and emancipatory knowledge' and 'Christian religious knowledge' (Tuinamua 2007: 112, 116) along with 'western knowledge' (Fairbairn-Dunlop 2014; Thaman 2009) are used to analyse South Pacific urban education. The argument that the production of South Pacific theoretic-linguistic knowledge warrants a place in the debates of urban education is gaining leverage (Fairbairn-Dunlop 2014). The question that is now being posed is why not use 'Pacific knowledge and knowledge construction processes' or 'Māori knowledge' (Fairbairn-Dunlop 2014; Thaman 2009) or 'Indigenous knowledge' and 'non-Western knowledge' (Thaman 1993) to theorise urban education within-and-without the South Pacific? For these researchers, seeing **the South Pacific Ocean** people as creators of new theoretic-linguistic knowledge is necessary for interrupting the inherited colonial system of urban education.

How might this absence of the South Pacific Ocean peoples in the construction of urban education be broken? Some argue that their 'voices' (Dirlik 1997: 130, 138) warrant a place in thickening the local/global sphere of influence in debating matters of urban education. However, Thaman (2003) sees the South Pacific Ocean peoples' quest for intellectual liberation coming from deepening and extending

their own capabilities for theorising, and not the idea of ‘voice’ (also see Chilisa 2012). Other researchers have established that there is little relationship between students’ expression of their ‘voice’ and their learning (Stapleton 2002; Helms-Park and Stapleton 2003; Stapleton and Helms-Park 2008; Young 2000, 2009). On the contrary, students are misled into assuming that their ‘voice’ takes precedence in assessments of their work over key elements of argumentation using concepts, propositions, evidence and reasoning (Fulford 2009; Moore and Muller 1999). Moreover, the case for students’ voice neglects differences in experiential knowledge among students from diverse backgrounds (Arnot and Reay 2007; Fielding 2007). This ignores the structural controls affected through the privileging of English-only monolingual literacy theory and Anglophone or Francophone theories.

Taumoeofolau (2011) argues for an interdisciplinary project to shed the yoke of the Anglo-French colonial urban education through centring South Pacific languages and conceptual **knowledge. This is preferable to celebrating voice.** Producing theoretic-linguistic knowledge is central to Thaman’s (2003) work to interrupt the hegemony of **Euro-American intellectual power** over the peoples of the South Pacific, and the ideological dominance of the colonial past over their future. As is usual, ever-advancing information, communication and surveillance technologies promise interactive pedagogies that are supposed to redress power imbalances by fast-tracking processes for decolonising South Pacific education (Wesley-Smith 2003). The privileging of Euro-American theoretical knowledge in South Pacific schooling is an expression of its urbanisation but impacts negatively on efforts to reclaim (Gnecchi-Ruscone 2012; Rainey 1999), and revalue South Pacific theoretic-linguistic knowledge. The aim is to counteract its negative impact.

Thaman’s (2003) struggle is directed against the links between Euro-American theorists and South Pacific data generators that bind them unevenly and unequally in this division of intellectual labour. This creates what Alatas (2006) calls academic dependency. Thaman’s (2003) efforts focus on redressing the colonial erasure of the South Pacific Ocean researchers’ capabilities for theorising, and revivifying the intellectual resources their languages provide them for doing so – their concepts, metaphors and images. Thaman (2009) formulates strategies that move beyond ‘academic dependency’ by using South Pacific as well as and other theoretic-linguistic knowledge as a basis for analysing urban education. For instance, the Tongan concept of kakala, or garland of fragrant flowers is used by Thaman (2009) with teacher education students to define research. This process is configured as comprising *toli* (materials selection), *tui* (making of a kakala) and *luva* (presentation of a kakala as a sign of respect and love). The Tongan concept of kakala has equivalents in Fiji (*salusalu*), Hawaii (*lei*) and Cook Islands (*hei*). Here, academic dependency is challenged by South Pacific concepts that foreground interdependence, reciprocity and circulation (Delsing 2001).

The divergences among South Pacific languages are used to undertake theorising in co-existence with the tensions posed by the global press to use extant theories

available in English (Singh, 2013). The academic dependency created by English language theories has its basis in British colonialism. In 1874, 96 years of British rule began in Fiji; the Cook Islands became a British protectorate in 1888, while the British Solomon Islands Protectorate was proclaimed in 1893, and Tonga became a British protected state in 1900. Hawaii was colonized by the British in 1843, having been colonised by the Spanish previously, and then subsequently colonised by the USA in 1889 along with Guam (1898) and the Philippines (1898).

South Pacific Ocean researchers are asking, how are the capabilities for theorising to be developed throughout the region (Vaka'uta 2009)? How **might** South Pacific theoretic-linguistic knowledge be constructed and incorporated teaching/learning throughout the region at all levels of education (Thaman 1993, 2009)? In other words, they are asking how can South Pacific theoretic-linguistic knowledge be generated and used in new ways, so that it may be revalued. Moreover, they value the interfacing of South Pacific and other theoretic-linguistic knowledge through exchanges for the learning and excitement this engenders. Thus, the integration of South Pacific theoretic-linguistic **knowledge** into urban education is meant to generate a solid foundation for reinforcing and building researchers' capabilities for theorising across South Pacific communities and beyond. It is not an end in itself, or merely a means for gaining respect. The process of interfacing South Pacific theoretic-linguistic knowledge with other knowledge scaffolds South Pacific researchers' experiences in, and opportunities for theorising and demystifying theory.

South Pacific modes of theorising urban education are an important source of critique and means for conceptualising *alter-natives* to global uniformity. Such theorising contributes to the work of creating common reference points (Vaka'uta 2009). Challenging the idea of endless development through urban education as an end-goal in **itself** is an important focus for South Pacific theorising. Vaka'uta (2009) explores an *alter-native* way of reading based on the concept of tālanga, importantly, from the perspective of a tu'a (commoner). The concept tālanga is defined as a way of being, a way of speaking, and as a way of reading (also see Elley & Mangubhai 1979). Its key elements serve as analytical lenses for a mode of interpretation that aims to be critical and liberating at once. Vaka'uta's (2009) theorising of South Pacific urban education gives new meanings to human welfare, socio-political affairs and people's relations with natural rhythms of the earth's climate.

South Pacific theorising by Refiti's (2013) uses Samoan concepts to analyse the struggle between efforts to extend the space of intellectual freedom (*manu*), and efforts to capture and control such possibilities (*tapu*). Parenthetically, Samoa was partitioned between and colonized by Germany and the USA in 1899. Refiti (2013, p. 30) reasons that because 'buggery' and 'bricklaying' can be framed as Parisian conceptual tools without question by monolingual English-speakers, then similar theoretical work can be **undertaken by using** Samoan concepts analytically. Methodologically, this entails (a) activating Samoan concepts on the proviso that they are creative rather than merely descriptive, and (b) stitching together Samoan concepts and those from other languages, knowing full well that the edges have not been trimmed and the seams remain exposed.

Thus, South Pacific theorising is significant because it challenges urban education to speak past the dichotomy of 'local Indigenous wisdom' and the provincial Euro-American theoretical claims on universal truths. As Chakrabarty (2007) argues Euro-American theories are both indispensable and inadequate in helping South Pacific researchers to theorise urban education throughout the region. Here the concept of provincializing sees South Pacific researchers taking a critical stance to imaginings of Euro-American urban education as an idealized prototype for South Pacific Ocean peoples. Treating Euro-American theories as provincial rather than universal, South Pacific researchers have taken on the paradoxical and uncertain task of renewing theorising from and for the South Pacific while exploring Euro-American theories through the lens of South Pacific theorising.

South Pacific theorists such as Thaman's (2009) are not particularly interested in the horrors of colonialism given that these accounts can also be used to belittle their ancestors and position themselves today as victims. Such accounts better serve the interests of the metropolitan descendants of Euro-American colonialists who are keen on self-flagellation. In terms of Thaman's (2009) concept of *kakala*, urban education in the South Pacific comprises *toli* (intellectual materials selected mostly from London or Paris), *tui* (forming urbanised South Pacific Ocean's peoples) and *luva* (the presentation of graduates of such education as a sign of the metropolis' respect and love). The key point here is that multilingual researchers have the capabilities for innovative theorising through exploring the divergences that arise from doing so in two or more languages.

However, the use of South Pacific theorising is not without problems. A key issue is whether such theorising about the local/global dimension to the problems of urban education of relevance to South Pacific Ocean's peoples will be heard beyond their homes (Spivak 2010). This does not license either the reinvention of a Euro-American intellectual hegemony or having to be resigned to fragmented ethnicities (Jullien 2014). The dual concerns of Refiti (2013), Vaka'uta (2009) and Thaman (2009) are to foreground the work in South Pacific researchers in generating *alter-native* conceptual reference points and contributing to a common intellectual project for analysing and debating urban education. Where this is not done, both Indigenous and non-indigenous researchers can be complicit in perpetuating the intellectual hegemony of Euro-American theories framing urban education. Paradoxically, global approaches to framing and legitimising broad participation in education policy debates also support the dominating status and development agendas of state's providing regional aid (McCormick 2014).

South Pacific theorising about urban education is a necessary step in working through divergences in postmonolingual, intercultural education (Jullien 2014). Thus, Vaka'uta (2009) offers Tongan language concepts as a vehicle for altering existing theoretic-linguistic knowledge and modes of critique about urban education. The aim is to **generate alter-native** theoretical resources **to** those that tend to serve the interests of colonizers rather than the colonized. For Vaka'uta (2009) such South Pacific Ocean theorising contributes to the ongoing work by Indigenous scholars to shift beyond the restrictive powers of Euro-American theories into a

more open intellectual mode. Nevertheless, the struggles over theorising and theory in urban education throughout the South Pacific are complex and contradictory.

Importantly, this theoretical research by Refiti's (2013), Thaman (2003, 2009) and Vaka'uta (2009) stands in marked contrast to so-called southern theory. As Lundström (2009: 86) argues that "after decades of postcolonial feminist critique of male dominance and internal racial hierarchies within the 'southern' (and northern) contexts ... southern theory does not alter the notion that the canon of social theory is a gendered story. ... From the north to the south, men surely embody the term general theory ...". Moreover, Reed (2014: 168) contends that southern theory actually reproduces the claim that the "metropole produces explanatory theories, while the periphery produces philosophy and interesting intellectual history." Further, the intellectual relations between South Pacific Oceans' peoples and Euro-Americans in terms of theorising are neither singular nor schematically pure, due to the historical combining of these geospatial modes of theoretical knowledge production (Gramsci 1971). Historically, the resources of divergent intellectual cultures have been brought together to surpass southern and northern – eastern and western – theorising, (Alatas 2006; Chakrabarty 2007; Reed 2014; Wichmann 1999). Paradoxically, sometimes intellectual conflicts have been accentuated with scorn directed against South Pacific theorising as much as a tenacious and passionate aversion to Euro-American theorising. For instance, South Pacific Oceans' researchers are contributing to theorising as result of their material and cultural subjugation as much as their anti-colonial and anti-neoliberal struggles (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). However, South Pacific school and university education remains **dependent upon and subservient to** Euro-American theories (Muller 2009).

49.1.2 *Educational Connections with the Metropole*

To understand 'urban education,' it is necessary to appreciate the changing historical context of colonialization across the world's oceans and the role of the empires emanating out of London and Paris. The metropolitan powers of London and Paris extended the frontiers of urban education to the South Pacific from the eighteenth century onwards. Thus, the South Pacific is *intimately connected* to urban education in the Euro-American metropolis. The idea of South Pacific Euro-American connectedness speaks to the mutually constituting shaping of one by the other. In other words, this is not a matter of the separatism implied by notions of centre/periphery, or north/south, or 'home/field' (e.g. Gunson 1969). For instance, Tuinamua (2007) reports that many South Pacific nation-states work with variants of the urban education introduced by colonial powers. The urban education imported into South Pacific villages through the colonising efforts of missionaries and imperialists from London and Paris gave expression to nineteenth century modes of urban manufacturing (e.g. Gunson 1969). Of course, European exploration of the South Pacific goes back to the voyages of the Dutch explorer, Abel Tasman in 1642. **The Dutch were** the dominating maritime trader of the time (Palmer and others 2014). The French

connection with the South Seas dates back at least as far as the voyage of Binot Paulmier de Gonneville (1503–1505) (West-Sooby 2013). However, it was not until the eighteenth century that the South Pacific impacted on the collective French imagination, diving exploration and colonial expansion throughout the region. It did likewise at the same time for another newly emerging maritime power, Britain.

The educational transformations effected throughout the South Pacific were linked to the long-term colonial projects of London and Paris. The British and French made concerted efforts to use urban education to establish a permanent presence for themselves – economically, politically, socially and territorially, throughout the South Pacific. There is much to South Pacific education that is the product of colonial projects hatched in London and Paris. Colonialism deprived the very spiritual peoples of the South Pacific of much, promising them ordered lives along with material and religious benefits in return. **Christian theology was deployed to re-engineer the people's humanity by re-forming their minds and politics** (Tomlinson and McDougall 2012). Colonialism and missions were inseparable. Connected as a form of religious-political activity, missionary ventures smothered local religious cultures under the globally homogenising forces of European religious expansionism and standardisation, while serving to establish and strengthen colonial systems and governance structures (Delsing 2001; Gunson 1969). However, resistance to these combined projects, forced missionaries to review, rework and redefine theology and faith in terms that were relevant and contextually agreeable to **the South Pacific Ocean peoples and their life concerns** (Uriam 1999; Harvey 2014).

Colonial projects emanating from London and Paris reconfigured the spatial and socio-cultural orientations of the urban education of the South Pacific Ocean **peoples**. Their urban education itself represented a permanent alteration of human activities in the South Pacific. Christian mission education played a central role in these endeavours. Christian politics throughout the South Pacific engages in competitive power struggles between denominations to govern society and partake in policy debates about language use, music, citizenship ideals and shaping nation-states (Tomlinson and McDougall 2012). The South Pacific Ocean **peoples'** inherited uses of their communal land and seas were redirected via urban education to compel their uses in manufacturing and to demand that they use their energies in new urban industries. London and Paris sponsored urban education throughout their South Pacific colonies to help establish new property relations and moral assumptions to govern the South Pacific Ocean peoples. This also made possible the redistribution of their lands and seas. Christian mission education played a central role in both. To do so, changes were effected in the notion of what constituted the ownership of the land and seas, and the spirituality the South Pacific Ocean peoples invested in both. In this way urban education played its role in making it possible to dispossess these people of their lands and seas through its privatisation and their conversion to Christianity.

Urban education played a small but nonetheless significant part in making contemporary forms of globalisation possible, including the field of transnational education. For instance, Ladwig (2008) argues that the transnational power structures of urban education are integral to current local/global struggles, including those

associated with inhumanity and racism. Likewise, Lange (2012) argues that around the globe education does as much, if not more to promote rather than to combat ethnic violence. Education does so through shaping identities that promote inter-communal animosity, assertive expectations, incentives to eliminate competitors and capabilities to mobilise social movements (Hviding and Rio 2011).

Today the urban education provided in the cities of Nouméa and Papeete are internal to France, with French Polynesia (1842) and New Caledonia (1853) being part of the French Republic. However, Euro-American urban education is not an unqualified blessing. The South Pacific serves as an object of desire for those who would escape the ravages of savage urbanisation. As the roots of Euro-American faith in urbanisation are undermined by their own industrial *coal-onisation* of the world, imaginings of the South Pacific peoples come to the fore. Disenchantment with Euro-American urban education feeds the enchantment with the prospects of an education in/by the nature and cultures of the South Pacific. Euro-American colonialism has brought several centuries of industrially-driven ecological and socio-cultural destruction to the South Pacific. However, the South Pacific still provides an urban education for those in the cities of the world about what might constitute a good life. Urban education in the form of eco-tourism, staffed by South Pacific Ocean waiters and chambermaids, connects Euro-America's urban bourgeoisie with paradise, offering an education into what constitutes happiness and the good life. Gauguin's Tahitian legacy lives on in the luxury Paul Gauguin Cruise company, which sails the South Pacific islands year-round.

Anthropological studies of the South Pacific contributed to the education of Euro-American urbanites in the 1920s, capturing the international attention of urban readers at the same time demonstrating just how limited their education was. For instance, Bronislaw Malinowski's years in the South Pacific reveal strong parallels between British imperial adventure fiction and social anthropology (Delsing 2001; Thompson 1995), especially his take-for-granted sense of unquestioned European superiority (Jahoda 2007). Likewise, Margaret Mead's research in South Pacific Oceanic societies contributed to the sexual education of North Americans while also being constrained by North **American ideologies**, including biologically deterministic views of human behaviour (Foerstel 1988; Grinager 1980).

In the early 1940s, Keesing (1941) sought to re-educate North American urban elites from Honolulu to Boston, through counter-constructions that challenged the destructive and disorganising power and associated ignorance of colonialism and its white supremacist concepts associated with the South Pacific. As part of the militarisation of anthropology during World War II, Keesing (1945) tested the urbane racialised politics of the United States by bringing into question European colonial enterprises in the South Pacific. European claims to expert knowledge of the region were contested. Because few really knew little about the region, Keesing questioned claims that he himself and his colleagues' had specialist knowledge of the South Pacific.

As part of white colonialism in the South Pacific, US anthropologists contributed to urban education for the anti-Japanese war. Their urban education program emphasised the need for an anti-racist disposition in creating trusting interpersonal relations with **the** South Pacific Ocean peoples. They challenged the legitimacy of

‘nice white colonialism’ and its inherently exploitative interests irrespective of whether it emanated from Europe, North America, Japan or Australia (Brawley and Dixon 2014). Racism in its Darwinist and biological scientific forms and the abuses to which it gave rise by governments was rejected. Instead, they helped shape the United States’ colonial policy so as to make its imperial acquisitions and Americanisation of the South Pacific Ocean’s people possible. South Pacific urban education was directed at having people use their ‘freedom’ and ‘independence’ in ways expected of them by Americans (Brawley and Dixon 2014). However, the peoples of the South Pacific Ocean did not simply have aspirations for a fair go. In contrast, they begin with the presupposition that they are already equally as intelligent as those Euro-American who mistook themselves to be superior. As the following section indicates the South Pacific Ocean people’s work of verifying their presupposition of intellectual equality confronted an urban educated imagination that was otherwise fixated on inequalities of all kinds.

49.1.3 Educating the Imagination of Urbanites

Vaka’uta’s (2009) concept of *tālanga* offers a way of being, a way of speaking **and** a way of reading urban education from the perspective of a *tu’a*; that is **the South Pacific Ocean** peoples. **Such ways of being, speaking and reading are** done without posing a simple reaction to, or against the structural changes in South Pacific states. From this perspective, the South Pacific inhabits a conspicuous place in educating the imagination of urbanites throughout the Pacific Rim and beyond. The South Pacific enlarged the Euro-American imagination. The encounters with **the** South Pacific educated the Euro-American imagination in new views of affluence, with visions of inexhaustible stores of food and fish, music and dance, sun and fragrances. Much of this imagination was produced and captured by the world’s favourite centre for urban education. Hollywood caught Euro-American images and imaginings of a peaceful paradise where one’s sexuality could be explored. In educating the imagination of urbanites the South Pacific offered people marked by imaginings of savagery along with an idyllic Eden. In films of the eighteenth-century story of Captain Bligh and the mutinous men of the HMS *Bounty* the latter won over South Pacific people. However, the uncouth mutineers led by Fletcher Christian, bring death and destruction to the South Pacific.

The South Pacific also plays the part of utopia in the world’s urban education. *Couples Retreat* (Billingsley 2009) was set in Bora Bora (French Polynesia) and teaches viewers about unconventional therapies for dealing with issues in marital relationships. The South Pacific provides an urban education in mental and sexual health, giving sustenance to a belief in the innocence of the primordial. In *The Blue Lagoon* (Kleiser 1980), Nanuya Levu (Fiji) provides a site where Euro-American promiscuity finds an excuse to live, given the disappointments of urbanisation elsewhere. The South Pacific has been imagined as a sustainable physical and cultural

paradise despite the destruction wrought by urbanisation throughout Europe, North America and Asia, and its associated local/global climate change and neoliberal economic recession (Crossley & Sprague 2014; Ford 2012).

South Pacific women have an especially significant part in the urban education of Euro-Americans. Paul Gauguin's colourful manipulation of the Parisian imagination through images of South Pacific women, their oceans and lands impacted on France's conventional artistic thinking and decadent practices. At a time Tahiti was experiencing a plague of Parisian missionaries which Gauguin struggled against. Gauguin died fronting a prison sentence for crimes against French colonial authorities, including the offence of encouraging Tahitian children not to go to school. This Parisian born Spanish/Peruvian artist invented modern European/South Pacific art. Educational institutions of various kinds, including Christian missions were integral to the projection of urbanisation and associated global ideologies into local communities throughout the South Pacific (Tomlinson and McDougall 2012). These institutions worked to penetrate South Pacific people and to reshape their religious beliefs. While these institutions used their power to force European ideologies into the South Pacific Ocean's peoples, conflicts arose out of these colonial projects. Disciplined behaviour was imposed on these supposedly unruly South Pacific Ocean's peoples, who in some instances demonstrated their hatred of these evangelical enterprises (Laracy 1976, 1999).

Paul Gauguin, a syphilitic paedophile and ex-stockbroker, is perhaps the South Pacific's most fecund urban educator (Gedo 1994; Mather 2007; Morowitz 1998; Taouma 2004; Wettlaufer 2007). This savage man's use of intense colours was inspired by Japanese prints (Wichmann 1999). The paintings that came out of his *La Maison du Jouis* ("The House of Orgasm") rendered as innocent his nude Tahitian models who were also his sex slaves. Even so Gauguin's paintings of Tahitian women are imbued with the enigmatic urban themes of maternity, desire, death and fear. Celebrated in bold colours, these Tahitian women feature in paintings such as *La Orana Maria* (1891), *The Seed of the Areoi* (1892), *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* (1897), and *Two Tahitian Women* (1899). Paintings of Tahitian women are now at the centre of the world's urban education, their paintings hanging in museums and galleries in New York, Boston, Washington, Paris, St. Petersburg and Moscow (Duran 2009; Vercoe 2013). No original Gauguin paintings remain in French Polynesia.

The South Pacific Ocean peoples provide Euro-Americans a means of time travel. These urban imaginings set the South Pacific apart in time rather than being seen as contemporaneous (Fabian 1983). Periods beyond their own history could be obtained through cruising or sailing the South Pacific **Ocean** to explore an idyllic past, prior to urbanisation. The educated imagination engendered by the South Pacific fosters the illusion of travelling among people who offer the prospects of leaving the savage urban Euro-American ahead in history. Euro-American imaginings of the primeval South Pacific serves as a counterweight to brutal realities of urban regress. If Euro-American sustainability is even a possibility it is partly imagined through the lives of the South Pacific (Crossley and Sprague 2014). Moreover,

the preoccupation with the past reproduces the idea of the South Pacific as a timeless Ocean of wonderlands. However, the South Pacific peoples of today are a very different people from their pre-colonial forebears. As Dirlik (1997: 140) explains, “they are products of a modern historical experience [and] partake of the social, ideological and cultural diversities of the present, and, **consequently** hold diverse views of the present, the past and the future.” **Just as Chief** Plenty Coups did for the Crow Nation in North America (Lear 2009), the point is not to recover a past that is gone but to assert new visions for the South Pacific’s future.

In sum, the South Pacific altered the urban education of Europeans and North Americans. The South Pacific provides an escape from urban capitalism, as much as a frontier for capitalist development (McCormack and Barclay 2013). These contradictory imaginings derived from the South Pacific are constituents of urban education. The South Pacific educates the urban imaginations of Europe and North America. Dirlik (1997: 130) argues for the latter to liberate themselves from the hegemony of these imaginings with the help of **the** South Pacific researchers’ theorising themselves and their place in the world of urban education. The disenchantment with the consequences of the expropriation of intellectual and material resources from the Ocean drives South Pacific researchers’ quest for developing their capabilities for theorising.

49.1.4 Forces of Global Economic Reorganization and Education

Colonialism, a vast, contradictory and contested concept, has not disappeared entirely from the South Pacific. Today the South Pacific provides a site for the changing global economic order (McCormack and Barclay 2013). At various locations across the South Pacific, are arrayed the economic forces of the United States and China, and thus the political and military forces of these super-powers. The Samoan concepts *manu* and *tapu* are useful for analysing contemporary struggles for freedom and control across the South Pacific (Refiti 2013). The struggles by the South Pacific Ocean peoples to extend the space of freedom now face efforts by new interests in the region to capture and control much of what it has (Vltchek 2013; Wesley-Smith 2003).

Beijing’s involvement in the South Pacific includes the use of aid, diplomacy, economic investment and strategic alliances to become a regional power and create a new regional order. Together these changes in post-Cold War forces are shifting the connections and imagination that have shaped the urban education of the South Pacific. With regard to aid, Zhang (2007: 376) observes that many South Pacific countries “are impoverished and among the least developed in the world. Internally divided and weakly governed, they are heavily aid-dependent. It makes them extremely vulnerable to external players.” China’s aid includes building a parliamentary complex in Vanuatu (colonised by the French and British in 1906), the foreign ministry headquarters in PNG, a multi-story government office in Samoa,

and a sports stadium in Fiji. Zhang (2007: 368) observes that this aid makes a political statement rather than facilitating economic development, and has been criticised as such. For Zhang (2007: 376) such “relatively small investment in these countries can have a major impact and influence in the region [resulting] in major long term payoffs for countries such as China.”

The primary goal of Beijing’s foreign policy is “to foster a regional and global order conducive to China’s continued economic growth and development ... which it has calculatingly cultivated to its own advantage” (Zhang 2007: 371–372). For Zhang (2007: 369) “the Pacific is one of the most fiercely fought battlegrounds between [Beijing] and [Taipei] for international recognition.” Zhang (2007: 368) acknowledges the price to be paid by South Pacific countries for China’s development opportunities includes a range of “destabilising factors such as China and Taiwan’s competition for international recognition and the vulnerability of the Pacific island states to the manipulation of ‘cheque book diplomacy’ and its impact on corruption and governance.” Beijing has more diplomats in the South Pacific than do other countries. Typically, the first official overseas visit by a South Pacific government leader is to Beijing, and not to Canberra, Washington or Wellington (Yang 2009). Beijing’s ‘assertive’, or even ‘aggressive’ broadening of its interests in the South Pacific is similar to its approach in Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. However, the concerns about Beijing’s presence in the South Pacific are due to “the opaque nature of its political system, secretive nature of its foreign policy-making process and general lack of information” (Zhang 2007: 372). Zhang (2007: 377) argues that Beijing’s ‘dollar diplomacy’ in the South Pacific has “helped entrench endemic corruption in the region and poses serious threats to efforts aimed at enhancing good governance and accountability ... the Chinese ask no questions about internal corruption, governance and accountability.”

In terms of economics, Beijing’s involvement in the South Pacific also includes bilateral trade, investment, tourism, and the training of government officials and technical staff. Beijing’s economic interests in the South Pacific focus on the search for timber, minerals including gold and copper, fisheries and hydrocarbons. Beijing is involved in organisations such as the Pacific Islands Forum and the South Pacific Tourism Organisation. It has also created the China-Pacific Island Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Forum, and the China Pacific Island Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Guiding Framework. Beijing’s state and private companies have invested billions of dollars in hotels, plantations, garment factories, fishing and logging operations in the South Pacific (Yang 2009).

Beijing “has become a significant power to be reckoned with in the [South] Pacific” (Zhang 2007: 375; see also Lanteigne 2012). Yang (2009: 4) notes that for Beijing “the supply of energy and natural resources has become an increasingly important security issue.” There are a range of issues at stake in this shift of power towards Beijing. These include efforts to secure international diplomatic recognition by Beijing, rather than Taipei; challenges to Euro-American alliances in the region which pose concerns about international security, and the growing power of the Chinese diaspora in the region which Beijing sees as its responsibility to protect them. Yang (2009: 4) reports that “Chinese nationals and immigrants are doing

much damage to China's image [because they are] corrupting local officials and politicians." Beijing's claim to be responsible for protecting the growing Chinese communities throughout the South Pacific region creates worries that it might become "increasingly involved in the internal affairs of Pacific island states because of the growing Chinese communities in the region" (Yang 2009: 1).

Further, Zhang (2007: 371) raises the prospect that Beijing's presence in the South Pacific might also be "undermining the relationships of the Pacific island countries with dominant powers in the region and ... challenging the US leadership in the Asia Pacific." Yang (2009: 3) echoes these claims with the observation that Beijing's deepening involvement in the South Pacific is "part of a longer-term political and strategic investment aimed at challenging the leadership of the United States in the greater Asia Pacific region." In addition, Yang indicates that Beijing has a well-planned long-term strategy for the South Pacific that entails improving airports, bridges and highways, as well as increasing tourism and migration from China. Beijing is acutely aware of being "an undemocratically elected government with a controlled society in a globalised world" (Yang 2009: 2). However, as Yang (2009: 2) reports that Beijing's leaders "see no major military clashes between China and other great powers before 2020." They deemed the first two decades of the twenty-first century an important period of strategic opportunities for China's economic development. Yang (2009: 6) suggests that "China's deepening involvement in the South Pacific is a calculated strategic move for its military security." The South Pacific is the frontier for post-Cold War capitalist development, albeit now with Chinese characteristics. The success of post-Maoist China with capitalist development has brought the nations of the South Pacific to the forefront in a new generation of urban education that marries Canberra, Washington, Wellington and Beijing.

49.1.5 Worrying About South Pacific Urban Education

The ongoing efforts by Refiti (2013), Thaman (2003, 2009), Tuinamuaana (2007) and Vaka'uta (2009) to renew the capabilities for producing South Pacific theoretic-linguistic resources have instructive parallels in the work of Chinese scholars (Davies 2007: 219). It is in the interface among the South Pacific, Euro-American and now Chinese theoretic-linguistic resources that these scholars are constructing new dimensions to South Pacific theorising. Both the South Pacific struggles to extend the spaces of freedom (*manu*) for urban education and to counter efforts directed at capturing and controlling such possibilities (*tapu*) are important for a new generation of urban education throughout the region.

Beijing occupies an increasingly central role in constituting urban education in the South Pacific through its aid, diplomatic, diasporic and economic presence. Integrating Beijing's "learning dialectic" (Keith 2009) into the South Pacific's "productive conversations" (p. 241) about urban education is, of course, an indicator of historical shifts in geopolitical power throughout the region. Of relevance here, is Beijing's pedagogy of assessing and analysing the relevance of, and selectively

learning all the comparative strong points from other countries, while ignoring weaknesses and failures, through deliberative understanding of domestic and foreign realities. This means rejecting both the parasitic copy-cat and the overly self-confident isolationist approaches to urban education. Thus, learning from China by learning the Chinese language might be framed as a further development in urban education which benefits the South Pacific Ocean people. Of particular importance, is Beijing's educational approach to using foreign ideas which promotes "self-reliance and national independence rather than abject and uncritical subservience to the national experience of others" (Keith 2009: 30). Thus, learning Chinese to study what China is doing in the South Pacific is important for furthering the self-reliance and independence of the South Pacific Oceans' people. Such an urban education has a place in informing whether they become subservient to get to other nations.

Davies (2007) account of Chinese scholars' efforts to import foreign ideas, albeit on the grounds that can be made serviceable with respect to domestic interests invites self-reflexive theorising about future directions for urban education in the South Pacific and the region's fringe-dwellers. Her arguments offer possibilities for appropriating South Pacific, Euro-American and Chinese ideas, while taking a questioning stance regarding each, in order to enhance the value and valuing of South Pacific theorising about what urban education might mean now. This entails establishing a relationship between theory and critical inquiry through their contested and open-ended interpretations, so as to debate what might be the indiscriminate or inappropriate uses of concepts drawn from various languages. The disagreements among South Pacific intellectuals about which concepts, metaphors and images from which languages might be enlisted for the purpose of theorising urban education, its planning and methods, add value to these debates. The necessitates intellectual rigour in theorising using ideas from South Pacific, Euro-American and Chinese languages – so as to choose those likely to serve less colonial interests as home and abroad.

49.2 Conclusion

It is reasonable to say that urban education is constituted, in part through what the colonists and the colonised did in the South Pacific as much as what they did in London, Paris and Washington. Urban education and the South Pacific bear an intriguing multidimensional relationship, with one constituting the other. The South Pacific has provided knowledge and materials to expand and enrich Euro-American urban education. Much of what is known about the South Pacific is the work of outsiders – colonialists, missionaries, movie-makers, explorers, capitalists – from Britain, France and the US. When students in London, Paris and Washington are being taught about the South Pacific it is likely to be the knowledge generated by these outsiders that they are studying. Moreover, the South Pacific Ocean peoples have been marshalled into urban education round the world. In this midst of this there is scope for reordering what constitutes urban education through the contributions of South Pacific

theorising. To deny the South Pacific Ocean peoples a presence in constituting and understanding urban education is to deny the intellectual and material resources of these people as being constituents of the European metropolis' knowledge.

Given the post-Cold War socio-historical changes in the trans-national order bearing down on the region, three important propositions emerge from this study of urban education across the post-colonial South Pacific. First, local/global connections are inherent in theorising urban education in the South Pacific. These century-old educational connections continue to be formed between the South Pacific Ocean people and their friends, relatives and corporate employers in Europe and North America. Local/global connections are now sustained between the South Pacific Ocean people working and studying in the metropole and those they leave behind. The electronic flows of money; emails sharing ideas; people's short visits for births, deaths, marriages; family migration chains, and the travels of tourists are integral to South Pacific researchers' theorisation of urban education. These extensive, multi-urban local/global connections provide openings that otherwise might be closed by the forces of provincial theoretical determination (Chakrabarty, 2007). The growing presence of Beijing in the South Pacific is expanding the geographical boundaries of theoretic-linguistic connections beyond the urban centres of Europe and North America. The Chinese presence creates new opportunities for theorising changing urban education in the South Pacific.

Integral to theorising the relationship between urban education and the South Pacific is the creation of a local/global imagination among the Euro-American colonisers and the colonised of a utopian paradise. South Pacific Ocean's peoples fed upon, adapted to, or fought back against the local/global connections these imaginings that were created by Hollywood. The imagination of the urban film industry continues to project its South Pacific imaginary into the global market for cultural commodities.

The local/global forces propelling urban education across the South Pacific are increasingly framed in terms of Beijing's economic interests. These particular economic forces are subject to negotiation among elites within the South Pacific, avoiding local people themselves, but presenting a focus for concern if not resistance to Washington, Canberra and Wellington whose power in the region is degrading. Beijing's economic interests are propelling South Pacific Ocean's peoples to pursue socially contingent processes of capital accumulation and consumerism in the search for new markets for raw materials. From any of the many sites of urban education across the South Pacific connections by air and water fan out in multiple directions, albeit thinning any substance this might give to imagination linking any two sites.

Paris, London, Beijing and Washington feed local/global forces that draw upon, and make themselves felt through the South Pacific. The local/global connection and imagination of the peoples of the South Pacific Ocean exist within these forces. Here, however, it is possible to find a margin of autonomy, sufficient in some instances to ignite change. For instance, Yang (2009: 4) suggests "the South Pacific nation's strong Christian traditions encourage firm anti-Communism." In comparison, the United States, Australia and New Zealand are highly regarded by the South

Pacific peoples, having important aid, disaster relief, sporting, peacekeeping and immigration ties.

Overall, the multiple languages of the South Pacific provide a rich array of concepts, metaphors and images for theorising urban education. However, the possibilities for South Pacific theorising exist in tension with, and are deeply inflected by colonialism and the trans-national re-ordering of the post-Cold War South Pacific. Constituted through these tensions South Pacific theorising seeks to explain urban education arising from governmental claims, the logic of of South Pacific peoples, discrimination against equality, opportunity and languages education (Jourdan and Salaün 2013). As in past, the South Pacific is a really useful site for investigating urban education. This now entails exploring the links urban education has to the critiques of incongruous and disputed concepts such as capitalism and Eurocentrism (McCormack and Barclay 2013). Examining the place of the post-colonial, post-Cold War South Pacific in the changing the trans-national order is indispensable for re-theorising what urban education might now mean. Changing trans-national connections, imaginings and forces are meditating and modifying ways of theorising urban education. South Pacific theorising is part of the wealth of possible alternatives for a rich array of counter- and parallel theorising about urban education. These possibilities continue to exist despite the global dominance of extant theory in English. Working from this starting point, two questions might inspire further investigation. First, how can multilingual researchers in urban education around the world grasp the intercultural divergences their linguistic repertoire provides for theorising? Second, how might extant theories in urban education be provincialized so so to bring to the fore the intellectual value of their contextual embeddedness?

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Chapter 50

Urban Education, Work, and Social Mobility in Oceania: World-Systems Patterns, and Limits, for Peripheral Zones

Tom G. Griffiths

50.1 Education, Development, and Social Mobility

A direct relationship between education and projects for national development is so well established in policy that it is difficult to imagine otherwise. Ongoing efforts by the World Bank to present its work, and its loans for education in particular, under the banner of poverty reduction, are illustrative of this dominant discourse (Klees et al. 2012). Similarly, the Millennium Development Goal X.X to achieve Universal Primary Schooling by 2015, while unlikely to be realized (UNESCO 2015), reflects in part the development promise attached to expanded education. Scholars examining the expansion of mass schooling from the ‘world culture theory’ perspective highlight that the claimed or intended link between education and national economic development is a part of the “world polity’s myth of progress” (Ramirez and Boli 1987, p. 155). The argument here is that an identifiable world culture, centred on ideas about the nation-state and extending to ideas about its institutions and how they contribute to state formation, disseminates the view that “formal education is necessary and beneficial for economic growth, technical innovation, citizen loyalty, and democratic institutions, among other things” (Meyer et al. 1997, 149).

A world culture theory perspective locates causation for the expansion of mass schooling, and indeed for other identified areas of educational policy convergence, within a world culture of schooling. Alternative theories arguing for economic (and political economy) causation are dismissed, their rejection based primarily on their supposed inability to account for the simultaneous expansion of schooling across

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diverse polities, in divergent stages of capitalist economic development (see for example Ramirez 2003). Debate about this question is part of a broader critique of world culture theory within comparative and international education. I will return to this debate below, but want to highlight here the shared, cultural attributes of formal education centred human capital formation for national economic growth, and political formation as citizens of the nation-state (see Griffiths and Arnove 2015, part of a special issue of *Globalisation, Societies and Education*).¹

Understanding human capital theory and its influence on formal education policy and practice, particularly in current times, rests in the post-World War II projects of reconstruction and development. In the context of the cold-war struggle for political and ideological influence, and the dismantling of empires producing newly independent states across the developing world, ideas of universal stages of progress and economic development were embodied in modernization theory. As is well established, Rostow's (1959) articulation of prescriptive and universal stages of economic growth were a significant part of this theorizing, arguing that their achievement was primarily a matter of policy makers making the appropriate "strategic decisions" that would create the conditions for growth, take-up, etc. Investments in education to form the human capital seen as a pre-requisite for a nation-states economic take-off, in Rostow's terms, were just the sort of strategic decision referred to, firmly casting responsibility then for economic growth, progress and modernization onto local political actors, policy makers and populations.

The dependency theory critique of this sort of universal theory of national modernization and development questioned its foundations. Frank's (1966) essay is a classic articulation of the critique, arguing that "the expansion of the capitalist system over the past centuries effectively and entirely penetrated even the apparently most isolated sectors of the underdeveloped world. Therefore, the economic, political, social, and cultural institutions and relations we now observe there are the products of the historical development of the capitalist system no less than are the seemingly more modern or capitalist features of the national metropolises of these under-developed countries" (p. 19). Recent work by Higginbottom (2013) has documented the scope of the net transfer of surplus value from Latin America to core states of Europe and the United States, occurring in large part through direct foreign investment in the region. He concluded that "the basic tenet of the dependency thesis still holds", and that "despite the claimed benefits of neoliberal globalization, Latin America remains not so much a developing continent as one that is being actively underdeveloped by the world capitalist system" (p. 17).

Work like that of Higginbottom illustrates how the capitalist world-economy continues to create and reinforce unequal levels of development within and between states, such that the ongoing growth and development of already 'developed' core

¹The special issue of *Globalisation, Societies and Education* was volume 13, issue 1, edited by Iveta Silova and Jeremy Rappleye (2015): Beyond the world culture debate in comparative education: critiques, alternatives, and a noisy conversation (available here: <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cgse20/13/1#.VaSCbmATH8s>).

states and areas of the world-economy is based on transfers of surplus to them, and so requires the ‘underdevelopment’ of peripheral areas. In basic terms, the critique of modernization theory under a capitalist world-system continues in the sense that the social and economic development of peripheral areas is simply not viable without a change in the structure of the over-arching system. The same critique applies to human capital theory where it is tied to promises of national growth and development within the world-economy via the lifting of the national populations level of educational attainment and credentials. Valley and Spreen (2012) report the rise of human capital theory in the 1960s, fading in response to Marxist and Dependency theory critiques in the 1970s and 1980s, only to return in the 1990s. Just as the dominant idea of national development being possible for all has continued throughout this period, pending the application of the ‘correct’ policies, so too has the human capital formation conception of national education prevailed.

The strength of the still dominant ideas of social mobility through education is evident in policy discourse and practice across the world, whether through programs and loans of international agencies to developing countries, or policy in developed areas. Critical scholars like Klees (2008) have reviewed a series of policies prescriptions based in neoliberal capitalist thinking, setting out the case against their utility in terms of improving access and equity in education, and in turn their capacity to generate universal development. But the idea of measuring a rate of return on investments in education, both for individual economic benefits and broader national economic (and social) benefits, prevails as a part of mainstream educational policy, discourse and thinking. In wealthy countries like Australia, an emphasis on individual economic benefits has justified an end to fully publicly funded university education in the late twentieth century, and at the time of writing an unprecedented attempt to de-regulate university fees and reduce public funding to around 50% by increasing students’ deferred fees, and so shifting costs from the State onto individual students (Croucher 2014).

The ongoing appeal of human capital theory for projects of national development is evident across the world, reinforced by international institutions, despite the inevitable difficulties in determining causation in any correlation between expanded levels of education amongst the national population and labour force, and measures of economic growth and development. Critiques of modernization theory drew attention to structural causes of development, and under-development, independent (to some degree) of educational levels. The potentials for investments in education to under-write, or constitute a pre-condition for, growth and development within the existing world-economy, presumably remain tantalizing for national policy makers and for populations. Working from a broader definition of development to include conceptions of social and cultural development (see for example Nussbaum 2012), characterized by some in terms of forming social capital, we might similarly believe in and look to the potentials for mass education to impact on such developments to the benefit of national society.

50.2 A World-Systems Perspective

From a world-systems perspective, efforts to achieve development, and in the cases of many part of the world to embark on some sort of attempt to ‘catch-up’ to the levels of development, and consumption, in the ‘developed’ world, must be seen in terms of the operation and trajectory of the capitalist world-system. Building on the dependency theory critique, Immanuel Wallerstein has maintained the position that any upward mobility by an area or state within the world-economy is only possible via a redistribution of available surplus across areas, and so via the decline of other areas or states in ways that preserve the structural inequality of the whole system (see for example Wallerstein 2005). Part of the argument here is that as the capitalist world-economy expanded and developed, different patterns and forms of wage labor were instituted in the core, semi-peripheral and peripheral zones of the world-economy. The core areas of the world-economy were able to accumulate sufficient surplus, via global commodity chains, and with the support of strong state structures often applying mercantilist policies, to achieve active or passive support for the system and contain political discontent that might lead to class-based unrest, or revolution. Higher rates of fully proletarianised labor with sufficiently high wages and working conditions for a sufficient sector of the workforce, frequently negotiated via institutionalized labor unions, facilitated this stability.

The crucial point here is that the normal operation of the single capitalist world-economy, incorporating ostensibly independent and sovereign states, delivers a disproportionate extraction of surplus value from the peripheral and semi peripheral zones, via a wide range of labor arrangements, through global commodity chains, and through the processes of unequal exchange, to core areas. In effect, the relatively high wages, working conditions, and material standards of living within core zones is dependent on, and subsidized by, this transfer of surplus. It is a requirement of the stability of the world-system. These systemic conditions have direct implications for development projects, and the very goal of achieving development within the world-economy. The apparent limited capacity of national governments to effectively regulate, let alone control, the operation of the world-economy within their national borders, and the ongoing relocation of capital and production to lower-wage areas pressuring governments to provide further concessions to attract and maintain capital investments, further illustrate the problematic nature of any universal development project.

A major characteristic of the capitalist world-system’s operation has been the relocation of capital and production processes to semi-peripheral and peripheral regions, in “the search for low-cost labour forces” (Wallerstein 1983, p. 39), and other favourable conditions, to maintain, restore, or increase profits. The argument here is that as profit rates in particular industries have fallen due to a combination of factors that are inherent to capitalist economics, markedly during periods of global downturn/depression, relocating production to reduce wage costs and lift profits has followed (Wallerstein 1983, 1994). One of the pressures on profits, over time, is the fully proletarianised labour force in the core areas, such that relocating production

to semi-peripheral and peripheral zones has involved “incorporating new workforces destined to be semi-proletarianised” (Wallerstein 1983, p. 39). The historical trajectory of the textile industry is a classic example. It moved over time from being a prestigious and high-value added industry located in the core of the world-economy, dominated by the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century, shifting to France and England in rural areas with cheaper labour costs compared to its location in Dutch towns, and then English mercantilist policies saw it emerge as the primary site of this high-status industry into the eighteenth century (see Wallerstein 1980, 1989). Subsequent pressures on profits drove the industry to lower labour costs, resulting in either low-wage ‘sweat shop’ modes of production located within core zones, and/or the relocation of production to semi-peripheral and peripheral zones, where it remains primarily located, in countries of Latin America and Oceania, such as Bangladesh, Honduras, Pakistan and China. The once high-prestige industry located in the core and hegemonic powers, is now a high-volume, low-wage industry in the periphery.

The broader world-systems argument is that strategies like this on the part of capital to maintain profits, and the endless accumulation of capital as a defining feature of capitalism, are approaching absolute limits that point to a systemic transition toward an alternative world-system (Wallerstein 2013; Wallerstein et al. 2013). The relocation of production is illustrative, being geographically bound. Moreover, the contradictory effect of this sort of relocation is to promote increased levels of proletarianisation within the semi-peripheral and peripheral zones, accompanied by pressure from labor to increase wages, which in turn impact on profits (for a thorough account of the case of China see Li 2008). This process of proletarianisation via relocated production contributes to the growing rates of urbanization across the world, and with it growing pressures for and rates of mass, urban education, coupled with the promise of development and social mobility through education (Griffiths 2013b).

50.3 Oceania and the World-System

The complex linguistic, social and cultural, and historical diversity of countries and their populations across Oceania make it almost meaningless to attempt to discuss the Oceania region in any way that seeks to identify distinguishing features of the region. Historical experiences of colonial rule under different European powers, and subsequent processes of de-colonisation and national independence, might be obvious characteristics upon which some sense of a shared regional history could be built, but these experiences are radically different. Consider just the experience of Indonesia for example: a former Dutch colony covering an expanse of thousands of islands, with a large multicultural and multilingual population; occupied by the Japanese in World War II; a post-World War military struggle for independence from the Dutch; Independence and Cold-War interference and support for an internal coup; compared with for example the colonial experience of Australia moving from

British colonies to a Commonwealth Federation of states in 1901, with a small population of mostly white European ‘settlers’ (coupled with an Aboriginal population that was still subject to policies of effective genocide), and relatively rich in natural resources, land mass, and preferential trade relations with the former colonial power.

The United Nations includes 25 countries (or dependent territories) in the “macro geographical region” of Oceania, including: Australia, New Zealand, Norfolk Island, Fiji, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, American Samoa, Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Niue, Pitcairn, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Wallis and Futuna Islands (United Nations Statistics Division 2015). This grouping includes wealthy countries like Australia and New Zealand; formally declared “Least Developed Countries” (e.g. Tuvalu), and multiple “Small island developing states” (e.g. Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Tonga, Vanuatu).

Historical data shows a clear secular tendency towards increased rates of urbanisation across the world. A United Nations (2015) report notes that “Global urbanization is expected to continue, so that by 2050, the world will be one-third rural (34%) and two-thirds urban (66%), roughly the reverse of the global rural-urban population distribution of the mid-twentieth century” (p. 7).

The report highlights differential levels of urbanisation across regions, within the overall trend over time, such that broad areas of Africa and Asia are reported as still having less than half the population living in designated urban areas (40% and 47.5% respectively), compared with Oceania (70.8%) and Europe (73.4%) (United Nations 2015, p. 10). Here again these regional figures for Oceania contain a wide range, such that “the median level of urbanization in Oceania more than doubled from 23% in 1950 to 56% in 2014, but the range of levels across countries in the region remains wide”, with countries like Papua New Guinea having a reported 13% of its population living in urban areas in 2014, compared to 89% in Australia (p. 48).

Looking at participation rates in mass schooling, we see similar patterns across primary, secondary and tertiary education, that are consistent with broader measures of the countries’ human development index (HDI) rankings (see for example United Nations 2013). Australia’s reported HDI in 2012 was 0.938, compared with Tonga at 0.710, or PNG at 0.466 (pp. 148–151). We could continue this exercise to illustrate the diverse levels of ‘development’ using established measures and indicators across the countries and territories formally grouped in the Oceania region. A world-systems perspective insists that both the broad secular tendencies, and the particular manifestations of these within nation-states, be approached and understood in terms of the operation of the capitalist world-economy.

World-systems analysis sees the growth in urbanisation is part of the conventional account of the Industrial Revolution, and associated processes of modernisation, involving: technological advances in agriculture producing less labour intensive production, and promoting large-scale farming squeezing out small, semi-feudal type production; and the associated movements of populations from rural areas to the cities. This process has been uneven, however, with particular characteristics across different zones of the world-economy. The urbanisation and industrialisation processes can account for some parts of the world-economy, including some coun-

tries within the Oceania region, achieving high rates of urbanised, and fully-proletarianised labour (e.g. Australia and New Zealand), while in other countries semi-proletarianised households persist, effectively subsidising production, and profits / capital accumulation, of industry by facilitating lower-wages that those required by fully proletarianised labour (e.g. Papua New Guinea or Tonga). As indicated, these processes are at the heart of one of the key tensions of the capitalist world-economy, as the incremental move toward higher rates of fully-proletarianised labour in low-wage peripheral and semi-peripheral areas, by necessity involves increased wages to fully meet the needs of households, which in turn contributes to future relocations of production.

50.4 Oceania, Urban Education and the World-System

I have emphasized above the process of increased urbanization, linked to the historical spread and development of the capitalist world-economy. In a general sense this is about the movement of populations, over time, from rural areas and agricultural work, to cities and urban areas in search of non-agricultural work; coupled with developments in the global division of labour across ostensibly independent nation-states within the world-economy. The growth of urban populations, involving semi-proletarian households and longer-term moves towards fully-proletarianised labour, clearly underpins the phenomenon of ‘urban education’ that this volume is concerned with. From its United States origins, the concept of urban education has been associated with the study of schooling in areas catering for poor, working-class, low socio-economic status, disadvantaged students. The multiple literatures associated with this phenomenon are extensive, ranging from the study of systemic, curricular and pedagogical forms and practices and their impacts on identified equity of disadvantaged groups. Underpinning much of the research in these areas is the idea, stemming back to Bowles and Gintis’ (1976) work, that formal schooling reproduces social inequalities present within capitalist societies. As is well known, extensive and ongoing debate ensued with respect to how and for who schools played this reproductive role, contributing to the creation and evaluation of a wide range of interventions, reforms and practices aimed at reducing (if not overcoming entirely) inequitable experiences of social groups within formal systems of schooling.

The broad field of critical pedagogy, or critical education, has been a major contributor to analyses of the roles of formal schooling in (re) creating, maintaining, strengthening, and legitimizing, social inequalities, and imagining alternatives (see for example Darder et al. 2008, 2015). From a world-systems perspective, any question of education’s potential contribution to improved social mobility of students, including those in identified equity or disadvantaged groups, in urban schools, must consider what is possible for the nation-state in question and the share of global surplus value it receives within the capitalist world-economy. This sort of analysis will almost inevitably point to the limited capacity of education systems in many, if

not most, parts of the world to deliver on their promises of upward social mobility through education, and of meritocratic systems providing this opportunity. This is seen even in core areas of the world-economy, with growing rates of unemployment for those with and without educational credentials, and seemingly irresolvable pressures on the State in these countries, and countries everywhere, to reduce public spending while managing pressure from populations, and from capital, to increase spending on social services, and on infrastructure to subsidise business activity and profits respectively (Wallerstein 2013). In Randall Collins' (2013) characterisation, "The mass inflationary school system tells its students that it is providing a pathway to elite jobs, but spills most of them into an economy where menial work is all that is available unless one had outcompeted 80% of one's school peers. Now wonder they are alienated" (p. 53). In peripheral areas, the promises continue to lose credibility in the face of relentless poverty, unemployment and conflict. As Fagotto (2014) reported in the case of Nepalese youth leaving home to work (and to tragically die) in Qatar, "Remaining in Nepal is not an option. 'In this country it doesn't matter how much you study, you will never get a job' he says" (p. 10).

For Wallerstein, the collapse of historical socialism, and the broader decline of the 'Old Left' as a vehicle for delivering social mobility and improved wellbeing, is symptomatic of a deeper, world-systemic failure of these sorts of promises – the promises of liberalism as a cultural framework for the world-system. The argument here is that while the Old Left, anti-systemic and national liberation movements once offered an alternative pathway to national development (Wallerstein 2005), and in the case of so-called 'under-developed' states the promise to 'catch-up' to levels enjoyed in 'developed' countries, their failure to deliver these promises amounts to a loss of this sort of systemic safety valve, "the collapse on constraints on the dangerous classes" (Wallerstein 2005, p. 1273).

What role can urban schools play under such conditions? Continuing to work towards, to advocate for and advance the meritocratic promise, equitably distributing the allocation of educational credentials and the associated socio-economic rewards, would clearly be a positive step, and a move towards more socially just education systems. However, while achieving such an outcome continues to evade education systems to varying degrees, under existing conditions its achievement would amount to an equitable, unequal distribution of socio-economic rewards (see for example Griffiths 2009, 2013b). In peripheral zones of the world-economy, like some areas of the Oceania region, this sort of reform agenda is insufficient to both offer meaningful hope, and to deliver desired levels of health, security, meaningful employment and consumption. The argument here is to look more ambitiously beyond equity, towards alternative, more equal and more just, ways of distributing available socio-economic resources between and within nation-states.

Of course statements like this risk being immediately dismissed as (utopian) slogans, unrealistic ambitions insufficiently elaborated. At the time of writing Greece, for example, had achieved majority support for its rejection of mandated austerity from the European Union's Central European Bank, but struggled to elaborate an alternative within the constraints of the EU and its policy frameworks. The

so-called 'Grexit' (Greek exist from the EU) was put forward by some groupings, but was opposed by the majority of the anti-austerity Syriza government. These struggles highlight the difficulties of detailing alternative systems from within the structures, the cultural framework, the hegemonic discourses, of the capitalist world-system, in operation for over 500 years. Identifying inequalities, injustices, in all of their manifestations, is the relatively easier task, but the ongoing documentation of these highlights the need to at least adopt of two-pronged strategy of seeking to ameliorate these and minimise harm in the short-term, alongside efforts to influence systemic and structural change in ways that can remove the need for amelioration (Wallerstein 2011).

Urban education will continue to confront socio-economic disadvantage, inequality, and inequity, to varying degrees. And the potential for formal schooling to provide a pathway out will continue to depend on local initiatives, policy frameworks, teacher training, education funding, etcetera. But these conditions and possibilities, within Oceania and elsewhere, are constrained by the operation of the capitalist world-economy, and it's defining unequal distribution of surplus value and endless accumulation of capital, which have built and reinforced the structures of inequality between core, semi-peripheral and peripheral nation-states. World-systems analysis insists that we acknowledge and seek to understand this macro framework, its historical and current operation, and the constraints it places on attempts to deliver the long-standing promises of national development, and improved individual social and economic wellbeing.

In other work I have begun the task of trying to imagine how mass education could contribute to the longer-term project of influencing the transition of the current capitalist world-system towards a more just, equal, peaceful and democratic alternative (Griffiths 2013a). The intent there draws on Freirean and critical education ideas, to consider how education might contribute to broader social movements, by forming students with the required knowledge, skills and dispositions to participate in such movements, for systemic change. Some 20 years ago Wallerstein (1995) wrote:

You may think that the program I have outlined for judicious social and political action over the next twenty-five to fifty years is far too vague. But it is as concrete as one can be in the midst of a whirlpool. I have said essentially two things about life in a whirlpool. First, know to which shore you want to swim. And second, make sure that your immediate efforts seem to be moving in that direction. If you want greater precision than that, you will not find it, and you will drown while you are looking for it (p. 271).

While arguments like this, as a guide for action, are frustratingly short on detail, world events in the intervening 20 years also continue to demonstrate the capacity for movements of people to act on the world under historically specific and diverse conditions, moving or at least looking toward the shore of a more just, more equal, more democratic and more peaceful world. Politically engaged educators within Oceania can maintain such a perspective in their daily work, organise and advocate for such a perspective with colleagues, and incorporate this into our curricular and pedagogical interactions with our students.

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Chapter 51

Middle-Class School Choice in the Urban: Educational Campaigning for a Public School

Emma E. Rowe

51.1 Introduction

Educational campaigning has received relatively little attention in the academic literature. This chapter draws on an ethnographic study of long-term and organised urban campaigns that are collectively lobbying the Victorian State Government in Australia, for a new public high school to be constructed in their neighbourhood (Rowe 2014, 2015, 2016).¹ I draw on these campaigns—not to ascertain a simplistic response as to whether they require a school or not—but rather to make important contributions for theorising middle-class school choice within the urban space.

It is important to note that in this chapter I draw on research to represent a distinctly Australian perspective, and yet this perspective is couched within an urban lens. Australia is a geographical landscape that is well known for its vast distances, its rurality and remoteness, and this impacts on schooling in myriad ways (Collins et al. 2000; Gale et al. 2015). In Australia, whether a school is rural or remote is a key indicator of school-level disadvantage, an indicator that is measured and presented via a numerical ‘score’ for school choosers (see, www.myschool.edu.au). Residents living in Australian rural areas retain far fewer options when it comes to ‘local’ secondary schools (Angus 2013; Doherty et al. 2013). Indeed, overarching government policy maintains that a local school—or one that is reasonably accessible from your place of residence—is a school located within 80 km from your home (ACARA 2014). This is relevant for thinking through the arguments that I present in this chapter.

¹This chapter is based on a larger ethnographic study, see Rowe (2016).

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The campaigners in this study contend that the available public schools in their surrounding locale are simply “too far away”, at a distance of over 5 km (equivalent to 3 miles). This points to how, in the context of the urban, distance becomes heightened and concentrated. Urban space and urban schooling is highly conflicted, contested and disputed. As opposed to vast rural and remote spaces, distances within the urban are magnified by school zones and intake boundaries, marked out and territorialized via the politics of school choice.

Within the Australian urban, the inner-city has experienced dramatic social shifts and large-scale retreats to the neighbourhoods, often characterised as ‘white flight’ as parents flee from inner-city schooling (Campbell et al. 2009; Gulson 2011). This retreat is reinforced by contentious policies surrounding inner-city schooling. In the State of Victoria, mass-closures of public high schools occurred in the 1990s under a conservative government, with many of these schools located in the inner-city. Hundreds of public schools were closed within inner-city neighbourhoods and thousands of teachers dismissed, as the government proclaimed a so-called ‘education revolution’. The mass closures and the context of privatization is particularly relevant for this study, as each parental campaign is located in a neighbourhood which experienced a public school closure. Policy-makers claimed that inner-city schools were under-utilised (Spaull 1999), however, after waves of gentrification and reversal ‘white flight’, evidently there is a renewed interest in inner-city schooling. These urban movements are reiterated in research from the United States (Posey-Maddox 2014) and the United Kingdom (Reay et al. 2013), as urban inner-city public schools regain renewed interest from middle-class parents.

This is a significant context for thinking through the arguments that I present in this chapter. In this chapter, I make three key arguments: first, educational campaigning is a contemporary middle-class school choice strategy; second, the urban city space is generative of these educational campaigns, and how these choosers engage with school choice. Each of the campaigns is located within 10 km of the urban city centre, in a recently gentrified neighbourhood. Third, in order to explore these campaigns, it is necessary to rethink critical questions surrounding the spatial, such as gentrification, and the conceptualisation of the ‘local’ and the ‘community’ school.

Principally, I argue that educational campaigning is a contemporary middle-class school choice strategy. This has not been argued for previously in educational research. These campaigns present notable and interesting interventions in how we think about urban school choice and educational campaigns. Educational campaigning for public schools is routinely positioned in the literature as a tool of social justice, empowerment or resistance (Buras 2012; Lipman 2011; Mirza and Reay 2000; Warren and Mapp 2011). Thinking about these campaigns via a lens of choice is important for the extension of school choice and social movement scholarship, critical policy making and the critique of funding differentiations between schooling sectors.

51.2 The Middle-Class and School Choice

There is a wide breadth of research regarding middle-class school choice strategies. Collective campaigning differs to the choice strategies that have been previously argued for in scholarly works and denotes a contemporary middle-class strategy, one that has significant ramifications for government policy.

In thinking about the middle-class and choice, there is a danger in imagining the middle-class as a homogenous group. Due to the ever-increasing income differences between high and low earners, but also the rapid changes to the work-force, there are growing disparities and distinctions between the middle-classes (Campbell et al. 2009; Reay et al. 2011). In Reay et al.'s (2011) study, they refer to these differences as horizontal, vertical, geographical and political. There is a blurring of distinct categories, if measured primarily via employment or income levels. However, a key commonality of the middle-classes is their relationship to education which the authors argue “has become a central mechanism of white middle-class identity formation” (p. 19). This argument is also reflected in Campbell et al. (2009) who contends that the urban middle-class in Australia is increasingly defined by their “connection to schooling ... and the distinctive ways in which middle-class parents manage children and their schooling” (p. 18).

It is well demonstrated in the research that middle-class choosers are highly strategic and long-term planners (Ball 2003; Campbell et al. 2009). Middle-class parents rely on ‘hot knowledge’ and word-of-mouth to determine reputable schools (Ball and Vincent 1998; Reay et al. 2011; Rowe and Windle 2012). White, middle-class parents may work strategically together to acquire a ‘collective mass’ enrolment within an ill-regarded comprehensive school, in order to ‘turn it around’ and ensure success for their children (Posey-Maddox 2014; Posey-Maddox et al. 2014).

Choice practices are inherently spatial in that a school-of-choice is the means to construct spaces of distinction and also, social and cultural distance from working-class schools (Reay 2007; Reay and Lucey 2004). There are geographical “circuits of schooling” (Ball et al. 1995, p. 52) and middle-class parents navigate the educational market in a strategic way, similarly to how they navigate the housing market. Gentrification is a derivative of these movements (Butler and Robson 2003; Rowe 2015).

Research based in the United Kingdom and the United States has demonstrated strong relationships between spatial arrangements and schooling (e.g. Ball et al. 1995; Ball and Vincent 2007; Butler and Hamnett 2007; Gulosino and Lubienski 2011; Lubienski and Dougherty 2009; Lubienski et al. 2009; Reay 2007; Taylor 2001). In order to obtain a perceived higher quality of state funded education, studies show that parents are willing to pay more for houses enabling access to state-funded school-of-choice (Lubienski et al. 2013; Reay et al. 2011; Reay and Lucey 2004) and further, parents are willing to geographically relocate (Butler and Robson 2003; Robson and Butler 2001).

However, the point of difference in this study is that rather than relocate for a desirable school, the parents are collectively pushing for and pressuring the government for a brand-new local public high school. This contains implications for educational policy and funding in the context of ongoing privatization.

51.2.1 *Collective Strategies for a Public School*

The Australian public school is also known as a state school, government school, or an ordinary comprehensive school. It receives the majority of its funding from the State and Federal (central) Australian Government,² and is generally regarded as ‘free’ education, in comparison to a private school. Whilst the campaigners frame their requests as for a ‘public school’, their primary appeal is for a local school in their community. The school must be located within 2 km from their home (equivalent to 1.24 miles) and be accessible on foot or bike.

In the act of lobbying for a public high school, these campaigners represent a divergent choice. In a highly differentiated and privatised school system, like the one in Australia, those parents who *can* choose are increasingly choosing to send their children to the private school. The private system is made up of two separate sectors—the Independent and the Catholic sector. Consumer demand for the public school has significantly declined over the last 10 years, as demonstrated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics:³

The number of students in private schools has increased by more than the number of students in public schools ... since 2000 the number of students in private schools has increased by 21 % compared with an only 1 % increase in students attending government schools. (ABS 2011)

This “consistent increase” is firmly substantiated in the Gonski Report (2011), with the Independent sector recording the largest proportional increase (14 %), in comparison to both the Catholic (6 %) and public school (2 %). Despite this evidential decline, the Australian public school currently educates the majority of the population (66 % of the population) (Gonski et al. 2011). Considering that the public school educates the majority of the Australian population, it is critical to consider how parents are engaging with, and choosing the public school.

An important distinction that can be made in regards to private/public is the composition of the student cohort. Australian public schools educate the majority of students within the lowest quarter of socio-educational advantage. Compared to the Independent sector, which educates 13 %, the public school educates 36 % of the bottom quarter. This is described by Gonski et al. (2011) as follows:

²The Australian public school receives a total of 95 % of its total funding from both forms of government (the state and the Federal Government, which is the central form of government).

³I substantiate these statistics further in my book (see Rowe 2016), drawing on raw ABS data to quantify sector-based school choices, since 1980.

Of all students in the lowest quarter [including the lower and middle two tiers] of socio-educational advantage, almost 80 per cent attended government schools ... Government schools provide for a high proportion of Indigenous students and students with disability. In 2010, 85 per cent of all Indigenous students attended government schools ... Seventy-eight percent of students with a funded disability attended government schools... 83 per cent of students enrolled in schools in remote and very remote areas attend government schools. (p. 10)

Even though public schools are mired in disadvantage when considering the overall scale, urban public schools are highly differentiated on the basis of their locality (Lamb 2007). Urban public schools characterised by disadvantage are routinely located in high-poverty neighbourhoods and Teese (2000) refers to these as “sink schools” or “residualised schools” (p. 189).

In Australia, government policy theoretically enforces accessibility of public schools, allegedly free and open access. Parents retain automatic access to the school measured as closest to their residential address. This is referred to as the ‘school zone’ or ‘catchment area’. Parents are able to enrol in any government school of their choosing—even if it is outside of their ‘zone’—provided the institution has sufficient places. However, for certain public schools, demand far exceeds places available. These are “high-demand” public schools. For these schools, your residential address operates as the principal mechanism of exclusion and inclusion. In the contemporary market-place, in the context of under-funding, under-supply and privatization, the savvy consumer-citizen utilizes residential address to acquire enrolment in the high-demand public school, fundamentally driving segregation across the urban public schooling sector.

51.2.2 *The Study*

In this study, data was generated via participant observation, face-to-face interviews, campaigner material (such as their support letters and website data) and newspaper reports. The study also generated statistical and visual data, in the form of maps, photographs and statistics (see, Rowe 2016).

The participants in this study are white, Australian-born and first English speakers; the majority are university educated and employed in professional, or upper managerial employment positions; the majority own a home, in a neighbourhood that records higher income levels, in comparison to the State median. The majority identify as progressive, politically left and atheistic. For those participants who identify with a traditional religion, they also identify as non-practicing.

I provide a map to show the location of each parental-based campaign⁴ and the proximity of surrounding schools (see Fig. 51.1):

⁴All names of schools, neighbourhoods, campaigns and participants are pseudonyms, in the interests of ethical research. These maps were originally published in Rowe (2016).



Fig. 51.1 A map of the campaigns

Collective campaigning is part of these choosers tool kit, despite the extensive time commitment that it requires. Collective campaigning necessitates a long list of sizeable, organised and sustained activities. The campaigners are committed to their cause, with a sustained effort spanning over 10 years. Each campaign alleges they have a database of over 1,500 members however, my observation documented a range of 10–25 members, per meeting. The campaigners meet once a month as a collective, and have been doing so for over 12 years. They also meet monthly with bureaucrats from the Department of Education.

Fig. 51.2 “This village needs a high school”, the Smith High Campaign



The campaigns are politically active and attract political attention, such as formal meetings with the State Minister of Education or the opposition Minister. Each campaign maintains a social media presence, in the form of a professionally-designed website and a Facebook page; they independently conduct research, such as surveys or questionnaires, and publish and compile these results for public viewing. For example, the Smith High Campaign produced a 36-page survey that included 267 responses to 4 questions. This was published and made available to the public on their website (Smith High Campaign 2013). The Lawson High Campaign produced a 44-page research document in support of their goals and made this available for download on their website (Lawson High Working Group 2009).

Each campaign elicits donations from individuals and businesses, including banks, real estate agents and property developers. The Smith High Campaign has featured on television and frequently on radio. There are over 40 support letters available on their website, written by individual campaigners, local businesses, political representatives and so on. The campaigner's commitment to the cause is considerably evident, over a long-term period. Indeed, the main spokesperson for the Smith High Campaign said to the mass-media, 'it is full time job' (Topsfield 2012).

In calling for a new urban school and utilizing defined measurements, the space itself takes on a proliferation of identities, from an inner-city neighbourhood to a community, a learning community or a community hub, and conceptualized here by the Smith campaigners as a 'village' (see Fig. 51.2).

The neighbourhood may merely represent a locality within a larger city environment, and in the global sense, these are miniscule spaces, but this points to the paradox of urban space in hyperglobalist terrain. Urban spaces are reduced and magnified in equal measure, in the demand for public resources. They are reduced to the more romanticized sense of space (community and village) and yet they are magnified in

the sense that certain surrounding neighbourhoods represent intractable distances for certain school choosers (Rowe 2016). This resonates with Robertson's (1995) original thesis regarding 'glocalization'. As globalization grows, the modern consumer increasingly requires the differentiation of consumption goods. This can be readily translated to the increasing differentiation of public schools in the market-place for the discerning consumer, such as the variety of specialized charter schools, Independent public schools, or partnership schools. Beck (2002) extends upon 'glocalization' as a critical lens for thinking about globalization:

The first is that globalization is about globalization. This isn't true. Globalization is about localization as well. You cannot even think about globalization without referring to specific locations and places. One of the important consequences of the globalization thesis is the recovering of the concept of place. (p. 23)

As globalized neoliberal policies promote choice, competition and privatization, the government-funded and local urban school takes on renewed significance, particularly for savvy school choosers, or the 'consumer-citizen' (Peters 2004). This is elucidated by the participants long-term and dedicated pursuit for their school-of-choice, despite the proximity of surrounding schools, but also the 'back-up' option that many participants discuss, in case the campaign is not successful. Their 'back-up' option reveals an additional breadth of strategies. If they do not receive a school in their immediate locale, interview participants discuss the possibility of relocating for a desirable public high school; are willing to lie about their residential address; or, pay the fees for a private school. Interview participants also discuss expensive and multiple waiting lists for prestigious schools, as soon as the children are born; musical instruments and second languages, to acquire access into elite schools; entry examinations and private tuition (Rowe and Windle 2012).

However, their primary strategy is to lobby and pressure the government for a brand new school within 2 km of their residence. In making their claims, the campaigners rely on an argument of distance and geography. There are multiple schools in their surrounding neighbourhoods, but campaigners claim they are 'too far away' or that certain schools are over-subscribed. But these are arguably smokescreens for preferences (see, Fig. 51.1). Indeed, schooling within the urban space provokes a sense of false commonality but also conflict, the constant clash between homogeneity and heterogeneity (Robertson 1995). Massey (2005) writes,

...the very fact that cities (like all places) are home to the weavings together, mutual indifferences and outright antagonisms of such a myriad of trajectories, and that this itself has a spatial form which will further mould those differentiations and relations, means that, within cities, the nature of that question—of our living together—will be very differentially articulated. *The challenge of the negotiation of place is shockingly unequal.* (p. 169, my emphasis)

It is in the inner-city public schooling market that the politics of urban space is highlighted and wrought out, as affluent and savvy consumers aggressively pursue desirable public schools, within a compacted and under-funded market. It is in this

space that class lines are clearly and tangibly drawn, demonstrated and underlined by school zones and intake boundaries (Leonardo and Hunter 2007). The schools surrounding the campaigners are ‘known’ through a lens of race, poverty and social class. Indeed, it is not simply the stratification between “good” and “bad” schools—it reaches beyond that to the urban space in which the school is positioned, and how this space is characterised by school choosers.

51.2.3 *The Collective Identity: Gentrification and Community*

Gentrification is an en-masse movement of middle-class residents into a specific neighbourhood, during a particular period of time. Not only do the new residents reconstruct a type of collective identity, but so too does the gentrified locale. This is suggested in Glass’s (1964) description of gentrification. The incomers reclassify the social character of the district, to set it apart from what it *was*. *The school market is adept at conjuring this particular sense of collective identity—an homogenous social imaginary—played out as an idealistic ‘community’ school.*

The new inhabitants share similar sociological characteristics and this speaks to a form of collective identity—one that is underpinned by class and race. I argue that celebration of the ‘local’ and the ‘community’ garner traction via gentrification, and this produces a type of collective identity. Bourdieu (1999) provides a starting point, in speaking to the ‘local’:

The ability to dominate space, notably by appropriating (materially or symbolically) the rare goods (public or private) distributed there, depends on the capital possessed. Capital makes it possible to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance at the same time that it brings closer desirable persons and things (made desirable, among other things, by their richness in capital), thereby minimizing the necessary expense (notably in time) in appropriating them. Proximity in physical space allows the proximity in social space to deliver all its effects ... (p. 127)

For the urban newcomer, or the ‘gentry’, the local becomes valuable but only in so far that it enables better consumption of capital, and reinforces social and cultural distance from the *other*. It is through this lens that the notion of community (or perhaps, the celebration of community) gains traction. Research suggests that the celebration of community emerges after processes of gentrification (Howe 2009; O’Hanlon and Sharpe 2009; Zukin 1987). For the newly migrated residents, the neighbourhood *develops* distinctiveness, character and social identity (Bridge 2001; Cole 1985; Winters 1979). The school is a fundamental space in which to extend upon these perceived differences and augment distinction. This is an act of class power and the ‘reclassification’ of taste, as Bridge (2001) writes:

Those with social power have a monopoly over ways of seeing and classifying objects according to their criteria of good taste. The ability to create new systems of discernment is

class power. Gentrification can be seen as one such reclassification (away from the working-class city and the desirability of the middle-class neighbourhoods) in which inner urban living became once again invested with ideas of status, style and cosmopolitanism. (p. 92)

Occupying land is an act of distinction (Bourdieu 1984), in that the occupiers seek to distinguish themselves from their working class history, through aesthetic choices and consumption. Urban spaces are associated with particular social identities or groups—and this is frequently conveyed via slang, such as ‘trailer trash’ or ‘chav’, ‘hipster’ or ‘snob’, ‘bogan’—and this social identity is connected to dominant consumption points or the way in which a person dresses themselves, how they speak, or the car they drive. These are all related to class.

Research also connects gentrification with an increase in political activity and left-leaning politics (O’Hanlon and Sharpe 2009) and formation of collective action (Auyero 2003; Foweraker 1995; Paley 2001). Foweraker (1995) describes collective action as representing “a search for solidarity values, primary relations and community” (p. 12). Arguably, there is a strong interaction occurring here between gentrification, celebrations of community and collective action. Collective action is motivated by thematic conceptualisations of community and emerges after an active process of localised gentrification. ‘The local’ and ‘community’ public high school serves as a symbolic representation of shared values and identity.

51.3 Conclusion

This chooser in this study demonstrates certain choice behaviour. They are early choosers, long-term planners and child-matchers. They are highly strategic. These findings are not new and have been well-demonstrated in previous research (e.g. Ball 2003; Campbell et al. 2009; Reay et al. 2011). However, collective campaigning differs to the choice strategies that have been previously argued for in scholarly works and denotes a contemporary middle-class strategy, one that has significant ramifications for government policy. Collective campaigning is part of these choosers tool kit, despite the extensive time commitment that it requires. As part of their collective campaign, the lobbyists engage with collective and individual political tactics, including swinging voting; meeting with the Department of Education; and engaging with politicians and other core decision-makers to change, rather than exit the system.

A collective campaign for a public high school is a choice strategy that occurs within the context of the urban, and the urban is generative for thinking through how educational policies play out in absolute space. The relationship between geographical location and disadvantage is evident (Collins et al. 2000; Gale et al. 2015; Gonski et al. 2011), and there are far fewer schooling options in the Australian rural and remote in comparison to the urban (Doherty et al. 2013). Within the urban, matters of space are amplified and intensified. Whilst school choosers rely on arguments of proximity and axioms of choice, the local community school is fundamentally involved in the formation of *distance*. The distance comprises far

more than physical distance, rather it concerns “material and cultural distance” (Reay 2007, p. 1192). The school constructs modes of inclusion and exclusion within an absolute space.

It is the neoliberal policy environment that set up these tensions and it must be emphasised that the valuing and agitation for a local community school is not a mechanism of social exclusion in itself. Unregulated competition and choice contributes to increased segregation and division between schools, but also, between geographical locales.

Peters (2004) contends that the most significant problems faced by the British government in 2020 would be the pressures placed on public services. As the citizen is increasingly positioned as a consumer within neoliberal constructs, the citizen will be motivated to express their dissatisfaction via lobby groups and collective protest. Power will be distributed to collective protests as they express political views, through frameworks of consumer choice.

Due to the exaggerated differences between schools (e.g. difference in funding levels), certain public schools are considerably more attractive, than others. The difference in desirability is, in fact, so considerable that parents are willing to engage in longitudinal campaigning commitments, which necessitate their time and money. The social composition of the school is a fundamental facet of this equation, and segregation is clearly playing out across the urban public school sector. Schools that contain an increased concentration of higher socio-economic status students are significantly more preferable for the participants in this study, who are willing and able to collectively draw on political, cultural and social resources to influence the policy landscape.

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Chapter 52

Two Worlds Apart: Indigenous Community Perspectives and Non-Indigenous Teacher Perspectives on Australian Schools

Jay Phillips and Allan Luke

52.1 Introduction

We write this piece from Australia where we reside, respectively on the traditional lands of the Tubbagah People of the Wiradjuri Nation (in New South Wales) and those of the Turrbal People (in Queensland). This chapter is itself the artefact of Indigenous/non-Indigenous research collaboration. Jay Phillips is a Wakka Wakka Gooreng Gooreng woman and educator from southeast Queensland who is now the Head of the School of Indigenous Australian Studies at Charles Sturt University, New South Wales. Allan Luke is Chinese-American by birth, an Australian/Canadian citizen and has worked in Australian educational research, teacher education and policy for three decades, with collaborations with Indigenous students, educators, and scholars. Here we report on a cornerstone study from a major, Australian government funded evaluation project that we worked on as part of an Indigenous/non-Indigenous, multinational and multidisciplinary research team (Luke et al. 2011, 2013). We approach this task from a shared interest in critical Indigenous studies of teacher education and school reform.

There are well-trodden paths we could follow to introduce international readers of this *Handbook* to the education of Australia's Indigenous peoples: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. We could start from a genocidal history of invasion, incarceration, residential schooling, forced labor, political and economic marginalisation. We could review current analyses of the effects of this history on traditional lands, Indigenous health, cultural and linguistic sustainability, economic and

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political participation, and education – noting the performance ‘gaps’ in schools on all conventional measures (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations 2012). We could begin from scholarship on Indigenous epistemologies and Aboriginal knowledge (e.g., Nakata 2007; Martin 2008), Indigenous re-appropriation of critical theory (Moreton-Robinson 2008), and powerful pan-Indigenous models of decolonisation (e.g., Smith 2012). Indeed, an overview of significant reform agendas proposed by leading Aboriginal educators (e.g., Sarra 2012; Yungaporta 2007; Pearson 2009) might provide grounds for our study. These are all vantage points for looking at the vexed relationship between Australian Indigenous children, students and youth, their Elders, parents and families and communities – on the one hand – and mainstream, predominantly White, Australian schooling in a period of test-driven accountability – on the other. Further, on the basis of the reception to presentations of this work to Canadian, American and Chinese educators – we surmise that there would be points of comparison in the histories of Indigenous peoples elsewhere.

Our evaluation studies of Indigenous school reform lead us to a different starting point: listening to, hearing and engaging with the commentaries, voices, narratives and analyses of Indigenous community as they discuss and recount their experiences and current encounters with Australian state schools. Here we undertake a contrastive documentation of the views of Indigenous community members, Elders, parents, education workers, and young people and, indeed, of the views of their non-Indigenous teachers and school principals. This is a dramatic picture of two distinctive cultural lifeworlds, communities and worldviews in contact, of two very different ‘constructions’ by participants of a shared, mutual experience: everyday interaction in the social field of the Australian school. Taken together, our Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants repeatedly confirmed and corroborated a key theme: that Indigenous peoples continue to be viewed and ‘treated’ through the lens and language of cultural, intellectual and moral ‘deficit’.

52.2 Background

One of the great mythologies of Indigenous education and educational research is that there is a singular, homogeneous entity of the ‘Indigenous Community’. This is a convenient fiction that enables stereotyping and misrepresentation of elements of Indigenous lifeworlds and the misrecognition of complex power relations and generational histories within communities. It also can lead to reforms at the system and school level where a single Indigenous ‘voice’ is elicited, taken as a reification of a singular ‘Aboriginal’ community, nation, view or standpoint, as Indigenous teachers, educator and community workers here report. This chapter documents the diverse and complex views of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community members on schooling, teachers and principals in several metropolitan, regional and suburban communities.

Our study examined the following topics:

- Indigenous community Elders' and parents' views on the schools' engagement with local communities;
- Schools' variable impacts on the community;
- Indigenous students' educational experiences and relationships with the school, its operations and messages;
- Indigenous students' aspirations, outcomes and pathways through and from the schools; and,
- Indigenous teachers' and education workers experiences and relationships inside the school, and with community engagement initiatives.

It is derived from a 4 year longitudinal, empirical Australian study of Indigenous school reform (Luke et al. 2011, 2013). This larger, umbrella study describes the operations and effects of a national network of 127 schools working under anti-racist and inclusive education agenda established by Aboriginal educator Chris Sarra (2012). A comparison group of 74 schools was also studied. The combined corpus of systemic achievement and attendance data, survey, interview, and focus group data, and observational field work is the largest empirical study of Indigenous schooling in Australia to date. The community-based research reported here was undertaken as the epistemological, cultural and sociological starting point for the larger study. Our intent is to take Indigenous community voices and perspectives as the starting point, vantage point and perhaps, vanishing point for school reform.

In 2012, data were collected from four Indigenous communities in metropolitan, provincial and regional/rural New South Wales and Queensland. Interviews and focus groups were conducted with 85 participants: 54 students, 18 parents, Indigenous Education Workers (IEWs) or volunteers, 10 community members and 3 Elders. The metropolitan community is located close to a major capital city. It is also a regional hub for funding and services for Indigenous health, welfare agencies, and legal and community support services. There is one large middle/secondary school with 6% Indigenous students, and four (4) affiliated elementary schools enrolling between 5% and 8% Indigenous students. The provincial and regional/rural areas have two larger schools (8% Indigenous; 39% Indigenous), six affiliated elementary schools in total with between 4% and 12% Indigenous students, and one additional comparison school. *The majority of all Australian students of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural backgrounds are enrolled as minorities in urban and suburban schools* (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations 2012).

In accordance with established cultural protocols for conducting research with Indigenous communities (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies 2012; cf. Kovach 2009), all data was collected by Indigenous researchers familiar with and known in the communities in question. Interviews and focus groups were conducted with local parents, community workers, including those working in cross-sectoral agencies (e.g., social services, Indigenous non-government organisations), Indigenous Education Workers (hereafter, IEWs), and students. To augment these data sets, we also undertook a parallel analysis of qualitative and quantitative data collected for the larger study. This comprised an

additional 76 interviews collected from IEWs, teachers, counsellors and Elders, parents and students, and survey responses from 10 Indigenous principals, 34 Indigenous teachers, and 13 IEWs, teacher aides and ancillary support staff. This second set of interviews was *not* conducted exclusively by Indigenous researchers. We use them to triangulate and exemplify key themes and issues. While this is not a representative sample of Australian schools, then, the composite data sets are the most extensive corpus of interview and survey data from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples about education to date. All interview data were transcribed and reviewed using both NVivo and conventional open-ended, axial coding methods. In this way, recurring themes and propositional claims were identified.

52.3 Teachers Talk

To set the scene for community views – we begin with a reanalysis of key findings from the 2010 survey of 233 non-Indigenous teachers of Indigenous students undertaken as part of the larger study (Luke et al. 2011). On one key item, teachers were asked about the advice they would offer new teachers about the Indigenous students in their schools. The NVivo analysis of the teacher short answer data from 233 respondents was characterised by frequent statements of self-doubt, and lack of knowledge about the local cultural and historical context of their schools. A process of axial coding was undertaken with a series of analytic cycles. The codes (see Fig. 52.2) represent the dominant views of respondents – qualitative comments from an individual respondent could contain multiple references. Figure 52.1 shows the ‘coverage’ for each code as a percentage of the entire dataset (i.e., all qualitative teacher comments).

Following Bishop and Berryman’s (2006) prototypical work with New Zealand teachers working with Maori students, we classify those attributions of educational performance to home/community/student/culture as deficit explanations. As shown in Fig. 52.1, when teachers were asked ‘what would you advise new teachers to your school?’ in relation to working with Indigenous students, 45.9% of the suggested advice was characterised by a focus on the remediation or fixing of students, community, culture or home. We use the term ‘deficit discourse’ to refer to those teacher comments that implicate student, home, community or cultural ‘lack’, specifically where teachers cite these ‘issues’ and ‘problems’ as the most important influences on Indigenous students’ learning. For example:

- “lack of support for learning at home”
- “psychological issues from home”
- “poor food choices”
- “family background, peers”
- “motivation to perform”
- “community issues that come in with the students”
- “low self-esteem”

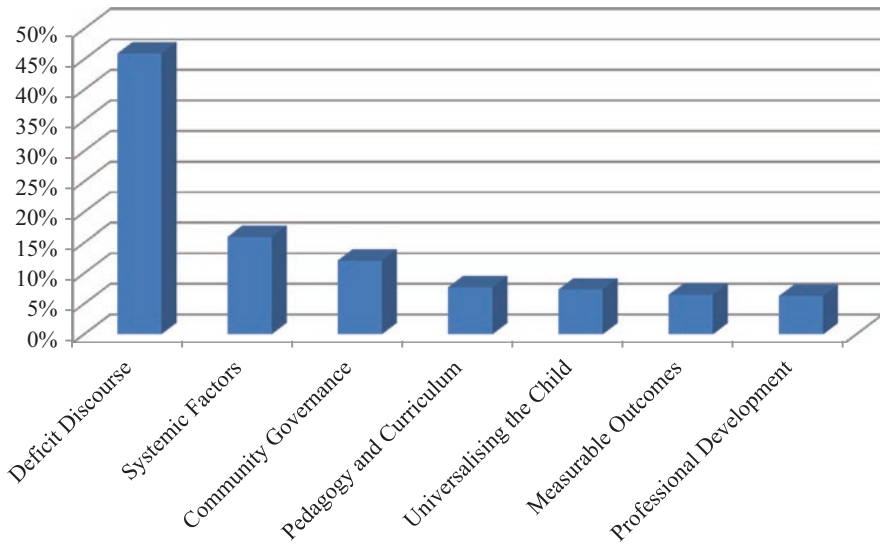


Fig. 52.1 Teachers comments coded by theme: what would you advise new teachers?

- “they [Indigenous students] blame everything that happens to them on that person being racist. They are not prepared to accept that they are responsible for their behaviour”
- “culture, home life, how students’ families and community value education, and self-esteem.”

Teachers placed markedly less importance on institutional factors as significant determinants of Indigenous student achievement and success, e.g., *curriculum and pedagogy* (7.7%), *identification of systemic barriers/programs* (16%), *community governance* (12.1%), *professional development* (6.1%) and *setting goals using measurable outcomes* (6.5%). Here teachers focused on factors intrinsic to schooling, which can be directly influenced by the actions of principals and teachers:

- “connectivity and relevance [of learning] to their lives”
- “[teachers] understanding [Indigenous students’] needs and backgrounds”
- “[schools] having an open and strong policy on racism, and embedded respect for Indigenous peoples from teachers and in programming”
- “develop curriculum tasks which are flexible enough to accommodate a variety of cultural perspectives”

Figure 52.2 presents exemplary descriptions of each code.

One teacher described how reflecting on their teaching practices impacted on the engagement of Indigenous students in his classes:

Instead of saying they’re just naughty boys, I sort of took a step back and thought well hang on what am I trying to teach them? I critically evaluated what I was doing. I think some people have a bit of difficulty doing that and I was able to just think, ‘okay I can see why

<i>Code (node) Name</i>	<i>Code description</i>
Deficit discourses	Comments refer to home, student, community or cultural 'lack', citing these as a key influence on Indigenous students learning. (771 references; 45.9% coverage).
Systemic Factors	Comments include reference to systemic programs at a range of levels from school level (e.g., bullying programs) to systemic programs (e.g., PLPs). (278 references; 16.0% coverage).
Community Governance	Comments include reference to Indigenous organisations (e.g., IECBs) and individuals (e.g., local Elders) and school staff and facilities (e.g., the use of Indigenous spaces in schools). (248 references; 12.1% coverage).
Pedagogy and Curriculum	Comments in which reference is made to embedding Indigenous perspectives, local traditional knowledges, or other pedagogical/curriculum choices). (162 references; 7.7% coverage).
Universalising the Child	Comments in which Indigenous students are universalised, such as the use colour blind discourses, e.g., "success is the same for all students, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal". (100 references; 7.3% coverage).
Measurable Outcomes	Comments include reference to measurable outcomes such as retention at school, attendance, meeting mainstream normative achievement benchmarks (e.g., NAPLAN), student articulation in university or work). (127 references; 6.5% coverage).
Professional Development	Comments include reference to professional development in a range of areas from courses to expose teachers to local Indigenous communities and knowledges to broader Indigenous studies of colonisation and history). (34 references; 6.32% coverage).

Fig. 5.2.2 Code descriptions on teacher responses

they'd be getting a little bit restless and maybe disengaged with what I'm doing'. So I took on a new approach and ... it was amazing just to see how changing the way I delivered something, the content, how as soon as that engagement picked up the behaviour just went – it was sort of like a see-saw effect. The engagement was up; the behaviours were down. I mean they still had their days but... – *Primary Teacher, 2012*

Several in this same cohort of teachers also suggested that new teachers must know the local history and culture, including “tribal names” of local Indigenous groups (Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders do not use a nomenclature of “tribes”). When asked to identify the Traditional Owners of the land on which their schools are situated, 445 teacher respondents (46% of sample) were able to correctly identify the Traditional Owners (Luke et al. 2013, pp. 121–149). This knowledge is important for establishing a climate of recognition in schools and using this as a pathway to address issues of reform. When teachers were asked to name the traditional language of the area, only 266 (27%) provided an accurate response (pp. 263–265).

While a majority were not able to name either local Indigenous peoples or languages, teachers consistently cited the importance of new teachers engaging with the local community. Our analytic point is this version of engagement tends to be defined as an interpersonal strategy, i.e., ‘getting to know’ students’ families, rather than as a systemic or professional intervention to either know historic place, land and peoples, cultures and practices in ways that assist in policy, curriculum and program planning and development. This teacher’s view and approach was common:

As with most ‘problem’ students, educating families is where to begin. For Indigenous students, this goes one step further in needing to educate the community as well. Parents and community need education in understanding what school is about, realising that the

experiences they had and the attitudes of the past are [not] what is happening in schools today. Furthermore, Indigenous communities need to break down their ‘crabs in the bucket’ mentalities if their children are to succeed. – *Teacher, 2010*

In this way, community engagement is seen by many teachers as a means to resolve the issues and problems that they infer stem from the aforementioned deficits in students and families. Community engagement was typically defined as a means to change, reframe and modify that out-of-school context, rather than as a *means* for substantive planning and consultation, and local Indigenous community involvement in decision-making in relation to school practices and policies. Deficit discourse, therefore, tends to reframe ‘engagement’ as a task of fixing and repairing – rather than knowing – a cultural/racial Other.

In direct contrast, IEWs, Indigenous teachers, Elders, parents and students offered ideas and strategies that were part of a more complex definition of community engagement. For them, community engagement was grounded by strong, local connections between Indigenous peoples, and ‘cultural days’, for example, were a way for schools to support this. In one focus group discussion IEWs and parents discussed how funding for these programs rarely “came from the school”, suggesting that “if other people are going to put funding in and do things with the Murri kids, then they [the schools] will allow it to happen” (Ami 2012).

Parental involvement in schools was seen as desired, but affected by the lack of decision-making power that parents held:

When we first tried to get our parent forum going we had 20 people in at least one meeting. But because parents had no say in our school – they stopped turning up. But at that [first] meeting, everything we said, everything we suggested, every idea, or just an inkling of an idea was shot down, and the principal told us too that it would be her choice. And it fell apart. – *Parent*

We’ll see in the forms that they put out [that] the principal should be doing this, and this – getting with Indigenous staff ... community involvement, you know, with your Elders – they should be incorporated with decision-making, with our children. That doesn’t happen at our school. They don’t call any of our Elders to come in and have a round table – ‘well what do you think we should be doing for our Indigenous kids? What would you like to see happen?’ – That never happens in our school ... when we put stuff forward it gets thrown out the window. And an individual [at the school] will say to me, ‘we will do an Indigenous activity once a term and *you* can do it.’ – *IEW/Parent*

This extends as well to Indigenous staff working within the school. One Aboriginal teacher at an urban school further reflects on how their school engages Indigenous people in the management of Aboriginal programs.

Non-Indigenous school managers ... manage Aboriginal education ... and I don’t think Aboriginal education can be managed and administered; it’s an emotional and cultural thing. There is absolutely no cultural overlay to anything in this school. There are a few programs that run every now and then. When they do, we [teacher and Aboriginal support staff in the school] don’t know about it. We hear about it second hand... I was told in no uncertain terms that [Aboriginal education] remains in the deputy’s [Deputy Principal’s] portfolio. – *Aboriginal Teacher, 2012*

In this teacher's view, this type of management approach is reflected in many other schools. This top-heavy leadership approach is, in his estimation, "a real boys' club". There is a mismatch between what is promoted by the school and the lack of delegation to, and involvement by, Indigenous school staff in everyday decision-making and planning: "this idea of community engagement is not even happening at the school level. I don't know how they will engage the community when they aren't even engaging their existing [Aboriginal] staff" (Gerald 2012).

In a major Australian policy statement, the Indigenous Community Governance Project (ICGP) defines community as:

A network of people and organisations linked together by a web of personal relationships, cultural and political connections and identities, networks of support, traditions and institutions, shared socioeconomic conditions, or common understandings and interests ... [they] are more than just residential locations or interpersonal networks ... they (are) enduring social patterns, institutional voices, roles, functions, collective identities and structures (Hunt and Smith 2006, p. 5).

By this model, substantive and authentic engagement with community remains challenging for many schools led by non-Indigenous leaders. It would entail a shift in epistemic and practical focus to one that begins from and prioritises *relationality* – the connectedness of people to kin, place and land, spirit, generation, culture and embodied knowledge (Martin 2008).

52.4 Community Talk

Deficit discourses persist in Indigenous education in Australia and have been powerful drivers of education policy since the 1960s (Whatman and Duncan 2012). These discourses go largely unchallenged in the mainstream, non-Indigenous media and public political discourse in Australia (Luke 1996). Judging from the accounts we have placed on the table here, they continue to have a strong influence on the perception of the predominantly White, non-Indigenous educational workforce. For several decades, strategies in Indigenous education have focussed primarily on 'fixing' some social, educational, attitudinal or economic element of Indigenous families or communities as assessed by outsiders. Ultimately, the main concern of these strategies was to prepare Indigenous students for a conventionally-defined, assimilationist model of 'success' in Western schools (Herbert 2011), with several leading Indigenous public intellectuals working at building a bipartisan consensus on the imperative to "close the gap" on national standardised test scores and school completion measures (e.g., Pearson 2009; cf. Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations 2012; Ladwig and Luke 2013).

In the current study, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants identified a number of historical and systemic issues that operate independently of Indigenous students/families but which have direct impact on the participation, retention and educational success of Indigenous students. Many argued that the presumed

collective ‘lack’ of Indigenous capacity cannot be held to account for the overall pattern of inertia and tokenism in the reform of systemic factors at the school level.

Teachers’ accounts reinforce a general theme where socioeconomic disadvantage is highlighted as *more* significant than cultural background, in some cases disregarding the relevance of cultural/linguistic difference altogether. Accordingly, a de-culturalised approach is tied very closely to a reframing of the student as universal, individuated entity – rather than one whose habitus, dispositions, practices and knowledges might indeed be different from an unmarked White norm.

- “Treating all students as equal and **not labelling them as ‘Indigenous’**. In my experience, Indigenous students just want to be treated the same as everyone”
- “**Treat all students as individuals** – both Indigenous and non-Indigenous”
- “I have never seen or heard of any specific goals being set for any of my Indigenous students”
- “Success is the same for all students –Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal”
- “The goals should be the same as for any student – **to become a fully functioning mainstream member of society**, society’s norms must be adhered to”
- “**Very individualised** as all Indigenous students are different, just like all non-Indigenous students”

At the same time, the reform-focused schools we studied promote their acknowledgement of Indigenous cultures through symbolism and visible artefacts (e.g., murals, NAIDOC day, Indigenous music and dance at school assemblies). Following models of recognitive social justice (Fraser 1997), the assumption here is that symbolic recognition will assist in resolving the issues associated with socioeconomic disadvantage, which in turn will lead to an empowerment of Indigenous knowledges and cultures in school for Indigenous students and educators alike.

Among many of the teachers, there is a prevailing view of Indigenous peoples as objects lacking the capacity for agency, aspiration or involvement:

Too often indigenous (sic) students do not even expect themselves to achieve good results. Where Indigenous students are often underachieving, I do wonder whether there is almost ‘negative peer pressure’ which says, “we don’t care and we don’t do well, if their friends are not doing well”... – *Teacher, Teacher Survey, 2010*

Many teachers further expressed concern about the plight of Indigenous families and communities citing influences such as, “poor attitude stemming from history”, “lack of self-esteem”, and “inadequate family and peer support”. These are reported as external barriers to school success, as socioeconomic and cultural deficiencies that require intervention.

Although these are constructed as barriers to learning, there is a suggestion that this intervention is beyond the scope of the school. That is, there are consistent claims by many teachers and school leaders that the major impediments to Indigenous students’ learning are that Indigenous students/families, “*don’t value education*”; and until students “*improve their behaviour*” and families become “*interested in their children’s schooling*”, the problems students experience in the classroom will not easily be resolved.

In contrast, Indigenous students and staff spoke at length about the long-standing focus by teachers and schools on managing the behaviour of Indigenous students, and on rewarding what schools defined as “*good behaviour*”. It was stressed in two of the focus groups that “*overworked IEWs*” were often called on to undertake this behaviour management. This has implications in terms of expertise, professional and cultural responsibilities, and fair remuneration. An Aboriginal teacher aide with 17 years’ experience in the one school, remarked:

Too often indigenous (sic) students do not even expect themselves to achieve good results. Where Indigenous students are often underachieving, I do wonder whether there is almost ‘negative peer pressure’ which says, “we don’t care and we don’t do well, if their friends are not doing well”... – *Teacher, Teacher Survey 2010*

This view was corroborated in interviews with several other IEWs, many of whom felt that they became the default adjudicator of all behavioural problems.

Deficit discourses, then, are part of an unmarked status quo in Indigenous education. In some cases, deficit discourses manifest as paternalism, in others, as victim blaming. This is illustrated by the following teacher responses to the question: In your experience, what are the problems that Indigenous students face at your school? We use the voices of Indigenous informants to answer back to each teacher’s concern.

Problem 1: Everyone is different, so we should all be treated the same

- “We are a fairly multicultural school, where all the students are quite well accepted. I can see that many tend to *create their own problems*, by not wanting to co-operate with their teachers, calling the ‘you’re picking on me because I’m black’ card and behaving accordingly” (**Non-Aboriginal teacher**, Teacher Survey, 2010).
- “At grade 12 next year do you know what we will be studying? The Protection Era ... they don’t tell the truth on that – they have things about the British protecting and ... helping the Indigenous people. But they sent them off to stations and stuff. They don’t have that in [the lessons]... we’re getting educated on crap” (**Aboriginal student**, 2012).
- “Teachers, they don’t even notice [it] and they wonder why everyone would walk out of class because of people being racist ... they go ‘oh, that’s wrong to say’, but then they’ll let them go” (**Aboriginal student**, 2012).

Problem 2: ‘Special treatment’ makes ‘them’ feel different

- “Too much attention on programs that make them, 1. Feel different, and 2. Make them appear different...” (**Non-Aboriginal teacher**, Teacher Survey, 2010).
- “I reckon that there’s a lot of people that accuse us of having more benefits than others ... There’s a lot of [non-Indigenous] kids that come [to the Aboriginal support centre] for help as well. You go up to the library and you get no help up there. Because our Aunties are here to help us too and all other

big kids that have done all the work coming up too” (**Aboriginal student**, 2012).

- “That’s an issue where the white mothers and fathers would go into the meetings at night and they’d be saying their piece – ‘Why do the Indigenous people or Aboriginal people get free this and that and we have to pay’ ... My response to that is always for every service there is for an Indigenous person there is an equal one out there for the white people and they can find it” (**Aboriginal parent**, 2012).

There are further implications that flow on from how non-Indigenous teachers ‘recognise’ and ‘name’ Indigenous students, communities and families. Issues that were raised in focus groups included the following:

- Schools appear to select Aboriginal consultants/informants on the basis of their willingness to align with the school perspective that was, in many instances, a deficit perspective.
- Health issues need to be considered. Schools tend to mis-recognise student health problems as behavioural issues.
- There is a lack of recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students’ achievements. Students raised this as a factor influencing student engagement and attendance.

One of the Elders, with a close and long-standing relationship in her metropolitan community region, is regularly called upon as community representative for school committees. She reflects on the changes that she has seen in her 32 years of involvement in education. In her view, the main difference is that now there is:

... respect [from the school], they make sure every Indigenous kid come and see the right thing together. Not just one, not this couple that they know can do things; the whole lot. And some of them, when that time happening they don’t even turn up. That’s why they fail, it’s their fault [Indigenous students]. I found that those don’t turn up on the right day, well, ‘what’s the good of you’. And [you] can’t blame teacher or head master or anybody – you blame yourself ... those big people come out, like footballer [and] after that 3 days they don’t even turn up for sport or swimming carnival or camp. Then the mother come and whinge, ‘why my child didn’t go to the camp?’ Well you just ask yourself ‘why didn’t you have the money and pay for them to go?’ – *Aboriginal Elder, 2012*

The observation here is that Indigenous students turn up to ‘special days’ designed to encourage school and academic engagement using sports, but that such programs do not necessarily result in sustained attendance. This Elder is frustrated that parents and students do not live up to their responsibilities. On the other hand, the Aboriginal director of a local Indigenous community agency explained how attendance at the local high school was higher on days when they ran the Indigenous games programs in schools. He highlighted this as a positive thing but also indicated that it was the school’s responsibility to build on this.

These ‘special days’ – NAIDOC celebrations, camps – are viewed as an important baseline for getting to know the local community. But the key question is whether they then lead to sustained engagement between communities and schools,

students and teachers. As an IEW in a remote school puts it, these days serve as a way to build “connection between the children” and school staff. This particular worker builds these connections outside of school hours. She suggests that “there should be more of that in the school; teachers taking the children out and doing bush walks and camp-overs and stuff, because the teachers will get a connection with the children if they do that sort of thing. It’s more one-on-one sort of stuff.”

An Indigenous student at the same school stated that becoming “part of the family” or “making friends with students” is not the goal. She would like teachers to use these positive relationships inside the classroom to assist students with their academic success. She says:

I’d have to say that – I don’t really like teachers that try to be your friend. But I do like teachers that are friendly and will have a chat with you every now and then. In class they help you with your work whenever you need it and they don’t tell you straight away that it’s wrong, [or] ‘that’s not the right way, don’t do this’. They tend to explain it to you more and suggest better ways of looking at something rather than saying that whatever you’re doing is wrong. – *Student from a Very Remote Community, 2011*

In the focus groups, many Indigenous high school students stated that they found it difficult to understand their teachers. The IEWs were viewed as having important roles in addressing this problem, as de facto cultural mediators. Further, the students viewed out-of-school activities and connections as a further way of addressing the question of relationships.

For urban schools, the community issues are different. For many, there is no distinct local community, but rather a network of government and non-government organisations, agencies and small community working parties that develop for specific purposes (e.g., Murri Court, Education focus groups, Health organisations). There is also greater seasonal and cyclical movement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and families within and across regions in metropolitan and provincial areas. Community members reported that much of this transience is guided by whether there are extended family members in the area. One commented that this should be seen as an advantage, rather than a disadvantage in setting up regional approaches to education providers. In fact, most schools still treat seasonal or cyclical movement as an aberration from the unmarked norm of single child/nuclear family/continuous enrolment and attendance.

In Merribridge, a metropolitan community, such education support networks already exist with locally-connected regional groups that comprise local community members and workers. In another local metropolitan school, an Indigenous-led community educational dialogue forum brings together IEWs, Indigenous teachers and Elders for regular exchanges and discussions about school and community issues. This organisation already has a track record of intervention. Indigenous stakeholders identified a complex array of strategic interventions that respond to what they view as systemic, pedagogical, governance, professional development, and attitudinal issues. These suggested interventions are underpinned by overarching themes of cultural acknowledgement, respect for local and contextual Indigenous knowledge, and building relationships at multiple levels. In the next sections these issues will be discussed.

52.5 Community Engagement

A major theme that arose in discussions with students in interviews was the importance of the support of their family, mothers in particular, for students' continuity and completion of schooling. When reflecting on the support she received in the classroom when she was at school – and its limitations – *Nicola* says she relies on "... mainly just myself and my mum". This identification of 'family support' as an important influence on Indigenous students' valuing and completing school resonates with those expressed by non-Indigenous teachers. In this instance, however, students refer to their family as *strength* – as enabling their perseverance in the face of negative experiences at school.

Given this strength, Indigenous informants reinforced the need for schools to develop alternative ways of communicating and engaging with community. Specifically, they called for the acknowledgement of the diverse circumstances of parents – "a lot of whom work these days" (Ami 2012) – and the local community networks outside the school. As this parent suggests, it can be complicated:

So I've missed the run and I was hoping, that the teachers don't think that I don't care about my child because I haven't come up to a parent teacher interview ... it just makes me sick in the stomach that they think I haven't made the effort to get there ... I don't want the school thinking that I don't care because I do care. I don't want to waste their time ... If I had concerns then I probably would go ... but I guess the thing is, your child knows that you are there to support them and that's all that really matters at the moment. – *Edie, Parent, 2012*

This reliance on members of the community coming *to* the school can also be an inhibiting factor. Engagement can be seen as a process by which the schools connect with the community. The benefits of school staff – in this case an Aboriginal worker with connections to the local community – taking advantage of connections outside the school is demonstrated in the following account. In this case, a local playgroup was established after the idea was formulated, planned and executed after a group of local Aboriginal women of varying ages and backgrounds met to discuss ways to improve the community. IEW *Erika* (Wellham State School 2012) was "amazed at the insight that these women had about not only their own lives, but the lives of other people in the community and what [they thought] would change the problems they perceived". This group of women ran the playgroup until its management was taken over by the local municipal Council, who introduced formal credentialing and standardisation of services. At this stage the community felt like it "wasn't theirs anymore" and their participation in the program stopped. At present, the women involved in this first iteration are undertaking training to develop the skills and qualifications to run the playgroup.

Regular "cultural days" and school-based programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students were viewed as important. Participants discussed the value of these programs at length. In the past, these cultural days often were undertaken off-site, in school hours, and were co-ordinated by Indigenous staff. They were able to take advantage of community networks to bring in speakers and facilitate peer

support for Indigenous students across schools in the region. In one metropolitan area with a high population of Indigenous people (local and transient), there has been no sustained commitment to these valuable activities as school support, as government funding ebbed and flowed. These activities were reported as valuable for maintaining connections, sustaining cultural support at a community level, and revitalising students' commitment to education in the process. As one Elder put it, "our kids don't have to talk to white; they need to talk to their own colour" (Uncle Wilton 2012).

There is a history of consultation and Indigenous community effort in attempting to develop and implement programs in many of the schools studied. One IEW described a process that she sees as necessary to making schools and teachers accountable, which she considered to be at the heart of effective governance.

Following a visit to her school by a "bigwig from an Indigenous education department", she describes the situation:

He comes into our school and says, 'ok ... you've got X amount of dollars, what have you done to service the children at this school? ... He said, 'I don't want to talk to your teachers or any admin. I want to talk to every child. Give me a list of all your Aboriginal and Torres Strait kids right ... and he actually got the kids down and said, 'right, what support do you get? Does anyone help you?' And he just took notes... but if you haven't got anybody out there to say 'hey what are you doing? They can do whatever they want. – *Indigenous Education Worker, Metropolitan School, 2012*

This resonates with the views of the director of a local community agency, who makes links between consultation and establishing an environment for high expectations, as against the prevailing deficit models. Similarly, he suggests that the starting point rests with asking what individuals want.

We say to them, 'What do you expect from us?' And we allow them at the beginning – the students when they come in, and the workers when they come in – that first day when I talk to them, I ask them what their expectations are of us as an organisation and what they would expect us to do, so that it becomes a conversation around expectations... – *Director, Indigenous Community Agency, 2012*

Across the focus groups, then, many informants expressed the need to hold schools and school leaders accountable for decisions, practices and outcomes.

52.6 Indigenous Student Support Centres

The establishment of an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander support centre in the Summerfort High Hub School provided a space for Indigenous students to complete their work in a safe and supportive environment. This was an increasingly common practice in Indigenous reform agendas (e.g., Davis 2016). In this particular school, students and Indigenous staff say that this environment is not mirrored across other spaces in the school. In the classroom, students ask for assistance and/or seek acknowledgement but suggest that this is rarely forthcoming.

It was reported that some non-Indigenous students and staff in the school see this support centre as a “flop house”. In one example, the school’s groundsman oversaw the use of the room by Indigenous students, regularly questioning their right to this space. While non-Indigenous students often use the room, especially if they are connected to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, those that aren’t familiar with the space comment that Indigenous students “*do nothing*” when they go down to this centre. Students report that they repeatedly resist these accusations, but indicate that this does little to change this view of this support centre.

In another school, an Indigenous teacher describes the tenuous position, which the Aboriginal student support centre occupies:

A certain deputy said that this room is being mishandled and mismanaged. A room like this has to be informal by nature. This is not a room that can be managed ... this is a welcoming space. It’s not a room it’s a space, it’s a withdrawal space. The kids have nowhere else to go, they need somewhere. You know the dancers have got their studio, the musicians have got their studio, everybody has got their space. But we always have to be defending. I had to fight for 5 years to get this space. Five years. No one wanted to give us this space. It’s really difficult for Alison [an IEW] because she is in here. – *Indigenous Teacher, Secondary School, 2012*

Unlike many community-based First Nations schools in Canada, few Australian state and non-state schools have formal structures of local school boards or elected local officials that might provide Indigenous community members with a formal, official platform to participate in school governance. Hence, community participants emphasised that in the past, and now, schools tended to provide opportunities for consultation in order to “tick a box”, as one speaker stated. Additionally, schools tend to organise ad hoc committees/consultation around occasional events. But often there was a perception that community consultation was strategically timed to confirm or ‘rubber stamp’ school policies and actions, in effect silencing Indigenous voices in the process. Many of the informants stated that they believed that the community engagement was token, rather than part of a genuine or substantive participation in decision-making and governance.

The Indigenous parents interviewed stated repeatedly that Indigenous communities did indeed value education. Several described efficient community networks in some regions that can be mobilised or be further developed. Participants highlighted how important it is for schools to be respectful of these cultural connections in their own planning. One parent, who is also a long-serving IEW, suggested that while central for community, schools either downplay these connections or see them as inconsequential to the work of the school: “I think at our school, if you have a cultural thing outside of school hours then the principal would be happy with that ‘cause it doesn’t interrupt her timetable ... but she doesn’t see the importance of it”.

Conversely, one of the Elders suggested that reliance on these connections may be counterproductive as, in her experience, it’s the “same two ones all the time” that attend meetings at the school, “and you feel, ‘why are not the parents here?’” (Aunty Rona 2012). While there is a perception that schools are undertaking community engagement, IEWs see that community people whose philosophies align more readily with those of the school are generally chosen over those deemed to be unsuitable:

“I was never invited to [one important committee meeting], or told when it was on – this is going back a few years now – and I can only say the reason why was because I’ve got a big mouth” (Lily 2012).

Another IEW summed it up in the following way: “see they don’t like Aboriginal people who speak up ... the average Aboriginal is ‘yes sir, no sir, 3 bags full sir’. It’s the old saying, ‘be seen and not heard’ ... then they put their arm around you and make you feel really good as long as you allow them to” (Edie 2012). In one focus group there was agreement that many meetings and consultations were examples of “signing off” for reporting purposes, rather than mechanisms for active and involvement by community in actual decision-making.

At the school level, one of the key issues facing Indigenous parents and students is criticism from non-Indigenous parents and others for what are perceived as being unearned, discriminatory privilege. One parent commented: “There’s probably a lot of white families out there that get quite jealous when they suppose that all the kids were getting free swimming lessons and they didn’t have to pay for anything really ... You’d see them, the mothers, when you’re waiting for your son or daughter and they come and they say, ‘well you didn’t have to pay for your trip ‘cause yours is free’”.

This view of ‘Black privilege’ is expressed by several of the non-Indigenous teachers:

... they did lunch vouchers at the canteen for Aboriginal kids. Now that was a divisive system because there are a lot of other kids who were worse off and didn’t have lunch and didn’t have morning tea and their diet was dreadful. But the Aboriginal kids, some of which, didn’t need the money. So that sort of thing – because it was divisive. But I think if you do things like when you go on an excursion or something, that you take a group of kids, of all kids. That then makes it an inclusive process.

...Aboriginal children suddenly got a lot of funding for all this extra help and yet we had children in the class that really were desperate as well, non-Aboriginal children, that we ... it was like they were really missing out. – *Primary School Teacher, Metropolitan School, 2012*

As mentioned, cultural support programs, and similar community initiatives, were dependent on external funding: “The funding didn’t come from the school, the funding came from outside the school ... if other people are going to put in funding and do things with the Murri kids, then they’ll allow it to happen ... there’s no continuity” (Lily 2012).

The ways in which schools are funded and how these funds are managed have an impact on planning for sustainable, long-term reform. Prior to 2005, schools were allocated funding (above their base per student capitation rate) for Indigenous initiatives through the Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness (ASSPA) program. Funding guidelines were changed in mid-2005. At this point, instead of receiving targeted money directly through ASSPA, schools had to make funding submissions through a two-stage application process via the Parent and Student Participation Initiative (PSPI). This continues to be a labour intensive process, with no guarantee of success. As reported by the Australian Education Union (2005), there was a significant drop in Indigenous parental participation as a consequence.

Of the 561 schools that responded to the AEU Indigenous Education Funding Survey, 78 % reported that they had an established Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness committee. After the introduction of the PSPI funding rules, only 9 % had received approvals to fund initiatives for similar Indigenous engagement programs within the school (AEU 2005, p. 20). In this context, Indigenous informants called for sustained involvement of Indigenous staff and community in key activities in terms of decision-making in relation to how “Aboriginal funding” is allocated and spent. As stakeholders, Indigenous people expressed that “we should feel like we can demand things from schools” (Edie 2012).

Schools must use funds allocated for Indigenous programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander initiatives recommended by Indigenous stakeholders: simply, “we should have a say”. IEWs and Indigenous educators spoke candidly on the reliance on non-recurrent grants funding for Indigenous education initiatives, referring to this as “soft money”. The result was a lack of long-range strategic commitment, difficulties in planning and few ongoing, permanent positions for key workers. Participants in metropolitan, provincial and rural regions stated that this had influenced the level of parental engagement and participation in the school: “we used to have a lot of parent participation in the school [but] then the funding ran out”.

52.7 Student Leadership Programs

Workers and students noted a tendency of school leadership programs for Indigenous students to be specifically targeted at individual students, rather than being used to engage and develop the whole range of Indigenous students.

I found at the school there never seems to be somebody ... targeting Aboriginal kids – not just one kid. But why not target them [‘kids that muck up’], then try and get them involved in the school so that they can go to the leadership programme. Don’t target these kids that you know are going to make it because of their family background. – *Parent, Metropolitan Community, 2012*

This parent suggests that leadership programs may be used to acknowledge and develop the leadership qualities of students who may not conform to what the school recognises as a ‘model’ Indigenous student. The shift implied here is from a view of student leadership programs as a means to reward behaviour and performance – as normatively defined by the mainstream school – to a view that sees them as a developmental pathway for engaging a diversity of students.

There were examples of other kinds of leadership in the accounts provided by secondary school students. For example, a Year 10 student described an incident between a teacher and a Year 8 student, where the older student eventually intervened on behalf of the younger boy. A teacher entered the Aboriginal support centre in search of the IEW to work with a young male student, who needed assistance with a task. As *Gloria* explains:

Aunty Lucie goes, 'you have a long way to go, Max. Come on, you can do it ... the teacher's like, 'concentrate! Stop playing with the board' ... really nagging and I was doing maths work on the board, just having fun. 'Come on come on you've got a long way to go'. And then the teacher turns around and goes, "that's if he'll even make it [to senior] ... Max became upset and he just turned round the corner and when he heard me call his name his whole body language was, like, relief that he heard me say his name and he turned and when he looked at me his body language was down just from what she said.

So I just gentle hugged him and said to the teacher, 'don't you dare say that to an Indigenous man, cause there's hardly any Indigenous men here at this school ... because he will take that to heart he will not want to come back to school' ... And when she walked off, Max gave me one more hug ... he was still crying but he felt really good that I stepped over. And [the teacher] said, 'I won't say it again... thank you for telling me'. – *Gloria, Indigenous Student, 2012*

This student's account of the incident speaks to a different kind of Indigenous leadership in the school, one that was recognised by other Indigenous students:

See once when Gloria came up to me she said, "you know what this teacher said to Max?" Max's my brother, I look after him and comes up to me and goes this teacher said this to Max, "you are not going to make it to grade 11" ... I said, "black boy where is that teacher I'm going to knock her off now". Then I said, "no, I'll go look for Max first", and he was happy to see me and I'm like, "no I can't take this no more, I'm going to, like, drop out" and I'm just going to go to another school. But then I look around and I see all my little kids coming up and they're saying, 'hi Charlotte, how nice to see you'. And I go all my little grade eighters come to me, and I'm like, I can't leave cause they are there looking up at me. I can't leave them all there 'cause if I leave what will they do? They look up to all of us. You have to stay at school and just put up with it and just try their best. You stop; they stop. What are they going to do? So they won't have, like, no great big support there. – *Charlotte, Indigenous Student, 2012*

Many of the issues reported here are drawn together in this student's narrative. It is about fundamental cultural misunderstanding, where deficit thinking and explanation becomes a default mode in teacher/student interactions, even in the dedicated Indigenous space. But this is also about Indigenous students' cultural relations, ethics and duty of care that are misrecognised and invisible in institutions that remain detached from Indigenous communities, knowledges and standpoints.

52.8 Indigenous School Staff

While many Indigenous education workers were critical and sceptical about the ways their work had been defined, they also believed that schools could make more strategic use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers and support staff. A common view was that many IEWs were given reactive roles (e.g., for behaviour management, or ameliorating difficult parent/community relations) rather than proactive roles (e.g., leading professional development, advising on curriculum development, and teaching Indigenous studies). One IEW referred to the reactive role in terms of "keeping the racial peace".

This is highlighted in this reflection of a long-standing teacher aide: “I have teachers coming to me and even though I’m in Prep, they’ll say ‘Oh, can you go and talk to this one and that one? I’ll say, ‘why?’ and they’ll say, ‘oh, their behaviour or they’re not working’, and I’ll go ‘righto’, so I go and do it.”

She goes on to explain how difficult it is to follow-through with tasks in a strategic way because she and other IEWs have minimal control over their daily timetable.

Participants in several sites report inadequate supervision and guidance of Indigenous staff as part of the whole school planning. In several schools with a history of substantive community engagement, Indigenous staff reported that they were respected and consulted.

Having [*Principal, Wellham State School*] here – I think she is the most wonderful person because of her leadership and her insight of not only the system in which she works and is highly skilled and knowledgeable in, but she has transitioned her thinking over to other ways of thinking. When you’ve got a leader who in that hierarchical sense can empower people around her, it’s not from the top down. It’s from the bottom up. She does it both ways. She had a middle ground of learning... She values the people around her, what they contribute ... she gives people the time and space to develop [their ideas], to grow”. – *Indigenous Education Worker, 2012*

In another school, the IEW mentions how the principal of her school “seems to know a little bit about each family, which helps” (*Rosa, Greenpoint State High, 2012*). In addition to this positive effect of school leaders engaging with Aboriginal families, *Rosa* also suggests how parental engagement is increased in this school because of its Aboriginal Council. This council is called upon to make decisions about “sports uniforms” for example, and the development of support programs such as “parent room”; the Council will be responsible for applying for PSPI grants for this initiative.

At Iron Oak High, Aboriginal worker, *May*, comments that it is important for parents to look at their home circumstances too. In describing the situation with an Indigenous student who would regularly get into fights with non-Indigenous students at their school she draws connections between how a student’s home life can mitigate against the strategies the school employs.

When you know this boy’s background and how he has been treated at home, I just think that the parents need to blame themselves ... not blame the school. Every kid isn’t like that either. Some kids just – some of them do have a hard time at home and they come here looking for an answer. But when they come here [IEW office] we like to tell them to go to class, you know. All they wanted was somebody to listen to them. But then they go back to the home environment. – *May, IEW, Iron Oak High School, 2011*

This worker was impressed with the way their school handled this situation – although it was the parents who had chosen to move the student to another school, a school at which he is now doing well. She indicates that while there are still students who get “angry in class”, they are usually calmed down once the “principal or others in the school talk to them” (May 2011).

In other cases, engagement is sporadic and informal. One community member stated that her view was that “Indigenous staff are expected to find their own way and are also directed to do jobs outside of their position description”. Elsewhere, the

lack of interaction between teachers and IEWs in planning processes was reported as a barrier. Many of the IEWs interviewed called for more formal mechanisms for teachers and IEWs to collaboratively plan and work together: “Effective professional relationships between teachers and IEWs are essential. Teachers can do an effective job with support staff. You don’t really need Aboriginal teachers to make a school Aboriginal-friendly” (IEW, Provincial Primary School, 2011).

Many support staff have to hold a “play-it-by-ear attitude” (*Gerald*, Lakeview High, 2011). According to many, where there is participation in planning and regular communication between teachers and IEWs, this is an important factor in prevention of detrimental issues that ultimately impact on the student rather than the school. In instances, this entails IEWs planning programs that specifically support the work of Indigenous students in classrooms. The general consensus is that improved communication with school leaders in relation to action plans would assist IEWs to be more strategic in the planning and execution of their workloads.

52.9 Community Engagement Versus Governance

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Indigenous informants consistently stated that ideas around Indigenous “deficit” were fundamental to the thinking of many non-Indigenous educators. In one example, a community member with almost 15 years of experience as an IEW described the assumption by schools that “Aboriginal people haven’t really got expectations of their kids, [that] they don’t see the need for their kids to succeed in schools”. In her experience, this was simply “totally untrue”. School staff often draw conclusions about deficient Indigenous aspiration when they observe that parents don’t turn up for meetings or events organised by the school such as NAIDOC day. One community member commented that: “if they don’t turn up for something ... that the school is providing for them it [is taken to mean] that they don’t value education [and] they don’t care”.

Participants outlined how the relationship between the school and the family/student can impact on parental involvement. The assumption is that parents are available to attend parent/teacher interviews. The reality is that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander parents are unable to be heavily involved “because they work – it is hard for parents, you know, unless they can [attend] ... schools can make the phone call, you know, home to the parents (Ami 2012)”.

Several informants commented that parents and IEWs were not informed about meetings, or when invited, had no prior information about the purpose of meetings. In one school, specific “outspoken” individuals were not invited to a forum and this disqualified them from membership on a school committee. In another instance, a school reportedly exaggerated community input at particular events. Community members were invited to an end-of-year “lunch”, asked questions about issues; and this was subsequently written up as “community consultation” (*Lily*, IEW, 2012). From one Aboriginal principal’s perspective, selection of consultants can be ad hoc, and puts pressure on the few individuals to be all things, to all people:

And what was a very common message from community was that we are sick of schools setting us up to come along and we have to do their stuff ... parents are feeling used. They come in. And spot a black face, and say, 'oh, we've got an Aboriginal parent, can you be the chair of this? Can you organise that project?' [the parents say] 'I don't know what to do. I've come in to show my support. I want to be part of the school. I don't have the skills and ability to do what they want me to do' – *Reese, Aboriginal Principal, 2012*

In sum, community members reported that community engagement consisted of school-directed and controlled consultation, with little opportunity for substantive community input into school governance and decision-making. In the overall evaluation study, there were infrequent reports of substantive community engagement, and Indigenous staff and parental involvement in school and teacher decision-making in relation to curriculum, whole-school planning or collaborative planning between teachers and IEWs. *However in the three cases of schools that were making demonstrable progress by conventional measures – this substantive community engagement was crucially linked to the teaching and learning that was occurring in classrooms* (Luke et al. 2012, pp. 400–406).

For one IEW, communicating with the local community to assist with a teacher's management of the classroom is straightforward: "We tell them [parents] exactly what's happening in the class, because you can't really tell them how to [parent] their children, but you just tell them this is what's happening in the classroom. Are you aware of what's happening? Do you need any help to change this sort of behaviour and stuff like that" (*Neil, IEW, Pinemead High*).

Authentic community governance is defined by the Indigenous Community Governance Project (ICGP) as "the evolving processes, relationships, institutions and structures by which a group of people, community or society organise themselves collectively to achieve the things that matter to them" (Hunt and Smith 2006, p. 9). A core feature of views expressed by Indigenous informants was that the maintenance of cultural connections inside schools enables Indigenous students and staff to exercise agency. They report on everyday cultural agency: how they manage daily barriers, build and maintain relationships with school staff and peers, act on opportunities within the school setting and develop shared understandings about potential effective practice through formal and informal community networks. This agency was practiced in peer-to-peer mentoring and support in emotional and academic situations.

The relationship between schools and community, teachers and students, school leaders, teachers and education workers was reported as a significant component of establishing mechanisms for effective community engagement. Interpersonal connections between non-Indigenous teachers and families/communities were seen as fundamental to shifting systems: "there's four teachers in my son's life who have made a difference ... and they're the ones who I have a personal relationship with" (*Erika 2012*). Here an issue arising in the classroom where a teacher perceived a threat: "I'm going to get my Dad to come up and beat you" – can be put into a more realistic context if the teacher 'knows' the family. Following this incident in the school between a teacher and her son, Erika describes what she initiated as a consequence:

How do you get the school to understand us? I knew what I was up against. I'm Aboriginal, I'm female. My son has learning difficulties ... How do I overcome these things... So I put together a presentation ... about who we are and what we're like, what our son is like, what works for us as a family, what strategies the school can use, tips for teachers – did the whole lot. Asked [the deputy principal], 'could I do this [as a professional development session]?' He gave me that time and he put it out to his staff. He's fantastic ... I had about 18–20 teachers in the room that were interested... I put this presentation on. I never got a phone call [about my son] for three weeks. – *Erika, IEW/Parent, 2012*

In this example, a discussion ensued between the parents and the school because of the mother's personal and professional connection with the principal. This led to her presenting a session to teachers on how to deal with her child. Because she was an IEW at the school, this session became a general professional development opportunity for relating to Indigenous students and families.

A local community organisation, Redhaven Inc. is described in the following case study. Its principles of operation offer insight into the differences between surface level engagement and 'signing off' to more in-depth governance where stakeholders are empowered within decision-making processes. One of Redhaven's successful interventions with school leavers, and program development to assist "transitioning young kids into further study, employment and adulthood" is **Challenge Day**.

Redhaven works with IEWs and high school students to design and plan the *Challenge Day*. This includes designing activities for the early childhood school children, consulting with Traditional Owners on local knowledge, working with Redhaven to build and prepare any resources required. Secondary students become mentors for younger children, Elders and workers at Redhaven become mentors for them, and students develop a range of skills in research, project writing, organisation, dealing with local council for permissions:

We have the mentors in the school, and then they come here one day a week, and they design, implement, do their site visit, do up site maps. They've got to tick all the boxes ... get our insurances in place. Then on the day – they run the day. We sit back, supervising of course, and those High School kids they run the whole day, and it's just fantastic ... what we notice is that the Primary School kids respond to the High School kids better than they respond to us (*Deon, Redhaven Inc, CEO, 2012*)

Community Case: Redhaven Inc., Community Agency

Redhaven assists and supports the diverse Aboriginal and Torres Strait community of Fieldbeach. This organisation actively promotes self-determination and advocates for positive economic, social, and educational change throughout the community.

Redhaven does this through:

- Collective, communal approaches where all individuals are valued and boundaries are clearly marked;
- A diverse and representative leadership team that consists of Elders, managers and team leaders;

(continued)

- Establishing a sense of ownership and control over outcomes to all workers;
- Creating connectedness – this is valued as the foundation for the organisation’s operation and the development of programs;
- They move beyond ‘naming’ the problem/s, and emphasise solution-oriented, incremental approaches that value the skills, knowledge and cultural protocols of local communities;

When asked if schools could operate in a similar way to Redhaven, one of the Indigenous workers, Frida said:

Yeah, definitely. Cause not only does it give them direction, and things like that, but it also gives them responsibility about things.

Redhaven works directly with Affiliate schools in the area, and has direct links through community with Merribridge. They provide paid services to secondary and primary schools as part of their operations – working particularly closely with IEWs at these schools; one of whom works across all schools in the area. When asked about school transitions and community engagement, the manager expressed the view that “the local high school and principal are really good – it’s not through lack of want, or even desire. I’m just not sure they know how to go about it” (Deon 2012).

When Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community and students are valued for their strengths the possibilities for engagement are broadened. In the examples discussed in this section, we see how this is positioned as beneficial to relationships, to the development of relevant support mechanisms, and the provision of more complex learning opportunities.

52.10 On Curriculum and Pedagogy

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students provided numerous narrative illustrations of the conditions and interactions they experienced in classrooms. Students and Indigenous workers report student alienation and disenfranchisement on at least two levels: (1) inconsistent and arbitrary support for Indigenous students in the classroom across subject areas and grade:

When they don’t help with the things I need help on, and they, like, tell you to ask them – that’s what I do. When they don’t help, I just sit there, and I get real angry and I study myself, right, because I want to achieve something. If they’re not going to help me, then they should not be in the class. That’s what I think. I don’t listen to them, because they are not teaching me anything

“You know that quote, ‘forgive and forget’? That’s what they do to people that are cultural [Indigenous]. But when it comes to us it’s remember and then accuse and yell, and then give you a reason to get out of class so they don’t have to put up with you, or see you again. *Verna, Secondary Student, 2012.*”

And (2) inappropriate and alienating pedagogies of teachers when dealing with/teaching curriculum content dealing with Indigenous issues:

Once you got those [non-Indigenous] kids there, and they’re watching the movie, thinking in their heads – ‘go on. They did that. They’re, like, our people, and we can do that to [Indigenous people]... We can treat them like that because we’re higher than them. *Charlotte, Secondary Student, 2012.*”

The larger systemic issue of non-Indigenous teachers’ difficulties in naming, engaging with and talking about Aboriginality is well documented (Luke et al. 2012). Students and community voices are clear that the introduction of explicitly Indigenous curriculum content raises the stakes for teachers around their professional knowledge, capacity, and pedagogical approaches. In the view of students, there are risks of misrepresentation, misrecognition and backlash.

In terms of pedagogy and curriculum, there are two broad issues here. First, there are longstanding calls for culturally relevant teaching and support for Indigenous students reflected across the comments of IEWs and Indigenous community members. The second issue, foregrounded in debates over the Australian National Curriculum, relates to the teaching of Indigenous content and issues in the curriculum to all students. This issue of cultural-relevance is defined as the acknowledgment of the varying social and cultural capital of Indigenous students and the adjustment of teaching approaches to improve overall achievement and participation, conventionally defined, while setting the conditions for cultural and linguistic growth and sustainability (Yungaporta 2009). The latter has led to a vigorous national debate over the teaching of Indigenous studies within critical frameworks in ways that engage with Indigenous knowledge and disrupt longstanding cultural and historical misrepresentation and misunderstanding (Downey and Hart 2012; Rigney 2011; Phillips 2011).

Reflecting on his experiences through school in the 1970s, community worker *Claude* recalls how he experienced Aboriginal studies:

I was listening to the teacher tell the whole class [about Indigenous peoples]... and you’re one of two blackfellas in the class. And you sorta feel shame ... all the kids will come and say, “Oh, all a youse natives do this!” You know it gets ya thinkin’. And as ya grow older, you sorta resent a lotta things too ... Why am I in school? Why am I learning? – *Claude, Indigenous Community Member, 2012*

In one focus group interview, students from a metropolitan school describe similar reactions to being one of a few Indigenous students in an Indigenous studies class in 2012. They report on what they see as a need to manage and resist small and large statements of ignorance, which is particularly marked in Indigenous studies classes: “when I go into the class, I hear all this stuff being said around me, I just put my hands on my head and try to focus on the teacher”. The point here is that the ‘embedding’ of Indigenous knowledges in the curriculum has the effect no matter

what its intentions and the quality of the pedagogy, of making Indigenous students the objects of school knowledge and curriculum. *A key collateral effect can be the repositioning of the Indigenous student – “all youse natives” – in the classroom as an unintended and indirect ‘object’ of study.*

Indigenous and non-Indigenous staff and students can therefore see effective Indigenous studies very differently as shown in the following two cases.

Classroom Narrative I Embedding Indigenous Studies: Mismatched Perspectives

This incident regarding mismatched views of effective Indigenous studies was reported by Lily in 2012.

Yeah ok then so they were both here see, Iris [the support worker] went to the toilet and this other one [the teacher] was telling me how good they were [for] embedding Indigenous perspectives at the school, at Summerfort High School, as I worked at that school... and I said ‘that’s good’, and she says, ‘oh Lily... they are really doing it well now! [Then] Iris came back in ...she said ‘oh Lily, you should see what I saw the other day’. She said ‘one poor ... student came into my room – **she left her class because they were showing an old Indigenous film and they had put it on speed** [played on fast-forward]. These [Aboriginal] women there, with nothing on, walking around and running ... and everyone was sitting there laughing’.

This Aboriginal girl felt so embarrassed, she didn’t know what to do. **She shouldn’t have felt embarrassed, that teacher should have been ...** I looked at this other woman ... and I said ... **see Aboriginal and white people think differently.** Which is true they do – ‘cause one was white and one was black, and one thought they were embedding it very well and the black person had it right, you know she was there, she had an idea of what it was – she knew what was really happening.

In this same school, one of the IEWs had taken the initiative after observing an Indigenous studies lesson as she worked one-on-one with an Aboriginal student. She was unimpressed with the way the content was being portrayed and took the initiative to suggest that she deliver a guest class.

...Last year, I did teaching there, in Year 8, and that teacher who was supposed to present that [lesson] did nothing. That’s why I went on board ... I spoke about the early days, well I used the DVD of the early years, and we talked about reconciliation, assimilation, stolen generation, all of that and the most important thing was to all the kids in the classroom – is the respect. Respect for yourself, your culture.

In this case, the IEW, Indigenous staff and community were not involved in planning the lesson or teaching.

While Indigenous students and IEWs express appreciation that attempts are being made to embed Indigenous content into their curriculum, they indicate that the potential value of Indigenous studies may not be realised due to inappropriate and “racist” approaches. *Aside from these reported instances of outright derision and attack, the introduction of Indigenous content into the curriculum without well-trained and prepared teachers has the effect, however intentional, of turning*

Classroom Narrative II Student Reactions to Embedding Indigenous Perspectives

Student observations corroborate the alternate view of IEWs that selection of Indigenous studies content is not sufficient on its own to have value in the classroom. Teachers must also develop appropriate pedagogies to ensure that these lessons do not contribute to reinforcing the status quo.

In this vignette, one student describes her reactions to inappropriate teaching of Indigenous studies.

Charlotte: Back in the day when me and my sister were in grade 8 we learnt about the Stolen Generation. Like that was good and everything ... **then later on down the term it started to get really racist ... They would put us down.**

Interviewer: How did the teacher handle that situation?

Charlotte: Just sat there and didn't do anything. She just stood there and that will get us more angry and we get up and walk out of the class; just couldn't take it and we'd get into trouble for it ... (oh, I'm going to cry now remembering it)... **Like the teachers, they don't even notice and they wonder why, like, everyone would walk out of class because of, like, people being racist and everything** but yet they don't realise that and they won't do nothing about it. **They'll go, 'oh that's wrong to say', but then they'll let them go.**

At another school studying Stolen Generations, former student Nicola said that:

[When we were studying] Stolen Generations, all ya had to do was, like, write a letter. Like a big page of what it was. That's all ya had to do. We weren't really studying it ...

Indigenous students into objects of study, debate and contention in their own classrooms.

This chapter began with recognition that deficit discourses play a central role in teachers' views of Indigenous education, learners and communities. As the students' and IEWs' comments above indicate, the introduction of 'embedded' Indigenous content into the curriculum – a current policy imperative – places new pressures and responsibilities on teachers to work in extremely sensitive, knowledgeable and critical ways. When operating from deficit assumptions and vocabulary, the results are already leading to confused or unanticipated and incoherent classroom experiences. In focus group interviews on curriculum and pedagogy, several informants called for more accountability to the community: “teachers should be held accountable for what and how they teach” (*Aunty Lucie*, IEW, 2012).

What these classroom accounts suggest is that the experience pivots on the cultural experience, engagement, sensitivity and knowledge of the teacher. The

embedding of Indigenous content can generate conflict and contestation. This can be an opportunity for further learning and critical debate, or it can generate conditions for the continued alienation of Indigenous student and staff.

52.11 Teacher Knowledge and Attitude

Teacher knowledge is a significant factor in educational success. In a recent paper, Luke et al. (2012) report on survey findings about the extent and depth of teacher knowledge about and engagement with Indigenous communities and cultures. That work documents a predominantly White workforce that – despite stated commitments to social justice and equity for Indigenous peoples – has rare and limited engagement with Indigenous peoples outside of school, with negligible contact through sports, community events, media or everyday exchange. Approximately half of the teaching workforce sampled had had a conversation with an Indigenous person outside of school business in the previous 6 months; and only 13.7% of teachers had visited an Indigenous household.

The view of the Indigenous workers and focus group participants is that many teachers have limited knowledge about who the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students are in the school, much less knowledge about what might constitute ‘Indigenous Identity’ and culture. When there is a willingness to develop effective relationships with students, opportunities for teachers to enhance their knowledge can arise. Alternatively, teachers’ limited knowledge can be detrimental to teaching, and also for dealing with Indigenous students in respectful ways. These two possibilities are demonstrated in the following recollection from an IEW from Summerfort High:

Thomas [past Indigenous student] found a teacher at the school that really enjoyed Indigenous studies ... This teacher took Thomas under her wing, and that whole family, their culture is embedded in them, and they feel so proud of it ... this young boy, he’s in class and they’re doing Indigenous studies. This teacher came and said to me, ‘Oh, you should see the look on his face’, she says, ‘As soon as I start talking I know I’ve got to be careful. I said to him that we’re doing history, we’re doing Captain Cook now – but we’re going to talk about [these] issues... You have to tell him, ‘we’re learning this now and then we’re talking about the issues around that. She was a good teacher.

And there was another teacher... I thought she was good. When I say good, I thought she knew about Aboriginal history and Aboriginal people. When I walked into [the staff room], she said to me, ‘Aboriginal people get so much; kids get so much’. That attitude is very prevalent ... and that’s why some teachers have this dead set against Indigenous kids because they believe that. – *Indigenous Education Worker, 2012*

There was a strong view of Indigenous participants that what was generally referred to as “cultural awareness training” should be compulsory for all school staff. However, “cultural awareness” was positioned as moving beyond programs that essentialise Indigenous students and cultures, toward professionalising teachers. That is, such professional development was reported to have an impact (or have benefit) for the core business of teachers’ work: curriculum, pedagogy and everyday relationships with Indigenous students: “...I think that cross cultural awareness

should be put back in schools so **teachers** are learning as well as the principals (Eddie 2012); or more simply, “they don’t correct [themselves] ‘cause the White people have no knowledge of us” (Aunty Lucie 2012). Students and IEWs raised three core concerns about teachers:

1. The need for teachers to “get off their backs” (Gloria 2012) on discipline: “It’s like one little thing we do wrong in class and they hold that against us the whole time. I’ve done my work, turn around, have a laugh, the teacher tells me to be quiet and do my work when everyone around the classroom is chucking themselves around” (Charlotte 2012); A lot of our Indigenous boys, they’re getting nailed for everything. Every single thing, they get nailed for. I’ve seen it happening for generations (*Aunty Lucie*, IEW).
2. The need for more attention on academic priorities: “high expectations aren’t just always the high goals to play football in AFL or something like that. It could be just the little ones that you set for yourself to achieve an A in a maths test or something like that” (Sophie 2012).
3. The need for a view of respect as a “two way street”: “And I reckon it’s pretty disrespectful [not acknowledging Indigenous cultures] considering that, because they are [white] Australian, like, they have their own background too and they think that we should respect what they want and I reckon they should do the same to other cultures, otherwise it’s not fair” (*Verna*, Secondary Student at a Metropolitan School).

There was a general view amongst students that they did not have the voice or position to make demands of the school or of teachers: “I do all the work the teacher tells me to do but they still don’t realise that ... they think I don’t ask for help and I beg them for help and they won’t help me” (Thelma 2012).

In a focus group discussion, students expressed frustration with how “tough” some of the teachers are on them. At times, students chose to use the word ‘tough’, while at other times they used the word ‘racist’. We asked the students, “What would you consider to be racist? How do you tell the difference between a teacher that’s just tough, and a teacher that’s racist?”

Here it was quite apparent that such issues are not straightforward, and the question generated this exchange about different students’ views of one teacher:

- Thelma:* That racist woman ... Ooh!!
- Charlotte:* No. She’s actually cool
- Thelma:* Nah, she’s ... every time I walk past she’s like [ooh]
- Charlotte:* Nah, you don’t ...
- Thelma:* I’m scared out, too, like for her eyes ... ooh she scared me!
- Charlotte:* She’s actually not [racist]. She’s good [*Thelma trying to debate*]. Oi! She’s our people, don’t you know?! She’s our people. She from Papua New Guinea and she used to be there now, in Sabai...she’s actually a very nice teacher, it’s just that she hates it when people, like, treat her bad, swear at her and give her flack and give her body language about it. ‘Cause if I was a teacher and someone swore at me, I could be hurt – wouldn’t you? ... You don’t just give them disrespect ... for an example, one day you rock up and you start swearing at her and like, ‘oh yeah?’, and the next day you have her again she’ll drop that and then she will just move on ... Instead of just ... going up there every day, looking at her, like, ‘what the hell do you want?’ and start swearing at her...

When talking about another “moody, bad-tempered” teacher, Thelma shared how:

every time I had the wrong shoes, I look around and I’d be the only one getting in trouble. Five or six other people got wrong shoes on and I’m thinking, ‘What’s going on here, like? ... Sometimes he’s all right and the next minute, boom!’

At this point, both girls agree. Thelma says to Charlotte,

“**So that’s tough, not racist**”. Gloria suggests that it may become “racist [if] when you go to that class and then he does it to you again but even more”. – *Indigenous Students from a Metropolitan Hub School, 2012*

For the students, racism was evidenced through repeated sequences and patterns of events, with recurrent behaviours and reprimands from teachers/staff across a range of contexts (e.g., parade, classroom, or playground). As shown in the exchange above, students appeared to develop a shared, but contestable ‘mapping’ of their everyday treatment by staff.

52.12 Student Attendance/Participation

The overall environment of the school impacts on student attendance and engagement. Attendance is measured in numerical terms, and described independently of engagement. There has been a longstanding history of schools looking to Indigenous students, parents and communities to understand issues of non-attendance or perceived lack of engagement in class (Ladwig and Luke 2013). For example these teachers reported that:

Andrew: Even with them not being at school, it might be something that’s not just instigated by the child not wanting to come. Sometimes it’s the parent not wanting to let the child go to school because they’re either alone or – I’ve had students that didn’t want to come to school because it was their birthday and their mum and dad said they could stay home or mum wanted a job to do around the house and they needed the child to be around. Little things and some of it...

Noelene: Or mum said I didn’t have to come to school today.

Andrew: Yeah and it’s like undermining the school.

For schools and teachers, the focus remains largely on the impact of non-attendance on curriculum and assessment. The responsibility for attendance rests with parents.

Another teacher says:

That makes it hard in terms of planning a curriculum for them that they can access. Particularly if you’re doing longer term tasks, they miss out on lots of stuff. We work very hard on getting the children here on time, because we have had a lot of lateness issues, attendance issues. We do have a proportion of children who don’t get fed at home. – *Non-Indigenous teacher, Northmarsh State School, 2012*

While schools look to students to understand these issues, students and families explain non-attendance largely as a result of schooling experiences. For example,

this community worker describes her brother's experiences of feeling negative judgements by both white teachers and peers when coupled with issues he had identifying as Aboriginal: "A lot of kids are ashamed. Like my older brother. He was really ashamed of who he was and he never told anybody ... he would never go to an Indigenous teacher or anything like that ... he wouldn't go to anything [and] he would just, like, fail his subject ... He ended up leaving school and he got an apprenticeship with my uncle" (Nicola 2012).

Sometimes, students felt a lack of interest and support from teachers and schools. This was particularly problematic after students had been away from school for any length of time. The academic issues that Thelma experienced were compounded by what she perceived as a lack of interest from her teachers in reviewing work she had missed. In this instance, *Thelma* was absent due to illness – she reflects on what happened when she returned to school:

My English teacher she [didn't] do anything ... she just expects me to do something about it ... when I rock up and I tell her I've been away, she goes, 'Okay ... well you have to catch up and stuff'. Like she knows about my – she knows I've been away, and I'm like 'what am I supposed to catch up on?'

However, this student was able to articulate a way that this teacher could improve support for her in these circumstances: "If I could stay back a bit late after class, like in lunch or something, just to, like, get some notes off them to see what I have to do". When asked how she handled the lack of support in this instance, she reflected that she just "did it in class". In her next statement she makes direct links between absence and how easy it is to fall behind without the appropriate support for this: "going back to school just gets even harder and the teachers just expect me to already know it and I'm, like, thinking, 'I don't know anything!' I just don't have a clue what to do".

Not only did many students not feel supported academically, but many reported that teachers did not acknowledge the reasons for absences. In this case, *Gloria* was mourning the death of an Auntie, and had taken time off school: "Everything's been happening this last week ... [The teachers] aren't recognising that we hurt ... They **are** recognising that we're away from school a lot". Interestingly, in another school, a teacher talked about an Indigenous student who was missing school in order to attend a family funeral:

She was doing fairly well, at the beginning of the year. Her first exam was pretty good, but her second exam once she stopped coming, she just didn't know the stuff. And that worries me a bit, because now, she's away for a funeral. She is missing more time. And of course, she's done the right thing. She sought an extension just the other day. She came and saw me and sought an extension of her own volition, she's done all the forms, she's done all the right things. But, she is now gone an open-ended-it's an open-ended thing-for when she's coming back. So I'm just going to have to work with her when she gets back. Try and get her back on track again. – *Teacher, Iron Oak State High School, 2012*

For many teachers, the reasons for the non-attendance of students remain unknown – an issue to be resolved by parents, students and Aboriginal staff in schools:

There are issues with truancy here, with Indigenous students ... One of them, I didn't see for the first month or so of school. And she had been avoiding coming to class. I don't know why. The other girl was attending, and was doing quite well and then stopped attending. And then her attendance was sporadic. The two of them, well ... there has been an interven-

tion, working with the Community Education Counsellor. She has really been working with them... and a teacher aide, who works with Indigenous students. – *Teacher, Iron Oak State High School, 2012*

In this case, the responsibility for understanding and “fixing” student disengagement in this class falls to the IEW. Although the teacher reports that the issue has been “resolved”, this teacher also reports that he “doesn’t know why” the students had not been attending. This is a recurring theme across schools, for example this teacher said that:

Absenteeism is a bit of a challenge but we’re – if they’re away more than two days, we let the principal know and she’s ringing to find out why they’re away and when they’ll be back. Our IEW is really good too because she’ll chase kids up and she’ll let you know if they’re at a funeral or if they’re just having the day off. – *Teacher, 2012*

Parents report that strong relationships between the school and students were vital in building student engagement and encouraging attendance. Claude had this to say:

Claude: Like me and my son – her older brother – always try and drum it in to her, y’know. My baby daughter, she... She says she wants to be a policeman and all that.. be a police officer. Well....You gotta finish high school ... before you can even become a policeman ...

Interviewer: So what would she say about her experience in high school?

Claude: Well she...she’s enjoying it at the moment. ‘Cause when she was up north there, she didn’t even worry about going to school at all, last year. Second term of last year, she come here, and she’s been going pretty good at the moment. So yeah, cause we went up there before school started [they] produced [IEW] there, and she met the new headmaster and all that, so yeah, she’s enjoying it there. I try and ask her if she needs any help, to go and see the Principal or whoever, if she needs help, or whatever she needs help with.

An Indigenous Education Worker running an after school program reported that having genuine connections with Indigenous students was vital: “Every Murri in the area knows George [an Aboriginal worker]. One of the Dads went to him and said, ‘I’ve never seen it before. This little one was arguing with his Mum saying, ‘I need the letter. I have to go to school. I have to go to school.’ ‘Why? Why?’ ‘It’s traditional games day. It’s traditional games day.’ And that was the whole purpose.... that was the whole purpose. Ohhh, I’ve never seen anything like it...” (*Deon, Redhaven, 2012*)

When asked to explain some of the reasons why they or other Indigenous students may not attend school, the response of one student was:

Charlotte: I reckon with most of them it just gets too hard for them and most feel like they don’t get much support from the teachers and cause they might not get the work, and they probably need to start off a bit slower to actually get the first bit of it, because they’re probably put in, just put in straight like ... The other week I was put like straight into doing my science experiment thingy and every time I get a science one it’s so big. I’m not even joking. Too many questions like, it does my head in. But first ‘you got to do this lesson’ thinking so many questions already due this lesson, and like nobody could do it, and like that just shows like what if they are doing that to the younger kids? Putting like, just ones that have come from Primary school, like they’re not going to want to stay in if it’s going to be this hard and they know it ‘cause they’re just not going to be able to do it.

- Interviewer:* It sounds like work just keeps getting piled on top without enough time to get the first thing done before you start the next thing.
- Thelma:* Happens to me but then if it happens to them they are just going to get into a bad habit of wanting to stay home cause they don't want to go to school too. *Teacher Aide, Metropolitan Hub School, 2012*

This student's comments focus on the incremental and developmental levels of difficulty of secondary school work. As she points out, the primary to secondary school transition is a key juncture and the support needs of Indigenous students become even more focal. This point is also taken up by a group of Indigenous parents from a provincial school:

- Maggie:* See this is the thing that I was saying about going from primary to secondary, is if they know they can't keep up with the rest of them, they'll pretend to be doing their best but still failing.
- Bridgette:* A lot just throw their bundle in, they won't try.
- Maggie:* Yeah and gradually as they go along, they get to a point where they think well what's the use? They'd rather drop out of school than continue.
- Bridgette:* I had a daughter working up the high school here but there was a lot of children up there that really did need a lot more help, a lot more education. She said they were lacking and really struggling.
- Maggie:* I think if they're going around the whole school, like I said, it makes them feel more comfortable that they don't feel targeted, oh you're the dummy sort of thing, you need help. That's been a big problem. It has been a big problem for our kids. *Parents, Provincial School, 2011*

The factors impacting on student attendance and engagement are complex. Where there is a lack of community engagement or very limited approaches for consultation with parents, the school and teachers' views prevail and focus on the 'student-as-problem', rather than 'system-as-problem'. The views and reflections in this section suggest that there are fundamentally different understandings of the same phenomenon: Indigenous students and parents questioning the level of school support; non-Indigenous teachers questioning why 'absence' is such an issue for Indigenous students.

52.13 Definitions of Success

Since the earliest days of policy development in Indigenous education the central issue has been instigating structural processes that enable community engagement and involvement in decision-making. Theoretically, there has been evolution from 'consultation' toward developing a system of intra-agency (school) governance; allowing the local Indigenous community to have input into the development, delivery and evaluation of work that is done by the school. In practice, and our interviewees have explained, that actual governance is often superficial and token. Further, according to many Indigenous educators and community members, this has not led to any quantum shifts in redefining or opening up definitions of 'what counts' as success.

Aboriginal principal, Dean, from a small, remote school (98 % Indigenous students) sees success in these terms:

Success is having our kids turn up for school. Success is having those kids enjoying being at school. Success is having them engaged when they're here. Success is them being happy, being safe. I could probably go on and on and on about that one because it's not always... it's not always just about what we [*achieve academically*]. It's not always about that. It's about relationships that the staff have with the kids, and the kids have with the staff. It's the fact that these kids want to be here. It's the fact that they're happy when they're here. It's the fact that they – remember I talked about that no shame? If we ask them to do something, they're happy to do it; they're happy to perform or they're happy to speak to; or they're happy to read out to... give everything a go. It's success.

... We might try something – we give things a decent go. We don't just next week go, oh geez, that didn't work last week so let's get rid of that one. We give things a decent go and, yeah, like I said, if they don't work, what's the point in keeping them? If those strategies don't work for these kids, we'll try something different.

... It might not show it on paper. It might not show that they're scoring whatever in NAPLAN, that they're in this band instead of that band or that sort of thing. We want our kids to achieve high but if they don't, we're not going to be beating ourselves up over it.

Many of the Indigenous informants noted a range of factors that contribute to establishing the conditions for Indigenous students to achieve 'successful outcomes'. But the point that this principal makes is that Indigenous communities have different criteria for what counts as 'success' beyond and in addition to test scores and other conventional measures.

An Aboriginal student from a very remote high school whose goal is to do Nursing or Law (or both), describes how high expectations and goal setting for Indigenous students is focussed at her school:

I'd probably have to say it's more a sporting kind of association. They really encourage kids to do their sports and they also encourage kids to be proud of who they are in a way. In a way they try to be strict but there's some kids that don't even really listen or anything like that which is a bit disappointing. But yeah the school's more of a sporting kind of school with some class work as well. – *Student, Very Remote School, 2011*

She sees that sport is an avenue for developing non-academic skills that influence your application in the academic context. She is seen as a 'role-model/mentor' in the school and a peer tutor for other Indigenous students who come to her if they have not understood what they have learned in class. She reiterates what students from Merribridge have suggested, that collaborative support and mentoring is a way to pay-forward for a collective gain. There is a distinction suggested here between 'mentoring' – actively working with others; and 'role-modelling' – showing your 'success' to encourage others along the same path. The true measure of the value of that role modelling for the whole student body is reliant on the systems that the school sets up to 'share' the valuable lessons between the school groups. Just as 'leadership' has been expressed as something which does not need to reside at the top of the pyramid (e.g., in the principal), so too should this idea of role models encourage the natural connections and diverse levels of leadership demonstrated by students. Sometimes role modelling is needed for things that the school may not see,

or value, because it doesn't fit the scope of how they define 'success' or 'successful school behaviours'.

I don't think our curriculum has catered for [*when teachers 'fail' Indigenous kids who do attend regularly*] and that's why we've challenged the curriculum and there's a lot of things to do with our line structures, with kids coming in from remote who might turn up a couple of weeks late, arrive here and then all of a sudden gets put on. This is the only class that's available in this life for you, where they may not have any links or relationships, we're allowing them to take back home. – *Aboriginal Teacher, Provincial School, 2011*

Indigenous parents and education workers make the case for an expanded range of criteria for 'success' in schools for Indigenous students that include, but that also go beyond conventional measures (i.e., quality relationships, active participation and engagement, cultural knowledge).

52.14 Reconciling Education

Deficit discourse is defined as a language of 'lack' – of absence of knowledge, practice and resource (e.g., lack of resources in the home, lack of discipline, domestic problems, poverty, health issues, substance abuse and criminality, negative attitudes toward schooling, cultural 'loss'). There is broad concurrence between community views and teachers' comments about Indigenous education. Despite decades of reform *and* intervention, and an official policy veneer that aims for social justice and reconciliation – many Australian educators continue to work and practice from a baseline of deficit assumptions about Indigenous cultures and peoples. These views extend not only to Indigenous students, their families and parents, but impact on the everyday experience of their Indigenous professional colleagues in schools.

Our aim was to create a relational space for dialogue within and around research on Indigenous schooling, where Indigenous voices and knowledges are not subordinated, hidden or taken-for-granted. Our other move here is to contrast these views with the selected data on teachers' and school leaders' views taken from the larger evaluation study. As far as was practically possible, we wanted to circumvent the longstanding filters of relying upon non-Indigenous researchers or officially designated Indigenous speakers and representatives. Although the scope and sample of the community voices and of the Indigenous education voices presented in this chapter cannot be seen as 'representative' in either scientific or cultural terms – what is clear is that the views of community members, parents and Indigenous peoples working within schools express very different cultural perspectives, experiences and knowledges than those of non-Indigenous educators who have legal carriage of the education of Indigenous youth.

These limitations and strengths of the present work noted – the voices and perspectives included here are diverse and, as noted at the onset, there is no singular Indigenous perspective or 'Community' perspective on any issue. We deliberately sampled a broad range of generational, gendered and local views – urban, suburban and regional. Several major themes emerged:

- *Indigenous communities, parents and students are of the view that they are defined and treated in terms of deficits or lacks, rather than cultural strengths, knowledges and community practices.* This is evident not just in the treatment and experiences of students, but also in the interpretation and position of parents and caregivers, community members and, in instances, Indigenous teachers, education workers and aides. In the deficit model, teachers, principals and schools effectively avoid real accountability to communities.
- *Indigenous community members, parents, educators and students share the view that non-Indigenous teachers and school staff need to improve their active knowledge of and engagement with Indigenous communities, culture, and knowledge.* The need for stronger professional development and training programs on cultural awareness was a recurrent theme.
- *Cultural recognition, community-based activities, cultural activities and designated spaces for Indigenous students are important for symbolic and practical purposes in setting a base for improved mutual relationships, understanding and Indigenous school participation.* There was agreement on this point, but with the crucial caveat that such symbolic activities needed to lead to substantive engagement with community.
- *Many current school efforts at ‘consultation’ and ‘engagement’ are viewed as token efforts without any real commitment to Indigenous governance or decision-making.* This included both efforts to engage community and the use of Indigenous school staff and teachers. Many interviewees felt that they were condescended to and ‘used’ by school authorities for purposes of “sign off” and surface level engagement.
- *Many Aboriginal staff in schools state that they are positioned in reactive and service roles, rather than substantive advisory, leadership or consultative roles.* There are notable exceptions to this, but the general sense was that these positions did not have the requisite professional status and respect, clarity of responsibilities or recurrent funding.
- *Students interviewed raised the issues of the need for mutual respect, better relationships and timely assistance from teachers in classrooms.* Many students stated that they felt that teachers unnecessarily and unjustly singled out Indigenous students for poor behaviour and performance.
- *Students and Indigenous education workers described the problems and issues raised by non-Indigenous teachers’ attempts to teach Indigenous content as part of the curriculum.* Some teachers’ attempts to include and ‘embed’ Indigenous knowledge led to misrepresentation and misunderstanding, and the negative positioning of Indigenous students in classrooms. This is a crucial challenge for current national efforts to require the teaching of Indigenous studies across the curriculum.
- *While they recognise the need for improved test score performance and academic achievement, Indigenous community members and educators reiterated the need for expanded criteria and benchmarks of ‘success’, including improved relationships, engagement, health and cultural knowledge.*

There is a broad message here. The larger study (Luke et al. 2013) establishes both interpretive and empirical grounds that Indigenous people involved in education are the objects of deficit discourses, talk and assumptions. These, they report,

permeate their interactions and relations with non-Indigenous school staff and educators who, despite the best of intentions and, in many cases, stated commitment to ‘social justice’, anti-racism and ‘equity’ fall into deficit talk and thinking as ‘default’ teaching positions (cf. Cazden 1991). Indeed, in the major evaluation study one of our key findings was that past key thresholds of % of Indigenous students in their classes – teachers tended to move towards a ‘default’ of basic skills pedagogy (15 %) and vocational curriculum (11.5 %) (Luke et al. 2013, p. 213).

Taken together, their comments call for substantive, informed and sustained engagement between schools and communities characterised by mutual respect, with the aim for shared decision-making and collaborative governance at all levels of the educational enterprise. Without exception, the Indigenous speakers’ view is that, at present, this is not occurring.

But there are also two further major process issues that arise from this study. First, the study itself undermines the myth that Indigenous parents, community members, IEWs and, indeed, students somehow lack the capacity to engage in substantive, informed dialogue about educational issues, school practices and operations, and teaching and learning. These are articulate and powerful voices.

Second, there are two very different standpoints on what is occurring in schools and in communities. While many of the issues and perspectives noted above would not be foreign to non-Indigenous school leaders and teachers – Indigenous standpoints on education are different in perspective, experience, belief and aspiration than those of non-Indigenous school leaders and teachers. Reading through our transcripts and comparing them to the views of principals and teachers – we are struck again and again by the simple fact that there are two radically different, yet intersecting, lifeworlds that meet in the school. Without the human capacity to listen and hear, respect and engage with patience and humility – Australian schools will continue to make halting and sporadic progress in the education of Indigenous peoples.

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Part IX
United Kingdom

Chapter 53

Urban Education in the United Kingdom: Section Editor's Introduction

Kalwant Bhopal

There has been a great deal of research which has explored the concept of the 'urban' in relation to educational achievement and attendance (Johnson 1999) with an emphasis on a 'crisis' in urban education (Whitty 1986) as well as attempts to 'fix' failing schools (Hill 1998). More recently urban education has been analysed in relation to educational policy making in the UK (Lupton 2005), in which changes in educational policy-making have affected the educational experiences of students, resulting in greater inequalities and a further marginalisation of disadvantaged communities (Crozier; Whitty, this section).

This section of the collection specifically explores urban education in the UK. Recent data suggests that 81.5 % of the population in the UK live in urban areas (Census 2011) in which the wealth gap between the rich and the poor differs significantly (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). In a culture of austerity, current government policy to address the economic deficit such as the 'cap' on benefits and the 'bed-room tax' have significantly marginalised the most disadvantaged groups (Taylor-Gooby and Stoker 2011). Changes in educational policy have also resulted in cuts to education budgets (such as the scrapping of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) and Traveller Education Services (TES) (NASUWT 2012). Similarly, such austerity cuts have disproportionately affected disadvantaged and marginalised communities in which inequalities continue to persist at all levels of educational achievement. Recent research suggests that students who are eligible for free school meals were less likely to achieve five or more A*–C grades in their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) than the student average. In 2012/13, 64.8 % of pupils not eligible for free school meals obtained at least five A*–C grades. However, this percentage drops dramatically to just 38.1 % amongst pupils who are eligible for free school meals indicating that poverty can have a

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significant effect on educational achievement (Demos 2014). Such inequalities continue when examining access to higher education. Whilst there has been an increase in the numbers of students applying for and attending university (Adams 2014) there is evidence to suggest that Black and minority ethnic students are less likely than their White peers to be accepted at Russell Group¹ universities (Boliver 2014). Just 36% of Black and minority ethnic applicants to all Russell group universities were offered places compared to 55% of white applicants between 2010 and 2012. Against this backdrop, this section of the collection explores urban education in the UK. It challenges inequalities in urban education with each of the chapters addressing the most recent, up to date innovative research in the field of urban education. The collection of chapters captures different understandings and discourses of urban education in diverse social, economic and political contexts: which includes perspectives from England, Scotland and Ireland. The themes focus particularly on aspects of inequalities in relation to understanding urban education in relation to 'race', class, wealth, space, migration and marginalisation. The UK has seen significant changes in educational policy making, which have contributed to greater educational inequalities. The chapters in this section emphasise the importance of challenging such inequalities and the need for progressing a social justice agenda.

Gary McCulloch in 'Histories of Urban Education in the United Kingdom' provides a comprehensive review of the literature on the history of urban education in the UK by outlining the strengths and weaknesses of the field of urban education. The chapter outlines the origins and development of the history of urban education and explores how educational provision is linked to urban society, focussing on the historical characteristics of educational reform in different urban contexts. McCulloch specifically uses London as a case study example to do this. The chapter explores how the history of urban education has developed by focussing on aspects of inequality such as class (especially the working class), the significance of social geography in understanding the urban and changes in urban education which have emphasised new themes of inequality such as ethnicity in relation to literacy. McCulloch concludes that there is no distinct genre or urban educational history in Britain but the work, 'demonstrably provides key insights into a substantial and always prominent feature of urban life and services' (p).

The Chap. 55 by Meg Maguire on 'Wealth Inequalities and 'Hidden Injuries' in the Global City: Educational policy in London' explores how the effects of educational policies on school 'choice' linked to setting and streaming in schools in London are based on aspects of polarisation. Maguire argues that children are categorised and segregated based on the 'hidden injuries' of class and racial inequalities. She suggests that polarisation tactics are often used in schools in which the 'divided city' is translated into the 'divided classroom'. Maguire argues, 'In cultural terms, cities have always been places of 'lived complexities' because in demographics and geographical (spatial) terms, metropolitan cities include the most and least

¹The Russell Group consists of 24 prestigious universities. These universities are research led and consistently score highly in league tables. They include the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and the London School of Economics.

privileged and powerfully demonstrate the stark polarisation between access to and exclusion from cultural/social patterns of consumption' (p). These divisions have had significant impacts on educational choice and access. Maguire argues that in the neo-liberal global city, educational choice is affected by geographical location and space in which middle class parents are able to select schools with predominantly middle class intakes, which are often located in middle class housing enclaves: hence, placing their children and themselves in advantageous locations and positions. Consequently, Maguire suggests that '...it seems unremarkable to talk of divided schools in divided cities. In educational terms, the issue is not about diversity in the city but is more about the avoidance of diversity, the marginalisation of the 'other' and the reinforcement of widening gaps of inequalities, the reproduction of insiders and outsiders' (p). Maguire demonstrates how the system of banding and setting in schools is related to aspects of class, ethnicity/race and gender. 'Thus it is reasonable to assume that in London schools (as elsewhere) the fact of classifying students by 'ability' – which correlates highly with aspects of their social identities – may mean that 'ability' is masking other forms of older patterns of exclusion and oppression' (p). Maguire argues that on the one hand whilst London remains a global city, it continues to be affected by neo-liberal policies of austerity, which advantage some and disadvantage others.

David James, in his Chap. 56 'Knowing Your Place? The Urban as an Educational Resource', explores how 'the urban' functions as an educational resource in English schooling. He draws on empirical studies to discuss how two opposing understandings of the urban as an educational resource affect implications for learning and achievement. James suggests that the use of the urban as a resource does not necessarily address the question of equality. The first project that James draws upon is based upon an independent evaluation of area based curriculum initiatives, which includes aims to increase student engagement through area based curriculum projects in schools. The second project is based upon a sample of white middle class families who turned their backs on 'mainstream choosing' by choosing schools for their children with average or low performing achievement. A major finding of the study suggested a clear commitment from the families to comprehensive schooling and the welfare state. James discusses the two projects to demonstrate how contrasting examples of 'the urban' can be used as positive resources based on locality, curriculum and pedagogy. James suggests that '...as well as being a dynamic and constitutive context, 'the urban' functions powerfully as an educative resource, but in doing so always begs the difficult and uncomfortable question, 'in whose interests? To whose benefit and to whose disadvantage?' (p).

In 'Race Matters: Urban Education, globalisation and the 21st Century' Gill Crozier explores the importance of race and urban education by focussing on urban geographies, space and place, the role of parents, racism and White Supremacy. She does so by drawing on theories of Critical Race/Feminism, Whiteness and Intersectionality. Crozier discusses how policy frameworks around race and education have changed considerably which has affected the context of urban education. Crozier suggests that, 'It is not only since the inception of neo-liberal education policies that schools in urban centres have been differentiated and segregated.

School allocation, prior to the 'school choice' policy was largely based on locality and catchment area. The classed and raced differentiated urban spaces (Savage et al. 2005) translated into classed and raced differentiated schools' (p). Crozier outlines the racism, marginalisation and exclusion that continues to exist for those from Black, Asian and minority ethnic communities as outlined in their educational experiences. Whilst such structural inequalities continue to exist, in recent times these have become far more complex in a changing society. 'An additional challenge to urban education and the wider community is the danger of polarisations – hierarchies of oppression which lead, amongst other things to racial antagonisms' (p). Consequently, race can no longer be ignored when addressing inequalities in education, particularly in relation to the socio-economic and political context of urban education. However Crozier also recognises that racial differences cannot be understood without a recognition of the role of social class and indeed, white hegemony. '...class oppression is central to structural inequalities and white hegemony as part of that. White hegemony and social class are inextricably linked. Therefore whilst at times foregrounding race it is essential to challenge these central oppressions simultaneously and collectively' (p).

Geoff Whitty and Jake Anders in their Chap. 58, 'Closing the Achievement Gap in English Cities and Towns in the 21st Century' explore the gaps between socio-economic groups through cognitive measures and the achievement of academic qualifications. Whitty and Anders argue that the academic attainment gap in schools emphasises that student performance during the compulsory schooling age has significant implications for success in access to higher education and the labour market. Furthermore, there are significant differences in these experiences for different groups based on social class and ethnic backgrounds. This chapter explores how the gap can be narrowed in the compulsory schooling phase at ages 5–16 and examines interventions can be useful in tackling the relationship between social background and educational achievement. Different strategies, which have been used to close the attainment gap are discussed, these include: National Strategies, Academies, Extended Schools, Reading Recovery, Teach First and The London Challenge, as well as recent Coalition government policies (2010–2015). The authors' argue that whilst many different strategies have been introduced, 'There are already signs that the slight narrowing of the attainment gap identified under New Labour has stalled or even been reversed, at least at secondary level' (DfE 2014; Ofsted 2014) (p. 28). However, even where attainment gaps have narrowed the gaps are largest for 'elite measures' in which the disadvantaged continue to remain on the margins. The authors suggest that society has to be clear about the expectation of schools in achieving equality for all. They note that 'This does not mean that schools cannot make a difference, or that they do not have a particularly important role in helping to narrow the attainment gap and thereby enhancing the life chances of disadvantaged children. It does mean that they cannot do it alone' (p).

Dympna Devine's Chap. 59 'Migrant Children in Urban Schools in Ireland: being valued differently?' focuses on exploring how children are valued in schools and the effect this has on wider inequalities between different groups of children. Devine explores the tensions and dilemmas associated with valuing migrant children

in schools in Ireland, '...a group who are increasingly visible in global policy discourse in education and who epitomise dilemmas around reputation and risk, value and being valued in an increasingly competitively structured education market' (p). The chapter explores how changes in the population of Ireland in the 'Celtic' tiger boom which resulted in the attraction of highly skilled immigrants working in different industries such as IT and pharmaceutical industries, resulted in significant numbers of immigrant children attending schools in Ireland. Whilst net migration declined, the numbers of immigrant children in schools continued to increase as many immigrant families decided to remain in Ireland despite the economic recession. Devine suggests that, '...as education systems become simultaneously directed toward neo-liberal performance based goals, this influences what is valued and I argue how children may become differently valued and positioned within the more competitive market driven discourse' (p). Devine considers two key issues which suggest recognition and value; access to schools/school choice and policies of immigrant support in schools. She suggests that there are dilemmas about being valued differently for migrant children and these take place in their relationships with their peers and teachers: 'Tensions related to reputation, resilience, risk and potential reward emerge in migrant children's own experiences of teaching and learning' (p). Furthermore, identifying the needs of migrant children has to move beyond the use of classificatory 'labels'. Devine suggests that, 'Being differently valued can imply both recognition and misrecognition. Identifying the additional needs of migrant children can lead to positive visibility in the classroom *provided* it moves beyond a classificatory 'label' and becomes a mechanism for realising each child's rights to both quality and equality in their learning process' (p).

Ross Deuchar, Johanne Miller and Lisa Borchardt provide a Scottish perspective on urban education by focussing on the nature and impact of detached street work and how it can be used as a form of urban education in deprived, marginalised communities. The chapter uses data from a longitudinal qualitative research study, which examined how street work programmes in Glasgow generate social capital amongst disadvantaged young people, youth workers and other community members. The authors provide a contextual background to policy shifts in relation to young people as well as different perspectives on youth work. The rich, detailed qualitative data is used to explore specific themes: building trust, reciprocity and confidence; addressing territorial violence, anti-social behaviour, alcohol and drug-misuse; and generating responsibility, empowerment and social inclusion. The authors argue that detached youth work is a positive means of engaging with marginalised young people and can be used as a form of empowerment within the urban educational context. Furthermore, youth services such as Youth Matters are able to provide positive support for young people, particularly in relation to education, employment, training and voluntary services. However, some young people may continue to be dependent upon such services: 'This type of work needs to continue in these communities alongside a wider focus on supporting young people to build wider relationships with other professionals as well as local adult residents. In order to truly empower young people, agencies like Youth Matters need to encourage

them to take ownership over their own lives and to believe that they can achieve things without the support and mentorship of youth workers' (p).

Each of the chapters presented in this section provide a critical discourse on neo-liberal approaches to urban education in the UK. They do so by focussing on the importance of addressing inequalities in access and achievement in education. If we are to move towards a socially just society in which education is a route rather than a barrier to success and social mobility, then we must continue to question how this can be achieved, particularly in relation to the 'urban'. UK government policy making must address the structural inequalities that continue to exist particularly in addressing the changing demographics of schools in the urban context, as well as the recognition that greater support is vital for those who remain on the margins.

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Chapter 54

Histories of Urban Education in the United Kingdom

Gary McCulloch

54.1 Urban History and Urban Education

‘Urban history’ and ‘urban education’ have to a certain extent developed as areas of study rather separately from each other, and yet the history of urban education emerged to contribute to both types of literature, led particularly by key figures such as W.E. Marsden of the University of Liverpool and David Reeder at the University of Leicester. Calls for a closer connection between historical study and contemporary policy in urban education have asserted the importance of historical understanding for the formulation of urban educational policy, and often the need for historians of urban education to relate their work to contemporary concerns. Commentators have often noted the inchoate and piecemeal nature of the development of the history of urban education in the UK.

On the one hand, the study of urban history as a sub-discipline developed strongly in the British context from the 1960s. Writing on British urban history was influenced by H.J. Dyos and the Centre for Urban History at the University of Leicester (Cannadine 1982). Dyos was the first professor of urban history in Britain, from 1971 until his death in 1978, and founded the Centre for Urban History and also the *Urban History Yearbook*, published from 1974. His own work examined the dynamics of the Victorian city as it developed during the nineteenth century (see e.g. Dyos and Wolff 1973), a topic that was taken up and developed further by other writers including Derek Fraser (1976, 1979) and R.J. Morris (1986; Morris and Rodger 1993). By the turn of the century, what had begun as something of a cottage industry was thriving to the extent that a three-volume Cambridge urban history of Britain could be produced. This was arranged in chronological order, with the first volume mapping out urban developments from 600 AD to 1540, the second from 1540 to

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1840, and the third from 1840 to 1950 (Clark 2000–2001). Another major enterprise was the long-running book series ‘Historical urban studies’ published by Ashgate, under the editorship of Jean-Luc Pinot and Richard Rodger (e.g. Colls and Rodger 2004). This included detailed monographs and edited collections in diverse areas of urban history in Britain, such as *The City and the Senses* (Cowan and Steward 2007), *City Status in the British Isles* (Beckett 2005) and *Culture and Class in English Public Museums* (Hill 2005), among a burgeoning set of comparative and international works.

On the other hand, in the 1970s and 1980s there was generally a lack of historical perspective in discussions about the character and development of urban education in the UK. The edition of the *World Year Book of Education* published in 1970, for instance, was devoted to the theme of education in cities (Lauwerys and Scanlon 1970). This included for example chapters on planning schools for new communities in England and Wales (Smith 1970), the established city of Nottingham (Newson and Lowinger 1970), and the new town of Milton Keynes (Harding 1970). However, none of these developed a clear historical dimension to the issues raised; they preferred instead to concentrate on future plans for development. Over the following two decades, major problems were identified that were highly relevant to the development of urban education in Britain. Increasing attention was given to vocational and technical education, especially as a result of increasing youth unemployment and economic difficulties in urban districts. The problems of individual schools in urban areas such as William Tyndale School in 1975 also focused concern on the lack of accountability of schools to parents and their local communities, and the apparent failings of local education authorities (LEAs) (see e.g. Simon 1991). Yet there was little historical awareness about the urban tensions that underlay these new developments. In 1976, when the Labour prime minister James Callaghan launched the self-styled ‘Great Debate’ on education, the historian David Reeder complained that current concerns about urban schooling failed to take account of longer-term historical factors such as Victorian school buildings and out of date planning. Indeed, he averred, historians were virtually excluded from the contemporary analysis of urban education (Reeder 1977a, p. 2).

This situation differed markedly from the USA, for example, where the field of urban education became established in the 1960s, with the launch of journals such as *Urban Education* (1965) and *Education and Urban Society* (1968). Writing on the history of urban education became prominent in the wake of urban-based protests about racial discrimination and social inequality, and the comparativist Edward King was able to publish a historical review on urbanisation and education in Britain that emphasised such issues in a special issue of the *International Review of Education* on the effects of urbanisation on education in 1967 (King 1967). In 1969, the radical historian Michael Katz edited a special issue of the American journal *History of Education Quarterly* on the theme of urban education. This included substantial work by leading historians of education on education and race, the Northern ghettos, urban school reform, the urban child, and the city as teacher (*History of Education Quarterly* 1969). Katz himself derived several common issues from this collection. In particular, he noted the importance of relating historical study to the

contemporary problems of urban schools and schooling. According to Katz, 'hard-nosed historical assessment of the comparative impact of schooling and environment as educative forces and of the outcomes of school reform bears directly upon an understanding of the origins and scope of the urban school culture today' (Katz 1969, 326). Katz concluded that such historical work 'links up with, and contributes to, the larger critical contemporary reappraisal of American life and institutions', which he regarded as being of fundamental significance (Katz 1969, p. 328). At the same time, he also emphasised the need for further historical research, which would in turn provide 'detailed, empirical knowledge about schools and their clientele, knowledge which we do not yet have in anything like sufficient quantity' (Katz 1969, p. 326). This clarion call was soon followed by a number of historical studies into the characteristics and outcomes of urban education in American cities (e.g. Kaestle 1973; Tyack 1974; Goodenow and Ravitch 1983). Such treatments were rather more focused and comprehensive than was the case in Britain.

It was not until the second half of the 1970s that serious efforts began to be made to introduce a consciously urban history of education in the context of the UK. For this, it was David Reeder who was principally responsible. Reeder was based at the University of Leicester and was a member of its Centre for Urban History. His mentor was H.J. Dyos, although he was also much influenced by the work of the historian of education Brian Simon, also based at Leicester (Marsden and Grosvenor 2007). He was also involved in the work of the History of Education Society, established in 1967 and now organising annual conferences as well as a regular journal. Reeder organised the 1976 History of Education Society conference on the theme of urban education in the nineteenth century, taking his cue from Dyos in focusing especially on the Victorian city (Reeder 1977b). The collection of articles that resulted from this included papers by Derek Fraser on education and urban politics (Fraser 1977), W.B. Stephens on illiteracy and schooling in provincial towns (Stephens 1977), W.E. Marsden on education and social geography (Marsden 1977), Reeder himself on city children (Reeder 1977a, b, c), Dennis Smith on social conflict and urban education (Smith 1977), and Sol Cohen on the history of urban education in the United States (Cohen 1977). Cohen's contribution helped to consolidate the close relationship that was developing between the British and American protagonists in this area, just as the involvement of the sociologist Smith and the geographer Marsden suggested scope for interdisciplinary collaborations. The collection marked, as Reeder justly claimed, the first attempt in Britain 'to initiate a discussion on urban education as a focus of historical study' (Reeder 1977a, p. 10). As Marsden and Grosvenor have noted in assessing Reeder's importance in promoting the history of urban education, 'His "foot in both camps" involvement in education and in history was no doubt of help to him in bringing to bear the skills of the Leicester departments in the quest to update the history of education, and at the same time to highlight the importance of the educational dimension for urban historians.' (Marsden and Grosvenor 2007, p. 305).

Another key figure in the early development of a specific literature in the history of urban education in the UK was W.E. Marsden of the University of Liverpool. While Reeder built on his associations with urban history and Victorian studies,

Marsden was trained in historical geography. He utilised this to document the historical and social geography of education in the UK. A number of sociologists in the postwar period such as John Barron Mays in Liverpool and M.P. Carter in Sheffield had shown the implications of deprived urban conditions for urban working class children and youth (Mays 1962/1968; Carter 1962). Mays demonstrated that examination success in the 'Crown Street schools of Liverpool was lower than in the city as a whole and far less than in the more prosperous residential suburbs (Mays 1962/1968, p. 185). Marsden identified differences in resources and opportunities both between and within towns and cities (Marsden 1977, p. 50). For example, he noted that a growth in residential segregation from the late nineteenth century, splintering towns and cities into distinctive social areas, became a significant influence on attitudes towards education as well as on other related aspects such as religion. According to Marsden, both for elementary schools and for secondary schools, the development of a hierarchy of social respectability and selectiveness was largely accounted for through their location in the different social areas of towns and cities. Thus, there was a close correlation between the location of private schools and the social geography of the town, while secondary schools often responded to incipient or expected social decline through the expedient of following their clientele to the suburbs. School fees were adjusted to social areas, and the actual buildings that were provided tended to match the perceived status of the locality (Marsden 1983, p. 99). Such a framework of analysis facilitated an interdisciplinary approach to the ways in which urban forms and relationships of schooling could be investigated in greater depth (Marsden 1987).

Some other developments at this time served to further reinforce the significance of the historical dimension for urban educators. By the early 1980s, as the Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher began to give increasing attention to educational issues, the sociologist Gerald Grace could elaborate on the importance of recovering a sense of the historical dimension. Grace led a popular Masters course in urban education at King's College London, which he had established in 1976, focusing particularly on inner-city problems for teachers and school leaders in what was then the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) (Grace 2007, p. 959; see also Grace 1978). He was alert to the historical and political aspects of this area of study in the development of this course. As Grace observed in an influential edited collection, *Education and the City*, urban school systems 'arose in particular historical conditions and as the outcome of a complex of forces'. The outcomes of particular forces, he suggested, varied over time and in relation to the dynamics of the society involved. Therefore, Grace insisted, a serious study of urban education was obliged to engage with such issues, even if the principal concern of such study might be with the problems of contemporary urban schooling. Grace concluded that students of urban education should 'locate their contemporary discussions in a framework which is sensitive to issues of continuity and change', and also that the recovery of a historical dimension was a precondition of the development of what he called 'critical scholarship' in the field (Grace 1984a, pp. 35–37). One section of this collection dealt in greater depth with the historical location of urban education, with a contribution on the history of urban education in America,

another on university settlements and the city, and a third on the urban, the domestic, and education for girls (Grace 1984b, Part II).

The consolidation of a literature in the history of urban education in the UK was highlighted in different ways in two international collections, both published in 1992, although these works also indicated limitations in its role, both in terms of its relevance to current issues in urban education and for its contribution to an understanding of historical issues. The first of these, the *World Year Book of Education* of 1992 which focused on urban education, offered a number of reflections on historical approaches in a way that its predecessor of 1970 had not attempted (Coulby et al. 1992). It suggested that in the UK, and even more in the USA, much of the work produced by urban educationists took a historical approach, and also pointed out the existence of a large number of studies of this type on individual schools and (Coulby 1992). On the other hand, it commented that historical perspectives often tended to be remote from the 'struggles of the present' (Coulby and Jones 1992, p. 5). For this reason, it argued, they needed to be combined with approaches that emphasised social, political and economic contextualisation, and the role of discontinuities as well as continuities in the development of urban education. These observations indicated the potential linkages between historical, sociological and international approaches to urban education, although they appeared to locate history as a junior partner and to dismiss a specifically national focus as unduly parochial.

The second collection published in 1992, edited by Marsden from the UK together with an American colleague, Ronald Goodenow, was a specifically historical work, part of a book series on 'Themes in international urban history' published by Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in association with the Centre for Urban History at the University of Leicester (Goodenow and Marsden 1992). It included substantial papers by William Marsden, on social stratification and nineteenth-century English urban education (Marsden 1992), and Christine Heward, on the social effects of compulsory schooling in nineteenth-century Birmingham (Heward 1992). Nevertheless, David Reeder, in his contribution to the collection reviewing trends in Britain, continued to lament that there remained 'no distinct genre of urban educational history' in the UK (Reeder 1992, p. 13). At the same time, he was optimistic that 'a more sophisticated and analytical approach to the history of schooling in the city (and to an associated range of social and cultural activities) has been contributing to a greater awareness of the relations between education and the city' (Reeder 1992, p. 13). With the emergence of this kind of approach, there appeared to be sound prospects for historians of urban education to make a fuller contribution both to urban history as a whole and to an understanding of (see also McCulloch 2007).

54.2 Educational Provision in an Urban Society

The history of urban education has contributed to the historical study of urban society in Britain in the past two decades in particular in a number of ways. First, it has emphasised the role and characteristics of the provision of education in urban

centres, especially for the working class. Second, it has demonstrated the significance of the social geography and ecology of the city, building on Marsden's earlier work. Third, it has begun to pursue fresh themes such as ethnicity in urban contexts, the experience of urban education, and the nature of literacy.

Urban growth over the past two centuries has undoubtedly been of an unprecedented scale. In 1801 there were no towns in Britain, apart from London, with over 100,000 inhabitants. By 1831, there were seven of these (Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Leeds and Bristol). By 1901, nearly 40 towns had reached this level, and by 1911, out of a total population of 45 million, 40% lived in towns of over 100,000 people (over 50% in England and Wales). During this period of massive urban growth, moreover, London retained its already well established pre-eminence in terms of size. Seven million people lived in London in 1911, while 14 provincial cities had over a quarter of a million (Harris 1993, p. 42; see also Daunton 2001).

Each of these burgeoning towns and cities had specific characteristics of their own in terms of industrial, social and cultural developments. All demanded increasing levels of social services, including education. The provision of social services was strongly marked by differences of social class, amplified and deepened by the pressures of urban society. Social class has indeed been a key theme in the history of urban education, as for the history of education in Britain in more general terms. Social class conflict has been highly significant in determining the nature of the education system as it has developed over the past two centuries, with the growth of large industrial towns and cities a potent factor in this (see for example McCulloch 1998). Recent literature on the history of urban education has highlighted this in greater depth while also revising key features, often drawing on the findings of detailed sociological studies, and tending to emphasise the nature and problems of the urban working class (Grosvenor and Hall 2012).

Jonathan Rose's work, for example, has questioned the idea promoted in earlier studies such as that of Stephen Humphries (1981) that urban working class children resented or resisted their schooling experiences. Rose has demonstrated that a large proportion of working class children enjoyed their compulsory schooling (Rose 1993), and indeed that working class people drew on a range of learning experiences inside and outside school to enhance their position in society and their cultural improvement (Rose 2001). Other work has demonstrated the variety of levels of literacy in different urban locales. Although towns had established themselves as centres of education and literacy as early as the twelfth century AD (Barrow 2000), in the nineteenth century they were highly diverse in their literacy levels between one part of the country and another, as well as between different types of urban communities (Vincent 2000; Colclough and Vincent 2009).

The social differences that were evident in urban areas also encouraged attempts to 'civilise' working-class children and youth in a wide range of educational arenas. Kevin Brehony portrayed the advocates and organisers of the Children's Happy Evenings Association, the Children's Recreation School, Evening Play Centres, Vacation Schools, the Guild of Play and other play initiatives current in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in terms of play as 'an antidote to a dis-

ease, the aetiology of which was held to be the city and the conditions of urban life in the areas labelled as slums' (Brehony 2003, p. 89). Rebecca Bates has analysed the connections between the vulnerable position of working-class children in late Victorian England and the enforcement of juvenile emigration in large numbers to support the British Empire in different parts of the world (Bates 2009). The nature of city childhoods has also been discussed in more detail in work by Ian Grosvenor who has documented how data on city children, both in the mass and as individuals was recoded and maintained by LEAs such as Birmingham (Grosvenor 2007, 2009).

In the last few decades also, historians of urban education have begun to give increasing attention to urban middle class schooling. Simon Gunn's work highlighted the urban characteristics and identity of the English middle class (Gunn 2004, 2005). Richard Trainor suggested that a socially, occupationally and geographically diverse urban middle class developed in the nineteenth century, with significant implications for the character of education. The upper middle class sent their sons to preparatory schools and public schools, while the children of the lower middle classes went to day schools (Trainor 2001, p. 697). McCulloch has examined the local differences of Victorian grammar schools (McCulloch 2011a; see also Gunn 2004). The relationship between working class and middle class groups in specific urban areas has also begun to be examined, initially for the most recent period (Smith and Higley 2012; Hamnett 2003; Reay 2007; Butler et al. 2013).

The relationships between urban educational provision and the dimensions of ethnicity and gender have also begun to be mapped out in detail. Immigration especially from Commonwealth countries has been a significant factor in population trends in many urban communities in Britain since World War II, with the precise nature and implications of these trends varying considerably, and leading in many cases to instances of interracial conflict. Ian Grosvenor's work, for example, has shown how the issue of racism has impacted on education in the case of Birmingham in the 1960s (Grosvenor 1997, especially chapters 3 and 4). Lorna Chessum also examined the development of racialised conflict centring on education in the context of the African-Caribbean community of Leicester in the same period (Chessum 1997). The experiences of immigrants and ethnic minorities in these different urban contexts have been explored in depth by Kevin Myers (2009, 2011, 2015). Again, there is evidence of growing recognition of the connections between the variables of class and ethnicity in relation to recent developments in urban contexts, specifically London (Hamnett 2011; Hamnett et al 2007; Raveaud and Zanten 2007).

Other historians have continued to build on earlier work on the character of gender-based inequalities as they have arisen in the urban environment, and have begun to analyse in greater depth the educational experiences of girls and women in towns and cities. For example, Joyce Goodman has examined the removal of children living in the brothels of Manchester, highlighting the social danger that was deemed to be represented in sexually active girls (Goodman 2003). Stephanie Spencer has pursued aspects of the experiences of young girls and women living and working in the city in the late 1950s, with the city itself constructed as a 'rite of passage' for girls on the brink of adulthood, a 'physical space which facilitated

independent living, studying and employment opportunities', but also 'an imagined educative space in which to form an adult female identity' (Spencer 2003, p. 133).

Discussions of urban educational reform also stimulated a significant body of historical literature. The position of local education authorities (LEAs) was under a great deal of scrutiny from the 1980s onwards, with a much reduced role as a result. The LEAs based in major urban centres often had the resources to take a lead in developing particular approaches, whether in concert with or against the grain of national educational policies. In the period after World War Two until the 1960s, a number of urban county boroughs took the lead in championing educational reforms, including the development of comprehensive secondary schools intended for all abilities and aptitudes. From the 1960s until the 1980s, the ILEA was highly prominent for its independent position in promoting urban educational reform from its position in London. After the Education Reform Act of 1988 and the abolition of the ILEA, the powers and authority of the LEAs became significantly diminished.

A special issue of the *Oxford Review of Education* on the centenary of the establishment of the LEAs in 2002 provided a sustained overview of the changes in their position over that time and of their significance as sources of urban educational reform (Lowe 2002). This included a contribution by McCulloch on the range of approaches taken by LEAs to the organisation of secondary education under the 1944 Education Act, such as the tripartite stance of grammar, technical and modern schools that was enthusiastically taken up by Sheffield LEA (McCulloch 2002). A paper by David Crook documented the role of LEAs in comprehensivisation in England and Wales from the 1940s to the 1970s, including the urban vision of the London School Plan in the 1940s (Crook 2002). John Davis reviewed the role of the ILEA in the William Tyndale Junior School affair that came to national prominence in the 1970s (Davis 2002). Ian Grosvenor discussed the involvement of Birmingham LEA in compiling the records of school pupils in the area (Grosvenor 2002). A paper by Tim Brighouse recalled his own career in LEAs from the ILEA to Oxfordshire and then Birmingham (Brighouse 2002). Gareth Elwyn Jones also contributed a significant piece on the roles taken by LEAs in Wales over the past century, in particular in Cardiff and Swansea in differing from the policies prescribed by the Ministry of Education (Jones 2002).

London provided the prime example of how urban educational reform could be generated in a distinct and often contradictory fashion in relation to the approach taken by the national State, from the days of the London School Board in the late nineteenth century to the London County Council (LCC) and then the ILEA. The case of the London School Board (1870–1904) is a fascinating example of the issues involved in governing and reforming the educational provision of a major city. It was, as Jane Martin has observed, a 'flagship institution' that helped to set the educational standards for other school boards to follow (Martin 2001, p. 167). It was a democratic institution in a number of respects, and provided significant opportunities for example for women teachers and activists such as Mary Bridges Adams to become involved in its work (Martin 2004, 2010). Jane Read's research has shown the scope for infant schools in London to promote progressive pedagogy, and also for special education facilities to be developed (Read 2004, Read 2006). Here it was

that London, incomparably the largest urban community in the UK, struggled to come to terms with the diverse needs of its unruly, changing and still growing population.

The distinctive educational stance of London over the 60 years of the LCC's existence has also attracted continuing attention. The close relationship between education and feminist and labour movements in the capital city in the twentieth century has been examined by Martin (2007, 2008). The LCC was active in supporting new approaches to the curriculum, for example in citizenship teaching (Keating 2011), as well as in helping to encourage teacher professional development through courses and conferences (Robinson 2011) and evacuating schoolchildren at the start of the Second World War (Gaertner 2010). The ILEA was established in 1965 to take over the educational responsibilities of the LCC, which was replaced by the Greater London Council (GLC). This new authority soon emulated and even surpassed the independent reputation cultivated by its predecessors. It became widely regarded as a key national and even international centre of educational expertise and authority in its own right. Moreover, it also enabled a wide range of local activists from different backgrounds to take part in urban educational reform, both in setting the agenda for social and political change and in putting it into practice at a grass roots level. It also made powerful and influential enemies, in particular national policy makers who often resented the independence and powers that the ILEA flaunted, so to speak, in their own back yard. When problems such as the William Tyndale affair arose, the ILEA was exposed to damaging and undermining criticism (David 2002). It struggled to survive after the election of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government in 1979, and was eventually abolished along with the GLC itself (Mortimore 2008; Stewart 2015). The former leader of the ILEA, Sir Peter Newsam, has produced a full account of his career in this role (Newsam 2014). Nonetheless, both the LCC and the ILEA have received less attention from scholars interested in the history of urban education than might be expected. Over the last 30 years, and increasingly in the early years of the twenty-first century, urban educational reform has been absorbed and assimilated into national state policy more than it has set out to provide a distinctive and contradictory approach, although London Challenge has emerged as a fresh initiative to provide a coherent and independent educational strategy for the capital city (CfBT Education Trust 2014).

Much of this work on the history of urban education in Britain has been produced in a fairly dispersed and uncoordinated way within the space offered by associations such as the History of Education Society and ISCHE. It reflected the increased interest that was shown during this period in theoretical and methodological issues in the history of education, often demonstrating clear connections with social scientific ideas and methods (McCulloch 2011b). There were also some initiatives to organise research in this area more systematically through conferences on a related theme leading to special issues of a specialist journal. The first of these conferences was held in Birmingham in July 2001 as the annual meeting of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), on the theme of 'Urbanisation and education: the city as a light and beacon?' This raised the key issue that 'although educational change and progress have so often taken place in

urban sites, the latter have also been seen by some as places of moral contagion and intellectual heresy and certainly not the best places to educate the young' (Grosvenor and Watts 2003a, p. 1). On this organising principle, a number of sub-themes were emphasised, with the city of Birmingham itself highlighted as a key example of both urban progress and urban danger. Papers by Brehony (2003), Goodman (2003) and Spencer (2003) were selected for the special issue of the journal *Paedagogica Historica* that followed (Grosvenor and Watts 2003b).

The second venture of this type was the annual conference of the UK History of Education Society held in Sheffield in November 2009, which led to the publication of a special issue of the journal *History of Education*. This was an interdisciplinary initiative in that it was organised in collaboration with the University of Sheffield School of Architecture, and also involved a number of geographers of education. The overall framework of the conference was of 'space, place and materialities', which gave particular scope to the role of urban history (Burke et al. 2010). The papers selected included one by Andrew Saint on the history of education in Battersea, London, since 1750, developing his earlier work on school architecture (Saint 2010; see also Saint 1987). Another paper, by Medway and Kingwell, also highlighted the urban context of London, this time with a specific focus on English teaching in a new comprehensive school, Walworth School, between 1946 and 1963 (Medway and Kingwell 2010; see also Medway et al. 2014).

Such organised interventions, influential though they were, tended to be the exception rather than the rule, and most work produced on the history of urban education over this period was the result of individuals working on different projects in separate contexts. Overall, it constituted a steady stream of research, broadly by historians of education, that consolidated detailed understandings of urban educational history.

54.3 Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the contribution made by histories of urban education in the United Kingdom, from their early beginnings in the 1970s, and has sketched the outlines of some of its most significant and characteristic work. This has tended overall to emphasise the historical dynamics of the relationships between education and urban society, and the longer-term nature of urban educational provision and reform. It has established close connections with international trends in the history of urban education, and especially with its leading practitioners in the USA. This research has not been wholly coherent or systematic, being conducted mainly by individual scholars working on their own specialist interests. It has fallen mainly to the history of education research community to maintain a flow of fresh research, although this has tended to be published in specialised history of education journals with a relatively narrow readership. Arguably it remains true, as Marsden argued in 1992, that there is no distinct genre of urban educational history in Britain, if this

means that there is little infrastructure that maintains it as a separate sub-discipline.

Nonetheless, this area of work should not be disregarded, either by urban historians in general or by educators who are seeking to address the fresh issues facing urban education in the twenty-first century. As a dimension of urban history, it demonstrably provides key insights into a substantial and always prominent feature of urban life and services. As a contribution to urban education, as Jack Dougherty has concluded in a survey of American urban, suburban and educational history, ‘Better histories of cities, suburbs, and schooling also have the potential to contribute to broader public policy discussion on this controversial and complex topic.’ (Daugherty 2008, pp. 256–57). It provides an unmatched means of locating our contemporary arguments in a framework that is sensitive to issues of continuity and change.

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Chapter 55

Wealth, Inequalities and ‘Hidden Injuries’ in the Global City: Educational Policy in London

Meg Maguire

55.1 Starting with the (Global) City

Cities are diverse: they are localities, and specific context, both economic and cultural, always matters when we are dealing with things which have a local character. However, cities are embedded within a global system and changes in that system matter for the character of the specific places. (Byrne 2001, p. 23)

One of the reasons for concentrating on London is that it is a major city. Indeed, according to Hales et al. (2014), London is second only to New York in the international index of global cities. London is already the largest city in Europe and the sixth richest place on earth. Its population is currently 8.6 million and is forecast to rise to 11 million by 2050. By 2038, it is estimated that 50 % of the population of London will be of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) heritage (GLA 2013). In this rapidly expanding and increasingly diverse setting, there is already great competition and pressure on various forms of social consumption; that is, housing, employment, schooling, and good health provision – the base components of a decent life. However London is a global city – and this means that it is at the centre of international service provision, trade, production, and innovation on an unparalleled scale. For these reasons, London is a highly desirable and attractive place in which to live, and in which to invest! Since the late twentieth century, London has witnessed unprecedented movements of international capital into the city. While London is a global financial centre, it is also a location where the secondary circuits of capitalism are in play as seen in the consumption patterns of housing and property. The accumulation of land and property by global companies, the investment in

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London property by wealthy conglomerates and the super wealthy is changing the face of the city and is displacing lower paid service workers and their families.

The fact that the London residential property market is still riding high, despite the poor performance of the UK economy, owes much to the continuing interest of wealthy overseas buyers who now dominate the top end of the market (*according to Knight Frank [a well-known estate agent/realtor]* they account for 51% of the prime London market for sales £1 m plus). Indeed the demand is so great that, notwithstanding the vast size of London, there is reported to be a significant shortage of stock.

(Fisher 2013, np my inclusion italicised).

All these developments make London a unique setting in the UK –more like New York than Manchester- with more in common with Tokyo than Cardiff.

But while London attracts the super wealthy and inward investment, it is also a beacon for many others – a place of freedom from forms of cultural and social oppression as well as a place of opportunity and work. As with other global cities, London is simultaneously a material and structural ‘place’ and a city of promise and excitement – a ‘symbolic project’ (Zukin 2003, p. 146). Pile (2005, p. 6) positions the city and urban life as a set of ‘wishes and desires, anxieties and fears’ as well as a place of disruption, consumption, inequality and opportunity. London attracts a wide range of consumers, entrepreneurs, investors, artists, workers, refugees, asylum seekers– all those looking for a better and richer life in an international, cosmopolitan and ‘super-diverse’ city (Vertovec 2007) where there is the promise of better employment and enhanced educational opportunities for themselves and their children.

There is some contestation in the literature as to whether cities like London, New York, Tokyo and Hong Kong are best seen as world cities or global cities. In this chapter I take the perspective argued by Saskia Sassen that world cities exist but that they may not necessarily be global – she cites the case of Miami. World cities like Istanbul and New Delhi are celebrated historic centres of culture and attract international tourism but cities like New York and London are global in their economic and fiscal reach and in their power. Drawing on Sassen (2005), the point of using the concept of the city as global is to foreground and centre the role being played by globalisation in material and structural terms.

Global cities around the world are the terrain where a multiplicity of globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms. These localized forms are, in good part, what globalization is about. Recovering place means recovering the multiplicity of presences in this landscape. The large city of today has emerged as a strategic site for a whole range of new types of operations – political, economic, “cultural”, subjective. It is one of the nexi where the formation of new claims, by both the powerful and the disadvantaged, materializes and assumes concrete forms. (Sassen 2005, p.40)

In a globalising world, national influence is being weakened or reduced due to the conditions of the global market place. The outcomes of these changes are seen in the moves to privatise the public sphere of social-welfare provision, in the deregulation of the corporate sector, the reduction (and avoidance) of corporate taxation made ‘feasible’ by cuts in public spending, the hollowing out of the state, and the

insatiable move to strengthen the conditions for neo-liberal expansion (Klein 2014). The outcomes are also seen in global cities which have more in common with one another than other cities in their national jurisdictions, for increasingly, global cities are becoming free-standing and autonomous.

55.2 London: A Divided City

What is taking place in all global cities, and in London in particular, is a massive escalation in the growth of the wealth gap and the ensuing social polarisation that characterises contemporary forms of globalisation. The highest income group has grown exponentially and incomes at the top and bottom have pulled apart dramatically (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Dorling 2014). This division is reflected in housing occupation trends and long term patterns of gentrification in London (Hamnett 2003). It is worth exploring this gentrification trend as it has had implications for the availability of housing for lower paid service and public sector workers as well as in shaping the competition for places in local schools in London (Hamnett 2003).

In the third quarter of the twentieth century, fuelled by the baby-boomers who had larger disposable incomes than their parents' generation, London became an arena of conspicuous consumption. The baby boomers expected to become property-owners at an earlier age than their parents and they also expected to have access to a cosmopolitan urban lifestyle. Young professionals and others now looked for 'improving neighbourhoods' in London and bought up cheaper housing in traditional working class areas (Butler and Robson 2003a, b).

The new middle class fractions that moved into these older working class areas, appropriated the social space for their own cultural 'divertissement' as well as colonising local schools. Improvements in local services, for example in health provision and increased personal services such as organic food stores and yoga classes, coupled with the renovation of local buildings have tended to benefit one section of the population and indirectly enhance the 'value' of the property in these gentrifying enclaves (Butler and Robson 2003). For example, the reputations and 'value' of housing and schools in Notting Hill Gate, in the west of London, were very different in the late 1950s and early 1960s than they are today. Notting Hill Gate was an old, run-down part of London where large Victorian houses were divided up into small flats or made into bed and breakfast hotels to home new arrivals to the country (Maguire et al. 2006). The local schools were regarded as challenging to teach in, and it was difficult to recruit and retain teachers in this part of London. In many parts of Notting Hill today (as illustrated by the film of the same name) there have been massive changes; a totally revisioned and refurbished location of private accommodation, out-priced except for all but the super-wealthy. In the contemporary city, there are communities of people with shared consumption preferences who have displaced the indigenous and poorer groups. This pattern has been exacerbated by more recent moves into London property by the international business sector and the super wealthy investing their capital in housing which is often left

empty – a solid investment in turbulent economic times. Different social classes now inhabit physically parallel but equally separate worlds.

In cultural terms, cities have always been places of ‘lived complexities’ because, in demographic and geographical (spatial) terms, metropolitan cities include the most and least privileged and powerfully demonstrate the stark polarisation between access to and exclusion from cultural/social patterns of consumption. London contains internationally celebrated theatres, opera houses, major art galleries and wide-ranging leisure and cultural provision while the homeless sleep in the doorways and shelters of the city centre. Simultaneously, ‘the city’ has continued to stand as a metaphor for disruption and corruption, at least in relation to the urban working classes. For these reasons, as well as for reasons related to housing systems and access to other social goods such as education, as we shall see, it is appropriate to talk of ‘divided cities’.

As an aside, although this chapter concentrates on London, the impact of globalisation for rural communities, available housing stock and access to life chances has been no less dramatic. The movement of middle class families into desirable suburban and rural settings; second-home rural ownership; the decline of work in non-urbanised settings; all these changes have combined to produce high levels of economic and social disadvantage for the rural working classes, whose experiences would also be included in the condensate of ‘urban’. Some time ago, Gerald Grace (1978) recognised that there are similarities between urban and rural settings; poverty and disadvantage are not just evident in cities. However the crucial point he makes is that, ‘Metropolitan cities provide the arenas for the making visible of fundamental contradictions within the wider society and of the ideological and political conflicts associated with such contradictions’ (Grace 1978, p. 3). In consequence, patterns of social polarisation mark and shape the divided global city. As Lipman (2011, p.4) argued in relation to Chicago, a point that applies equally to London:

cities of this type require concentrations of high-paid professionals and managers and legions of low-paid service workers... high stakes accountability and a system of stratified educational opportunities support(ed) gentrification, dispossession of working-class communities of color, and the production of a stratified labor force.

55.3 Wealth, Inequality and Austerity

Some time ago, Pahl (1968) highlighted a distinction between ‘proximity’ and ‘access’ in urban settings that still helps to explain the pattern of resource distribution. He argued that some people lived in less advantaged places – in areas where industries emitted harmful gases, for instance, or where there was a shortage of ‘good’ schools. The people living in these areas, were in proximity to reduced life changes and to increased risks. Other people were better placed to access social goods because of where they lived, or because of their capacity to travel or relocate to gain advantages – transcending space. Place and space are crucial in any struggle over consumption. Where you live can dictate which hospital you are treated in,

what dentist is available, what school you can attend. Overall, patterns of housing allocation, the availability (or not) of work, transport connections, the accessibility of public-welfare resources for example, make some places more or less attractive, and thus, inhibit or attract occupancy and raise or lower the desirability of any area.

For the last two decades, London has been recast and reconstructed by neo-liberal policies which have in turn had powerful outcomes in terms of proximity and access issues. Atkinson (2006 p. 176) has written of the 'micro-geographies of segregation' where 'the creation of apparent wider neighbourhood diversity may conceal the hyper-segregation of rich and poor'. Increasingly under the Coalition Conservative Government (2010–2015) and in the current Conservative administration (2015–2020) ambitious plans have been laid out to make significant public spending cuts through reducing state welfare benefits (O'Hara 2014). Work has been offered as the panacea to poverty – even if it is zero-hours employment. Welfare benefits have been capped. Housing costs have been raised in line with so-called market prices (Gibb 2015). Rents are 'almost twice as high in London than the national average, with nearly half of private tenants in London falling under the national poverty line' (Marom and Carmon 2015, pp. 3–4). In 2013, the Greater London Authority, the pan-London governmental agency, highlighted an erosion in an older commitment to provide social housing based on need: rather, they argued that 'those who contribute through hard work to London's success should expect a reasonable housing offer in return' (GLA 2013, p. 22).

Fuelled largely by the culture of austerity (for some but not for others), the government passed various laws designed to eliminate the economic deficit by introducing changes that Hills (2014) has characterised as being much harder on those with low incomes (see also Taylor-Gooby and Stoker 2011). Bhattacharyya (2015) argues that the project of austerity is intended to diminish expectations of what can be afforded by the welfare state through extending exclusion and normalising precarity. One move has been to 'cap' the amount of benefits that poorer people receive – a move that has led families to turn to food banks in order to survive. Perhaps the most heinous of these laws has been the so-called 'bedroom tax' where those in social housing with a 'spare' bedroom have been asked to pay more rent or move out of their homes. This was extremely harsh for those with disabilities who needed an extra room for their equipment or for their carer to be able to stay overnight. An outcome of the combination of these welfare reforms was that low income families who could not now afford the increased rent, were threatened with having to move – at the cost of their jobs, their social networks and their children's schooling (Slater 2014). This was viewed by many commentators as a form of social and ethnic cleansing (Gentleman 2012).

Camden Council is planning the largest single displacement of poor people from London in the wake of the coalition government's controversial welfare reforms, singling out more than 700 families to be moved up to 200 miles away. Camden council said that it would shortly be contacting 761 households, comprising 2816 adults and children, because the coalition's benefit cap, will mean that they will be unable to afford their current accommodation or any other home in the south-east.

The Labour-controlled council warns that the majority of these families have three children and, once the cap is imposed this summer, will need to find on average an additional £90 a week for rent to remain in their homes. The local authority says it has been forced to look as far afield as Bradford, Birmingham and Leicester, and warns that 900 schoolchildren – more than one child for each class as an average across the borough's schools – face having their education disrupted by the move. (Campbell 2013, np)

The 'bedroom tax' has largely been viewed as a failed policy (Gibb 2015). It was not possible to decant and move families from the global city to cheaper housing enclaves because of a lack of smaller properties as well as because of the public opprobrium that this policy met. Nevertheless it signifies a drop in commitment towards social housing for those on lower incomes, especially in London, where all property attracts a financial premium. The impact of all these related changes in housing costs, and a massive shortage in housing stock of all sorts (social and private) except for those making inward investments at the very top of the price scale is part of a complex and under-explored shift in population profile in London.

The ingress into London of both new middle class and ethnically diverse populations is being mirrored by the simultaneous egress of white lower middle- and working-class 'natives' into the suburbs and beyond. This latter, a central but poorly understood and neglected characteristic of the recent demographic history of London, is far too substantial a phenomenon to be dismissed as a mere artefact of gentrification processes themselves. The voluntary movement out of the central city of a significant proportion of its formerly core population has complex dynamics of its own, to which neither the 'gentrification/displacement' couplet nor the simplifying truisms of 'white flight' can do sociological justice. (Butler and Robson 2003a, p.7)

The significance of all these transformations for the global city (and for education policy) need more exploration than is possible here, but the point is that London is a volatile locale that is open to complex shifts including localised forms of globalisation that are evidenced in population changes (Sassen 2005). And while, I have concentrated on issues such as housing, low income and reduced access to social consumption as these aspects contextualise what it is like for those who struggle to live in a global city, these factors also contextualise the capacity, or not, to access 'good' education.

55.4 Education in London: Choice and Access Problems

English education is characterised by 'policy overload', constant change, and the regular insertion of new forms of governance and provision. Due to the current policy 'crisis' generated by the alleged need to raise attainment in schools, there have been repeated changes to the curriculum, in assessment modes and in performance management in schools. These shifts have been accompanied by wider structural changes in the types of schools available and their relative capacity for more/less autonomy in relation to the central state. English education is characterised by its allegiance to the market form and neo-liberalism as the best ways to solve

intractable problems; 'enterprise can succeed where the state has failed' (Ball 2013, p. 226). In consequence, there have been various attempts to insert forms of privatisation into state maintained schools – for example, by allowing business groups and third sector providers to run new types and chains of schools (Olmedo 2013) or by contracting out in-school services such as catering and cleaning (Ball et al. 2010). For over three decades English schools have been subjected to continual reforms and innovations in the search for increased efficiency and effectiveness as measured by the results published in national and international tests and by regular in-school inspections. School results are published annually so that parents can see which schools are doing well and which schools are doing less well. This information arguably drives the parental market of school choice. In all this reforming, education has, somewhat inevitably, become increasingly commodified.

Education (like health and like housing) is a class of goods for which there is an unassailable demand. Like all marketable goods, education is packaged into different 'brands'; thus, there are different types of schools with different costs and charges. This is because, in neo-liberal times, education is positioned (largely) in terms of its direct exchange value in the labour market. It is a commodity to be accessed or purchased in order to bring off individual advantage in an increasingly globalised labour market. As the exchange value of some education forms is high and enduring (think of an Oxbridge Degree or perhaps attending Eton), and is constructed in a hierarchical manner, a subsidiary market surrounds school provision in order to assist and accelerate the acquisition of this valuable commodity (see Koyama 2010, for a discussion of New York's supplemental educational services). In England, and especially in London, there is an enormous array of private provision of pre-schooling, additional classes, tutorial support and coaching that swiftly changes to meet any new education reforms; what Ball calls an edu-business (Ball 2009). 'Those who can afford it send their children, from pre-school upwards, to an array of learning activities; those who cannot, watch other children move ahead' (Mortimore 2013, p. 1). It is not surprising then that in England, as Mortimore (2013, p. 1) puts it, 'the struggle for an education dominates life in our society to an ever increasing extent'.

Parents are caught up in a circuit of pressure to ensure their children get into a 'good' school and parents are responsible for 'choosing' well. Schools publish a great deal of information about themselves on the web and because their continuity depends on them attracting enough new students each year who go on to do well in the national tests, they are pressured to perform well and to be able to produce a good account of themselves in terms of performance. In a setting of high stakes testing and high levels of individual school accountability and league tables, it might sometimes seem as if schools are being coerced to 'perform' for their own survival as much as for the children they are schooling. From a parent's perspective, it may sometimes seem that unless they are able to help with reading, spelling and mathematics at home, that they are 'failing' their children and are 'bad' parents. However the reality is that in this pressure cooker education market, some parents are better placed than others to bring off some advantages for their own children. As Vincent (2001 p. 360) has repeatedly noted, there are patterns of advantage and disadvan-

tage in parent's opportunities and awareness and she argues that 'Working-class parents, often lacking the sense of entitlement to act, and often the same degree of knowledge of the education system' face more problems in navigating the educational system (Vincent 2001, p. 360). More prosaically, even if working-class parents have knowledge of the system and the will to act, they will not necessarily have the surplus forms of capital that are needed to access and fund extra-curricular classes or private tuition at test time. As Gillies (2005 p. 842) found:

Parents with access to middle-class resources (such as money, high status social contacts and legitimated cultural knowledge) drew on these capitals to consolidate their power and advantage, and invested heavily in their children's education as a method of transferring this privilege.

In a setting where 'a shift towards what might be called a neoliberal model of education, in organisation and in practice is clearly discernable' (Ball 2013, p. 5) the notion that parents can 'choose' the school that they want for their children is a central motif in educational discourse. In London, the secondary schools market is complex and can be difficult to manoeuvre (there is an equally complex and hierarchical market in primary schooling and in University provision). The pressure is intensified when choosing a secondary school because of high stakes testing and subsequent admission to University/transition to the labour market. Greater London is divided into 33 boroughs of which 12 are in inner London. These 33 boroughs contain a wide range of different types of schools which have different admissions policies. Some schools are academically selective or partially selective. Others select on different criteria such as distance from the school, or whether a sibling attends the school. Some schools are faith schools with different admissions policies. Parents can apply across London and are asked to list their six preferred schools. Any application to fee-paying schools is outside this Pan London scheme.

However, the notion of parental 'choice' is illusionary because the parents and family have to 'match' the admissions criteria of the school they are 'choosing' for their child. This is the case across England, as a teacher reported recently in an anonymous blog:

In much of the country, there aren't a huge number (of schools) within a convenient distance of our homes, and when the various religious schools for whom your child is an inadmissible heretic are stripped out, there may be only one candidate left anyway. Even in urban areas, where there are more schools to choose from, that choice is not all it seems. Nearly all schools use proximity in their admissions policy, so whether you get the school you want rather depends on how many other people with children of the same age live between you and its front gates.

<http://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/sep/23/choosing-secondary-school-teachers-guide-for-parents>.

In London 'choice' is complex and competition for places in the more popular schools is acute. 'Choosing' is complicated by space/locale and where a family lives. London is so vast that it is not often possible to cross the city to access a 'good' school because the transport costs are high and the traffic is intense in the

mornings and evenings even if driving were viable. It is complicated by the type of provision in some parts of London; there may be many faith schools in one borough and less community secular schools. Areas where schools are recognisably 'good' will have seen housing costs rise exponentially in the immediate vicinity— a factor that will limit access to these popular schools to those who can afford to live in the locale (and will contribute to a further rise in house prices). Areas where there is easy access to centres of professional employment such as the law district, the business district, contribute towards the production of urban enclaves where aspirations are high and consumption patterns are very similar:

Employment and housing are strategically central to middle-class activity and patterns of consumption and leisure are understood, particularly in the context of metropolitan heterogeneity, as representing symbolic strategies of distinction and the drawing of formal boundaries around conceptions of group identity. (Butler and Robson 2003, a. p. 26)

Here I would add 'education' to these central factors of middle-class patterns of consumption.

In a market economy where (some) parents 'choose' their children's school, the evidence is that middle class families, by and large, select schools with predominantly middle-class intakes, frequently in middle-class housing enclaves (Butler and Robson 2003a). Buying a house in the catchment area of a 'desirable' school can shore up individual privilege and ensure educational advantage. The evidence is that middle class children predominantly attend schools with a large middle-class intake that attract teachers who stay longer, that access better resourcing and recruit more pro-school students. These schools may be somewhat less heterogeneous (in terms of race/ethnic) diversity); they certainly are in terms of socio-economic status (West et al. 2009). In cases like this, it seems unremarkable to talk of divided schools in divided cities. In educational terms, the issue is not about diversity in the city but is more about the avoidance of diversity, the marginalisation of the 'other' and the reinforcement of widening gaps of inequalities; the reproduction of insiders and outsiders. Thus, class, housing zones and middle-class cultural capital can and are deployed to bring off educational advantage. Critics of these sorts of claims may argue that London schools are far more sophisticated in the tactics and strategies that they deploy in order to raise the achievement of all of their students. They may also argue that because of spatial patterns, where public/private housing can sometimes sit street by street, that London schools are far more democratic in their intake and student profile. They may argue that the new middle-classes, those 'gentrifiers' who have chosen to stay in the city, hold more enlightened social attitudes.

One study that has looked more closely at white middle-class cosmopolitan choosing has sought to move beyond any simplistic notion of middle-classness as a 'go-getting', high-flying, winners take all' approach to the social world of the city (Reay et al. 2011, p. 7). Reay et al. (2011) conducted a study into what they termed 'against the grain school choice in neoliberal times'; a study conducted in three urban areas, including London (see Crozier's chapter in this Handbook). The study focused on urban families who, somewhat counter-intuitively, chose to send their

children to their local state comprehensive schools. Reay et al. found that the parents in their study were fully aware of the reams of information that were available to them about their local schools but that they were ‘dismissive of league tables of examination results’ (p. 70) In a period when ‘class and ethnic segregation and polarisation are growing’ (p. 7), this study found that some middle class white parents were making school choices that were mediated by their commitments and values to ‘to act ethically’ (p. 71) and support their local schools as well as respecting the benefits and gains of diversity – social mix benefits that some of them recognised as not being present in their own schooling. However, a tension in this values-choosing was evident in the specific gains made by their children because of selecting these schools. As the researchers found, ‘the ordinary school provided the right context for the young people to stand out or show their ‘specialness’ or ‘extraness’” (Reay et al. 2011, p. 74). Their choice brought off access to additional resources for their children in their schools and they gained ‘specific social, cultural and ideological returns from the school as a microcosm of a politically, socially and ethnically diverse society’ (p. 80). The parents did choose schools that were local but they were also aware that the schools they selected were ‘good enough’ and not schools that were seen as ‘failing’. At the end of this study, the team discussed their conflicts in exploring the values, beliefs and educational choice-making of a group that they recognised as trying to make ‘an effort to reach out across social differences when many are not’ (p. 167) but they also shore up the point that, inevitably, the middle-classes are best placed to bring off advantage, wherever they are placed. In this case, not only is this advantage at the expense of less privileged children, it is also based on middle class children accessing (some) social and cultural knowledge that will be an advantage to them later on in their cosmopolitan futures in the global city.

Across London there is intense pressure to access certain schools. One change is that since the international downturn in the economy, more middle class families are rejecting private schooling as being too costly and are turning to the ‘good’ state schools in larger numbers. The growth of ‘super state schools’ that are currently being selected by leading national politicians who are pressured to show their avoidance of privilege (and who are all based in London regardless of the constituencies that they represent) is a signal of this development (Herrmann 2014). Another change is that the population growth is putting immense pressure on state welfare provision (housing, health and education) and there is an increase in parental anxiety in this period of austerity about accessing ‘good’ schools for their children. According to Coughlan (2015), ‘the pressure on places is most apparent in London, where applicant numbers are up 4% on last year, which in turn were up 5% on the previous year’ (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-31698086>). In 2014/2015 almost one third of London parents did not get their first choice of secondary school – a highly visible conflict over scarce resources and a central contradiction in the global city (Grace 1978).

55.5 Inside Schools- the 'hidden injuries'

So far, I have tried to sketch in the ways in which housing occupancy, social class and education are inextricably interwoven in the neo-liberal global city. I have also argued that the commodification of education and the individualisation of school choice in a hyper-active form provide a contextualising backdrop to education provision in London. Now I consider some of the key in-school practices that sort and stratify students and lead to some of the 'hidden injuries' of contemporary schooling in the global city (and elsewhere) (Boaler 2005). I then unpack some of the current debates related to educational disadvantage, 'under-achievement' and attainment in London schools (Burgess 2014).

Classifying practices that sort and select students either for 'special treatment' because they have 'learning difficulties' or because they are 'high ability' or some such rhetoric of inclusion/exclusion have a long history in the English education context. Brian Simon, writing of the 1930s in England, told of how schools utilised mechanisms to select those with academic capacity, 'to pick them out early, help them along, differentiate their teaching from that of the "rest" in preparation for the move into a differentiated sphere of schooling' and at the same time designating those not chosen as 'socially inferior children' (Simon 1974, p. 226). Jackson and Marsden's study of 88 working class children demonstrated powerfully 'how savagely and sadly a school system can become a tenacious self-fulfilling prophecy, cutting talent down in the search for the chosen few' (Jackson and Marsden 1965, p. 248). While the crudest forms of some of these classifying practices may not be as much in evidence, there are more subtle ploys in place such as selecting the 'most able' students to study Latin (a mark of distinction in the English school setting), or differentiating the resource allocation offered to different 'types' of students.

Gillborn and Youdell (2000) conducted a study into the grouping practices being deployed in one London school. Using the concept of 'educational triage', they argued that schools were caught up between notions of equity and pressures to ensure that higher proportions of students were achieving a grade C and above at the key national examination point for 16 year olds. They found that the school developed differentiating practices involving educational 'rationing':

strategies [that] often focus on pupils seen as heading towards grade D passes, where an improvement of a single grade could potentially figure significantly in the school's final results. In effect, the schools seek to convert likely grade Ds into grade Cs. (Gillborn and Youdell 2000, p. 133)

It might be argued that rationing education in this way and concentrating on a cohort of students whose success will contribute enormously to the school's reputation is a 'good thing' for the school and for those students who otherwise may have 'failed'. Gillborn and Youdell argue that this sort of 'rationing' is socially unjust and their study also shows how setting and other forms of selective grouping works to reduce opportunities for working class and Black students. Gillborn (2001 p. 2) talks of the 'losses endured by pupils in the lower groups who face teachers with

low expectations and work solely with peers who feel labelled as second-rate and destined for failure’.

Policy is a compromise between the past, present and future as ‘new principles and innovations are merged and conflated with older rationales and previous practices’ (Ball 2013, p. 63). Policies that classify and sort can have lasting consequences for those individuals caught up in a tension between these sorts of equity and performance demands (Whitty 2008). For example, two studies of young people in the post-compulsory education and training market in London (Maguire 2009) demonstrated that some young people at the end of compulsory secondary schooling had internalized a view of themselves as ‘lacking’ in some ways. Having experienced less success at doing school and being less able to construct themselves as ‘good learners’ meant that these young people experienced formal schooling as a time and place that spoke to their shortcomings, rather than anything more positive.

Well, sitting in lessons every day and listening to teachers telling you what to do, that isn’t really enjoyable is it? And finding the work hard isn’t enjoyable either is it? And teachers that don’t help you, don’t make it enjoyable do it? So, I don’t get much out of this school, do I? (Debra – student with ‘learning difficulties’ cited in Maguire 2009, p. 32)

In a recent study based in four secondary schools (two in inner London, one in outer London and one in a small town in the suburbs) that explored how policies were being enacted, not unexpectedly, all the schools were concentrating on raising student attainment (Ball et al. 2012). Teachers were sometimes uncomfortable with having to ‘measure and compare’ their students ‘and attempt(ing) to find a balance between the interests of the students and the interests of the school’ (p. 72). However, as a consequence of the pressure to perform, students were ‘objectified as talented, borderline, underachieving, irredeemable etc.’ Students were being ‘branded’ as ‘bad’ or ‘good’ learners in relation to their perceived capacity to attain, a judgment that had outcomes in terms of the resources and support that was given to different categories of students; Gillborn and Youdell’s ‘rationing’. Students in the four schools were ‘set’ into ‘ability groups’ in different subjects and so they got clear messages about their capacity for success. While streaming or tracking is unusual in English schools, setting is common, particularly in high stakes subjects such as English, mathematics and science. As Travers (2014) found, the impact of this sort of ‘treatment’ can be a ‘hidden injury’ to the person concerned:

I think a lot of the time you got sorted into a lower set or something and it was like ‘oh that’s me done, I’m never going to be smart enough kind of situation’... they see it as people giving up on them more than anything. (John, working class white student, cited in Travers 2014, n.p.)

The question that needs to be addressed is the extent to which banding or setting correlates with factors of class, ethnicity/race and gender. The evidence consistently demonstrates that the so-called ‘lower sets’ have a disproportionate number of boys, students of specific minority ethnic backgrounds, working class students and those identified as having some form of ‘learning difficulty’ (Kutnick et al. 2005). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that in London schools (as elsewhere) the fact of classifying

students by ‘ability’ and then rationing schooling – which correlates highly with aspects of their social identities- may mean that ‘ability’ is masking other forms of older patterns of exclusion and oppression.

55.6 The London Challenge: Making a Difference in the Global City?

Over time, policy attempts have been made to ameliorate or change the educational outcomes of poverty and deprivation. There is not enough space in this chapter to do justice to the complex policy history of interventions into the ‘problems’ of urban education in general and London schools in particular (but see Brighouse 2007; Barker 2008). Pratt-Adams Maguire and Burn (2010, p. 83) argue that ‘the form education policy interventions has taken has often been shaped by ideologies of differentiation, separation and segregation’ where the poor and working class have been positioned as the ‘problem’ and this approach has generally influenced urban education reform. There have been various attempts at different times at forms of redistribution such as putting more money into city schools, providing free breakfasts and dinners for school children and, more recently in the UK, the pupil premium – additional money allocated to schools on the basis of their numbers of children in receipt of free school meals; the government’s proxy for poverty.

More recently urban school policy has been shaped by an older urban education discourse –focusing on the differences between similar schools and arguing that ‘poverty is no excuse’ – an approach that was originally highlighted by Cicerelli in the US (1972). The argument goes that if some schools with similar intakes and difficulties are doing well – as measured by standardised tests – then similar schools doing less-well must be doing something wrong. This idea has been highly influential- not least perhaps because it has displaced a wider political analysis of poverty and a lack of social justice policies of redistribution. It is an approach that displaces issues of difference within marginalised groups and maintains a ‘color blind’ approach (Gallagher 2003). This type of approach characterises much of the mainstream schools improvement discourse in England (Raffo 2009). The ‘problem’ of urban education then becomes located in the ‘achievement gap’ between working class children and middle class children and schools are charged with transforming this situation through undertaking ‘gap-narrowing’ work (Kendell et al. 2008). In the early twenty-first century, the main focus has been with individualised in-school changes in management and leadership, more intensive tracking of student progression, and focussed preparation and coaching for tests. In many ways, drawing on a book title of the same name, it could be argued that the real problem is one of: ‘So much reform and so little change’ (Payne 2008).

One reform has been heralded as breaking with past policy failures and making a real difference. The London Challenge (DfES 2003) was set up to improve London secondary schools that collectively had often been demonised as some of the

poorest (academically) in the country. It was set up in 2003 and ran until 2011 – and it is worth noting that it is very rare that any policies are funded and supported for this amount of time. The Challenge brought teachers together from different London schools to share good practice and work together across schools, to improve their pedagogy. It had two well received programmes of support; the Improving Teacher Programme and the Outstanding Teacher Programme which were highly rated by teachers (Baars et al. 2014). It placed ‘particular emphasis on the development of leadership capacity at school level’ (Baars et al. 2014, p. 71).

At its peak, the London Challenge programme had a budget of £40million a year, funding ‘in-kind’ packages of support for underperforming schools, jointly brokered by an expert adviser and officials in the Department for Education. It also invested heavily in school leadership, including development programmes and consultant heads to support leaders of struggling schools, and worked with key boroughs to ensure robust local planning and support for school improvement. During the period of the London Challenge, secondary school performance in London saw a dramatic improvement, and local authorities in inner London went from the worst performing to the best performing nationally. (Kidson and Norris 2014, p. 2)

In their report, *Lessons from London Schools*, Baars et al. (2014) highlight the ‘remarkable’ progress in educational improvement. They argue that in addition to the London Challenge other factors such as local education authority (school board) support as well as changes in school types (they cite academy schools) and new forms of teacher education have produced this dramatic improvement. They claim that this improvement is not based on variables such as gentrification ‘displacing’ poorer children, or on factors of ethnicity or indeed on some of the additional opportunities present in London. ‘The data and research evidence does not support any of these explanations as being sufficient to explain the improvement in quality’ (Baars et al. 2014, p. 9). They claim that London has been successful because of the way in which teachers worked together to solve their own problems, because of systems leadership and school-to-school support. They argue that these gains have come about because education policy interventions have been sustained over time.

One of the ‘tricky’ issues involved in making claims about improvement and success is how is this to be measured? While some research talks about percentage increases in student attainment, or in terms of points gained, Wyness (2011) prefers to assess London’s improvements in terms of a more easily understood measure – the benchmark of 5 GCSEs (the national tests taken at age 16).

50 per cent of pupils in London achieve five plus GCSEs including English and maths, while 48 per cent of pupils outside London achieve this. For the rather more ambitious target of the English baccalaureate, only 16 per cent of pupils in London manage this. However, again the rest of the country fares no better – with 14 per cent of pupils outside London achieving the English baccalaureate. (Wyness 2011, p. 11)

Obviously ‘the remarkable improvement journey of London’s schools since the turn of the century’, if indeed this is the case, is a key case study for ‘urban school reform’ (Baars et al. 2014, p. 6). But Burgess (2014, p. 15) argues that while the London effect is real, ‘pupil progress is the best measure of what schools add to their pupils and this is 9.77% of a standard deviation higher in London’, the reasons

for this gain, which is also evident in Birmingham, has more to do with the diversity of London’s school students and their parents than the actions of policy-makers and reformers.

The basis for the London performance is the ethnic composition of its school population. There is a straightforward effect: the lowest progress group, White British pupils, make up 36% of pupils in London and 84% in the rest of England. London simply has a higher fraction of high-scoring pupils. This is not by chance of course: a key part of the London effect is its attraction to migrants and those aspiring to a better life... the children of immigrants typically have a high aspirations and place greater hopes in the education system. (Burgess 2014, pp. 15–16)

Burgess does recognise that these London children typically live in poorer neighbourhoods and face various forms of exclusion and racism but he claims that the children of recent arrivals have high aspirations and expectations and that this makes the difference to their in-school attainment –although it may be argued that this is an individualising and divisive approach to take. Recent research has suggested that test improvements in London schools are more complex and that there are a raft of reasons (Blanded et al. 2015). However, most importantly, higher levels of achievement in school may not translate directly into better life-chances or greater labour-market opportunities and that is the real challenge.

It is undeniable that supporting good teachers and promoting effective pedagogy, selecting and retaining good teachers and leaders will lead to in-school improvements (Wyness 2011). If these improvements then lead to real gains for (some previously excluded) students that in turn transfer into additional life-chances, then they are to be welcomed. However, there is a need to turn back to the complexities of the wider socio-economic and political context. As Thrupp and Lupton (2006) have complained, there is often more focus on transforming children than transforming the social context that surrounds schooling. ‘The problem is still seen as residing in the urban working classes, or their schools, and not in the problems that unjust structural relations present for these communities’ (Pratt-Adams et al. 2010, p. 94).

55.7 Wealth, Inequalities and ‘Hidden Injuries’ in the Global City: Repairing or Displacing the Damage?

In 1997, Mortimore and Whitty asked a question that is still pertinent today in any discussion of (London’s) education. ‘Can school improvement overcome the effects of disadvantage?’ Tactics like limiting the curriculum in urban schools to focus on the basic core subjects, sorting and selecting out some children for additional resources and coaching (Gillborn and Youdell’s ‘educational triage and rationing), micro-managing children’s attainment (not learning) through data-tracking and target setting will enable a few more children from ‘disadvantaged’ backgrounds to cross those first hurdles at school. Mortimore and Whitty (1997) claim that what sometimes happens is the already advantaged make even more gains so that the

opportunity gap is maintained while the parameters change a bit. The question has to be, what then are the costs to those left even further behind in this individualistic, academic steeple chase? As Anyon (2014) argues, what is needed are radical changes to the systemic practices that sustain patterns of exclusion rather than merely tinkering at the edges.

In these times of austerity and massive wealth disparities, the global city is sustained by and reproduces those structural conditions that perpetuate poverty and child poverty – low wages, an increasingly casualised workforce, a lack of a living wage, benefit cuts and poor housing – producing a central core of highly privileged and wealthy individuals and a precariat round the edges (Ridge 2013). All this results in a divided city that illuminates the ‘fundamental contradictions’ of the wider society (Grace 1978 p. 3). London children and their families have made gains in their educational attainment but Burgess (2014, p. 16) believes that ‘the basis for that success lies more with pupils and parents than it does with policy makers’. He adds that, ‘a key part of the London effect is its attraction to migrants and those aspiring to a better life’ (p. 16). While research indicates that London schools are doing better than they used to do, nevertheless the tactics being deployed that stratify and segregate may replicate the ‘divided city’ in its ‘divided classrooms’ and shore up the distinctions between those with more/less access to social goods. Perhaps it is simply that everybody’s boat has been lifted to some degree, but other boats are lifted significantly higher, as Mortimore and Whitty argued some time ago. Perhaps what we are witnessing is a localized form of one impact of globalisation- the movements of people.

As a global city, London enjoys unparalleled advantages in its capacity to attract imaginative, creative and resilient new populations. While it would be a politics of despair to sideline the fact that London’s children are doing better in school, it is important not to allow this ‘success’ to displace the need for broader structural analyses and changes. In these neo-liberal times, where austerity is set to continue, the dominant discourse alleges that what matters is individually located and that people should be rewarded for what they personally achieve. In this way any structural effects that shape outcomes are displaced and erased. As Baumann (2000, p. 34) makes clear, in these neo-liberal times ‘individualization is a fate, not a choice’. In the global city, the policy problem resides in positioning education as an individual good, and a commodity to be exchanged for individual advantage, status and economic prosperity while failing to recognise the debilitating structural effects of policies of austerity. For these reasons, education policy on its own will not address the fundamental causes of the social problems that attach to the global city:

Teachers, principals, and urban students are not the culprits – as reform policies that target high stakes testing, educator quality, and the control of youth assume. Rather, an unjust economy and the policies through which it is maintained create barriers to educational success that no teacher or principal practice, no standardized test, and no “zero tolerance” policy can surmount for long... macroeconomic mandates continually trump urban educational policy and school reform. (Anyon 2014, p. 5)

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Chapter 56

Knowing Your Place? The Urban as an Educational Resource

David James

56.1 Introduction

There is a long-standing and well-established association between ‘urban schools’ and ‘the urban working class’, and in this context ‘urban’ also carries strong connotations of deficit, especially in certain areas of policy (see Archer et al. 2010; Maguire et al. 2006; RSA 2010). Yet in some industrialised countries, most people live and work in urban settings, and institutionalised education is largely an urban matter. In England and Wales, the Office for National Statistics’ analysis of the 2011 Census suggests that 81.5% of the population live in urban areas, that population increase is greater in urban than in rural areas, and that urban areas have a younger age profile (Office for National Statistics 2013). This is important because as Dyson pointed out some time ago, whilst there is overlap between the terms ‘urban’ and ‘disadvantage’, it also matters that the urban setting is characterised by concentration, which has its own dynamic effects (Dyson 2003). So as well as being an important context, the urban also has a more *constitutive* sense. How and why does ‘the urban’ – real, imagined or both – feature in schooling, in the curriculum, in teacher/student activity, in learning and achievement? What part do distinctively urban elements play in the learning culture, and what are the consequences? This chapter outlines two contrasting examples of deliberate action that harnesses features of the urban in educational processes. The first has a socially progressive intent, attempting to work through institutions. The second is what we might term ‘individually progressive’, in that it is largely about individuals securing the elements of an individual educational project. The chapter ends with some brief observations about how the two examples connect to tell us something about the role of

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‘the urban’ as a resource in educational endeavour and how it can be most helpfully understood.

56.2 A Partnership- and Area-Based Curriculum in Peterborough, England

In the 2011–2012 academic year, the Royal Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA)¹ commissioned an independent evaluation (James 2012) of an important phase in their Area Based Curriculum initiatives. This provided resources and expertise to bring together five schools (three Primary [age range typically 5–11], two Secondary [age range typically 11–16]) and several organisations from the public and private sectors, in Peterborough, England. The project’s objectives included ambitions to increase student engagement through area-based curriculum projects in each school, to increase the quality, number and diversity of relationships that students had with individuals and organisations in Peterborough, to enhance school partnerships with others in the community, and to develop a model that could be ‘scaled up’.

These objectives rested upon a clearly articulated set of concerns about an increasing disconnection between children and the places where they live, seen to have been exacerbated by the National Curriculum, National Strategies and other policies driven by powerful ‘standards’ and ‘economic competitiveness’ agendas (RSA 2010). Such forces were changing the very concept of the school. In much policy, it was argued:

Schools are imagined as isolated institutions floating in a neutral space and as such, it is supposed, can be straight-forwardly compared through data on measurable indicators. Thinking about schools as dynamic, embedded, situated, human institutions makes comparability far more difficult and hence challenges dominant education discourses (RSA 2010, p. 8)

The project also sprang from a critique of large and well-known area-based policy interventions such as Educational Priority Areas,² Education Action Zones,³

¹The RSA (Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce) was founded in 1754, and has a mission to ‘enrich society through ideas and action’ and to mobilise creative capacities towards ‘a twenty-first century enlightenment’. See <https://www.thersa.org/about-us/>

²Educational Priority Areas were proposed in the Plowden Report (1967) and involved extra resources being directed to schools in areas with a high proportion of disadvantaged pupils. The initiative faltered by the end of the 1970s (see Smith 1987).

³Education Action Zones (EAZs) were launched in 1998 as ‘the standard bearers in a new crusade uniting business, schools, local education authorities and parents to modernise education in areas of social deprivation’ (Department for Education and Employment 1997; See also Reid and Brain 2003).

Extended Schools,⁴ and City Challenge,⁵ which it was felt were associated with deficit views of certain communities and geographical areas, and which fostered narrow, individualised accounts of how families passed on educational failure (RSA 2010). The RSA expressed serious concerns about the effects of all this on the well-being of children, on how and what they learn, and on what they can achieve in educational settings.

The RSA diagnosis sketched out above connects with long-standing concepts of education for citizenship (see for example Kerr 1999), but also had resonance with perceptions ‘on the ground’, at least amongst teachers and representatives of the organisations with whom they formed partnerships. One teacher, whose background included working in a large engineering company, spoke for many others when he described the scale of recent social and economic change in Peterborough: The decline of major industry had ‘torn the heart out of the City and affected thousands of lives’; in addition to the loss of jobs, there had been marked changes in the social fabric. For example, the ‘eight or nine working men’s social clubs, which were hugely important, providing sport like football and cricket’ were now gone. Coupled with a rapidly-changing ethnic composition and a relatively large number of recently-arrived families, he suggested that these shifts made it more difficult for all children to have or feel a strong connection with their city. To most of the adults interviewed, the project seemed to offer a small opportunity to do something about this problem.

Whilst there is not the space here to do justice to the full breadth and complexity of the project, we can use elements of the evaluation to look at what activities it fostered, and consider how these worked, and the extent to which they entailed a reconceptualization of the local, urban setting. Most of the data for the evaluation was gathered during four substantial visits to Peterborough in the 2011–2012 academic year. It included: observational data (e.g. derived from ‘walking the city’, and 7 visits to schools and 3 to partner organisations); 34 interviews (with teachers, representatives of partner organisations, young people, and RSA co-ordinator); perusal of young people’s work in all 5 schools and of school-level curriculum and other documents. It also included participation in a RSA ‘Expert Seminar’ and some quantitative data collected by RSA against a pre-project baseline. Evaluation access was assisted by a RSA-employed senior researcher who coordinated the wider project activity. The design and conduct of the evaluation was approved by the Cardiff University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (for further details, see James 2012).

⁴Extended Schools in England are based on a similar idea to the ‘full service schools’ in the United States. The Department for Education and Skills began to actively promote the concept in 2002. In practice it usually means promoting the use of school facilities by the community and the building of better school/community links. There is a strong emphasis on areas of social disadvantage.

⁵City Challenge was launched in April 2008 by the Department for Children Schools and Families. It was designed to improve educational outcomes and ‘to crack the associated cycle of disadvantage and underachievement’ in the West Midlands, Greater Manchester and London (see Hutchings et al. 2012).

56.2.1 Project Activity

In one example, staff at Dogsthorpe Junior School⁶ had for some time been concerned to make ‘place’ a more prominent feature of the curriculum, partly in response to increases in the proportion of its pupils who were recent arrivals from Eastern Europe. The project enabled the key teacher in this school to build up a close working relationship with *Railworld*, an educational charity and heritage/leisure organisation focused on the history of railways and on sustainable transport. *Railworld* was keen to raise its profile and develop its facilities so that they would be more attractive to younger visitors. The partnership gave rise to a number of activities. In one, the school and the organisation jointly set up an event at the Town Hall, attended by the Mayor and the local authority Head of Tourism amongst others, in which some 80 children acted as ‘tourism consultants’ for the city. In another, children visited *Railworld*, and in addition to the sort of learning activities that are common in school visits, they were asked to provide detailed feedback on such matters as layout, signage, and the design of exhibits. This information was used to shape the development of the site, and the same children were invited back for a ‘fiesta’ event to see the results. The teacher reported that for some children, the activities had provided a new ‘sense of place’ and, for the first time, a real connection to something in the city other than their school. She was also pleased that she and her colleagues had been able to make *Railworld* a core feature of some of their work in the mainstream curriculum, for learning in literacy, reading, design and technology, maths and science.

In another example, a partnership between West Town Primary School⁷ and Peterborough Cathedral included pupils responding to a request from the Cathedral’s education office for help with the preparation of a large bid for resources to improve the Cathedral’s educational facilities. At the same time, their visits to the Cathedral formed the basis for projects with considerable depth and reach across the curriculum: pupils used items and events as diverse as the tomb of Katherine of Aragon and a relatively recent fire at the Cathedral (in 2001), the latter forming the basis for an imaginative writing competition. Children also contributed to displays of drawings, painting and model-making inspired by the Cathedral, discussed principles in building construction and maintenance with two visitors from the construction industry, and considered plans for the renovation of a former hospital building near the school.

These deliberate attempts to make explicit use of elements of the locality, and many others like them, were closely intertwined with other pedagogic goals. In both the examples mentioned above, serious attention was also paid to giving children new opportunities for ‘voice’. Indeed, in the West Town example, the RSA project

⁶Now Dogsthorpe Academy, part of the Greenwood Dale Foundation Trust group of Academies. See <http://dogsthorpeacademy.org/> (Accessed March 2015).

⁷Now West Town Primary Academy, part of the Cambridge Meridian Academies Trust. See <http://www.westtownprimary.org/> (Accessed March 2015).

was preceded by work with Creative Partnerships⁸ in which the school used the approach of Dorothy Heathcote to guide teaching and learning: Heathcote's concept of *mantle of the expert* was used to frame group-based activities designed to provide a rich educational experience characterised by her 'Three Rs' of rigour, realisation and responsibility.⁹ Many of the activities at both these schools were as much about democratic citizenry as they were about sustainable transport, the Cathedral or Peterborough itself. It is worth noting too that in all three primary schools involved in the project, the energetic pursuit of a partnership-driven area-based curriculum was seen as compatible with mainstream curriculum goals and with the maximisation of learning opportunities and pupil achievement. Work under the initiative was felt by teachers to be clearly enhancing the quality and coherence of the education on offer, and to be contributing positively to school's account of itself to Ofsted (the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills),¹⁰ to parents and to other stakeholders.

There was a striking contrast between the three primary schools and the two secondary schools involved in terms of what activities were initiated in the name of the project. Thomas Deacon Academy,¹¹ a very large secondary school of around 2200 students, was divided into six 'Colleges' each of which functioned as the 'home' for students and the place for their tutor group time, amongst other things. The school's participation in the project saw each College review its community links, then seek to form a partnership with one or more organisations or individuals beyond the school in order to develop a new curriculum unit that would run through the summer term. The partners selected included a radio station, an artist, a museum, a relationship counselling service, an engineering company, a charity, sports organisations and a Trust concerned with mental health. In the event, there was a great deal of variation

⁸ 'Creative Partnerships was the UK's flagship creative learning programme running throughout England from 2002 until 30 September 2011 when funding was withdrawn by Arts Council England... (it) brought creative workers such as artists, architects and scientists into schools to work with teachers to inspire young people and help them learn... From 2002 to 2011, Creative Partnerships worked intensively with over 2700 schools across England, 90,000 teachers and over 1 million young people'. See <http://www.creative-partnerships.com/>. For a good analysis of examples of activity see Jones and Thomson, 2008.

⁹ Dorothy Heathcote was an educationalist and drama teacher who became particularly well known for her concept of *mantle of the expert*. This 'asks children to approach problems and challenges as if they are experts... in 1981, for the BBC programme *Teacher*, the producer Roger Burgess filmed Heathcote giving a classic demonstration of "mantle of the expert". She aims to release the latent knowledge in a class of 9-year-olds by asking them to run a fictitious shoe factory... The children had digested Heathcote's Three Rs – rigour, realisation and responsibility' *Guardian* Obituary, 17th November 2011. Reproduced with the kind permission of Guardian News & Media Ltd as the copyright owner.

¹⁰ Ofsted is the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Office for Skills, a non-ministerial department of Government. It inspects and regulates services that care for children and young people, and services providing education and skills for learners of all ages. See <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/ofsted/about> (Accessed March 2015).

¹¹ See <http://www.thomasdeaconacademy.co.uk/page/default.asp?title=Home&pid=1> (Accessed March 2015).

in the activities in terms of volume, density and how much ‘traction’ each one appeared to gain. From the outset, there was a tension between the ambitions of the project and what could be achieved in the 3 h of a student’s timetable that the school felt able to dedicate to it. Several proposed activities appeared to ‘run out of steam’ before using the whole of the 3 h, which itself further diminished their apparent importance to the school. Where activities had filled the whole of this time, many students described them as productive and enjoyable, and there was clear recognition that new connections were being made with the city (and, it was often claimed by students, such connections were entirely absent across the rest of the curriculum). A good example would be the use of ‘migration boxes’ from the museum that contained sets of personal belongings of people who had migrated at various times. This session was part of a set of three that connected humanities subjects to the local area and community. Yet whilst students valued these highly, the staff concerned had reservations. As one said, whilst the activities had been worthwhile, ‘...they did not lead to a measurable increase in knowledge of the local area or community whilst at the same time running the risk of “dumbing down”, giving students a superficial view of history, geography and psychology’ (James 2012, p. 15).

The other secondary school participating in the project, Ken Stimpson Community School,¹² appeared to have a large number of pre-existing links with a range of organisations, in part owing to its 6 years of Business and Enterprise College Status. There were close links with engineering firms, churches, faith groups, a cluster of sheltered housing, and a multinational corporation. Involvement in the project had seen the addition of a new relationship with the Peterborough Environment City Trust, but in more general terms, according to the Deputy Head, the RSA project had ‘...been a catalyst that has further promoted our desire to get right into our local community and (it had) underlined our wish to do even more of that’ (see James 2012, p. 16). Nevertheless, only one new example of a collaborative curriculum design came to light during the evaluation, and this involved partnering with a local college rather than with a non-educational organisation. Most of the activity that appeared in some way attributable to the initiative took the form of two ‘collapsed curriculum’ days in which some 180 Year 8 students participated. The first of these looked at refugees, involving both the Red Cross and the testimony of a refugee, and it included competitive group-work in which the winning group were invited to present their impressions on local radio; the second had teams of students working with local adult volunteers to compete in a ‘fashion through the ages’ event. On this second occasion, the winning team saw their designed garment made up. The key teacher spoke of the difficulties of having collapsed curriculum days, given the pressures on subject-teaching colleagues to increase and maximise GCSE attainments. She thought that such days were unlikely to increase beyond 2 per year for this reason. In this school, the area-based curriculum initiative found some affinity with a concept of ‘enterprise’, though it must be noted that in practice, this latter term appeared to mainly refer to students working in teams on tasks with a competitive element.

¹² See <http://www.kscs.org.uk/> (Accessed March 2015).

56.2.2 Improving the Learning Culture?

There were several prominent themes in the analysis presented by the evaluation of the RSA Area-Based Curriculum project in Peterborough. One of these is about whether or not new activities and learning opportunities were enabled. There were marked differences between the primary and secondary schools in this regard. In the primary schools, the initiative was embraced as a fresh approach to collaborative curriculum design and implementation as teachers worked with partners to explore new starting-points around which learning activities could be generated. The evidence showed clearly that the learning experiences of several hundred children were enhanced as a result. Children were, in effect, ‘repositioned’ by the initiative, because their relationships to the locality and a number of organisations within it were fundamentally revised, often from a minimal starting-point. Equally strong was evidence of a powerful boost to professional identity for the teachers themselves. The evaluation suggests that in the primary setting, some key elements of the learning culture (including the nature of accountability, the meaning of professionalism, the lower profile of discrete academic subjects and the responsibility of teachers to operate across subject boundaries) made it possible for teachers to innovate and to take risks. Importantly, these risks were not seen as being in opposition to securing measured improvements in standards, given the prevailing conceptions of this term. Rather, they were seen as strategies for improving the processes that underpin successful teaching and learning. Indeed, in one school the initiative was regarded as part of an institutional strategy following a disappointing Ofsted inspection, and was collectively perceived as offering a means to build new strengths that both Ofsted and the local authority would recognise and welcome.

Though not without merit, the initiative had little success in the secondary schools. Key elements of the learning culture here include the clear lines of separation between subjects, but even more importantly between subject learning and the more skills-focused and pastoral aspects of secondary schooling. Such distinctions have long been strongly interpreted and regarded as differences in status – of types of knowledge, qualifications and even of teachers (see for example Follett 1989; Power 1995). The evaluation of the initiative in the two secondary schools suggests that Watkins’ recent meta-analysis is correct: a climate in which certain General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examination results are so crucial to the contemporary secondary school is also one in which a ‘performance orientation’ now overshadows a ‘learning orientation’, despite the fundamental dependence of the former on the latter (Watkins 2010). Hence, even in secondary schools that were keen to participate, the only small foothold available for an initiative like the RSA Area-Based Curriculum is in the time and space normally allocated to the pastoral and to skills-focused activity. Even here – the evaluation found – the activities often became further diminished. It is as if, institutionally speaking, secondary schools can only take up initiatives in a wholehearted manner if they contribute directly, immediately and obviously to the headline measures by which the school will be judged. A similar finding emerged in recent research on work-related learning in the

secondary curriculum in Bristol, in which it was found that subject-oriented materials and processes based on the world of work, designed by experienced teachers to improve the learning and attainments of young people of *all* abilities in GCSE mathematics including the ‘high-fliers’, were in practice relegated to being used as a ‘remedial’ measure for a few students on a C/D GCSE borderline. This group’s outcomes would make most difference to the standing of schools in the league tables (James, Bathmaker and Waller, 2010). In sum, whilst the two secondary schools involved represented different kinds of response to the RSA initiative in Peterborough, in neither one could it be said that the initiative had an impact of the sort set out in its objectives.

56.2.3 Affinities with Other Educational Values

A second theme coming through strongly in the analysis was around the importance of teachers’ educational values and what might be termed ‘pre-existing educational mandates’ in some of the organisations forming partnerships. This was something that previous RSA-based reflection had identified (e.g. Thomas 2011, p. 5). A specific example would be the Cathedral’s energetic educational programme and its need to be able to demonstrate that it had consulted children as part of its major bid for resources to improve its educational facilities. But in more general terms, both individually and collectively, teachers and other key players who were centrally involved found the initiative to be compatible with values they already held about teaching, learning and the purposes of schools. Examples across the initiative include: a strong pre-existing drive to use the local area more explicitly across a school; an established way of working with a strong child-centred, problem-solving approach (Heathcote’s ‘mantle of the expert’ mentioned earlier); a ‘social enterprise’ interpretation of the expectations associated with the Business and Enterprise secondary school specialism.

56.2.4 Teacher Professionalism

Like other observers, the RSA had pointed out that a generally declared greater autonomy for teachers to own the curriculum came at the same time as many teachers had been, in effect, ‘deskilled’ by the National Curriculum and National Strategies. A third theme in the analysis pertains to this dilemma and what the initiative might provide in response. Thomas pointed out that the White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* (Department for Education 2010) had promoted more training in classrooms and more focus on ‘core teaching skills’ whilst saying nothing about how teachers could learn to deal with what should be taught and why. This, it was argued, was similar to contradictions in government views of teachers and teaching, and ‘...any genuine recognition that teachers could be curators or

creators, rather than merely organisers, of knowledge, is missing from government analysis for what makes a quality teacher. Hence, support for teachers to develop into professionals creating and mediating knowledge is likely to be absent, despite the rhetoric of curriculum freedom' (Thomas 2012, p. 10). In England at least, new forms of support will be needed if teachers are to develop curriculum with confidence, and all the more so if they are innovating and experimenting for the first time. The RSA initiative provided a supportive structure (and leadership, which the evaluation found to be bold, energetic and consistent), offering a model that could be used in this way. In a very telling phrase, one group of teachers described how the initiative had given them the confidence to 'tear up the script'. There are strong parallels here with the findings of the evaluation of the Teacher Training Agency's *School Based Research Consortium Initiative* where being involved in supported reflection in a research project appeared to energise teachers and provide them with an enhanced sense of professional autonomy (see Simons et al. 2003).

Finally, it was instructive to think about the initiative in terms of its conceptual basis, and to look at it alongside other recent accounts of the problems in the schools sector and their accompanying recommendations for change. As we have seen, the initiative did rest on a particular diagnosis of problems and weaknesses in current policy and practice, and it was designed to offer some sort of remedy, at least by way of providing an example. However, at the same time it was driven by widely-held definitions of those problems and weaknesses rather than by a compelling alternative vision for education, such as Fielding and Moss's (2011) notion of radical education and the common school, or Coffield and Williamson's (2011) 'communities of discovery'. Both these views of how educational arrangements might be revised are powerful because they are utopian in the best sense (Levitas 2003), offering the sense of purpose and direction that is otherwise lost or missing. They do this using real-world examples as well as theory-based reasoning. The evaluation suggested that for all its many strengths and achievements, in working within a dominant and dominating (yet under-articulated) set of purposes in secondary schools, the RSA initiative was in effect institutionally sidelined and therefore very limited in its potential reach in that sector.

56.3 White Middle Class 'against the grain' School Choice

The orchestrated harnessing of elements of the urban in the RSA initiative, outlined above, sits in contrast (and perhaps, opposition) to the way in which 'the urban' surfaced in another research project. In the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)-funded project *Identities, Educational Choice and White Urban Middle Classes*¹³ (ESRC reference RES-148-25-0023) there were a number of dif-

¹³ Part of the ESRC-funded Programme *Identities and Social Action*. The project was directed by Diane Reay, Gill Crozier and David James. The team also included Phoebe Beedell, Fiona Jamieson, Katya Williams and Sumi Hollingworth.

ferent facets of the urban context that came into sharp relief. The project studied a sample of white middle-class families turning their backs on ‘mainstream choosing’, instead making choices of secondary school that might be termed ‘going against the grain’. The schools they chose were averagely- or low-performing schools when other, more conventionally justified choices could have been made. ‘Mainstream choosing’ is part of a broader neoliberal context in which choice, markets and individualism have increasingly overshadowed the fragile discourse of welfare (Ball 2003). This made the specific group of particular interest, not least because it seemed that they may be strong supporters of comprehensive secondary education and may have been guided in their choices by welfarist values that stood outside or beyond the now-dominant ideology. We studied 125 families in London, ‘Riverton’ and ‘Norton’, mainly via interviews with 181 parents and 68 young people (for further details of the design and method, see Reay et al. 2011, 2013).

Again, there is only space here for a brief glimpse of the findings and analysis of the study. A major and early finding was that in only very few of the families were there clear commitments to either comprehensive schooling or to the welfare state, and most of the choices of secondary school were driven by a broad and complex mix of motives and orientations. The history of schooling in the family played a large part, and in order to grasp this we found it helpful to distinguish between first, second and third generation white middle class people.¹⁴ In some instances, the choice of school was a reaction to the social narrowness of a parent’s own schooling, in terms of its social class or ethnic composition or its ethos and/or disciplinary regime. In others, the choice reflected a deliberate re-creation of the parents’ own trajectory, where for example at least one parent’s background included upward social mobility attributed to schooling. There were however many other considerations in addition to family history: One of the most crucial of these was how the parents saw and understood matters like the quality of an educational process and the extent to which one could compare schools.

56.3.1 A Clearly Defined Educational Project

Across most of the parents there was a great deal of scepticism in regard to the information that in policy terms is assumed to underpin the enabling of rational choice in a market, and we heard frequent criticism of conventional assumptions around examination results and their use in league tables and in Ofsted reports. In general this group of parents appeared to have a view of schooling and its outcomes informed by sociological insights. For example, they were aware of long-standing

¹⁴For example, a ‘first generation’ middle-class parent would be one whose own parents were working-class; a third generation middle-class parent would be one whose own parents and grandparents were middle-class.

correlations between social class and academic attainment, and thought that league table position might tell one more about the social composition of a school than about the quality of education on offer.

This point is vital in understanding their ‘break’ with ‘mainstream choosing’, especially when put alongside another major theme, namely the conception of the educational project as something greater than schooling (even while schooling was acknowledged as its main ingredient). It was common for these parents to have a clearly-articulated sense of the goals and purposes of the educational process *for their own children*, that it should (for example) equip them to live and work comfortably alongside people from different social and ethnic backgrounds. A fairly typical expression of this view came from the parent who told us that her son’s exposure to the diversity of backgrounds in the local comprehensive school would ‘make him a better doctor’, or another parent who felt a similar experience made his daughter a ‘fully paid up citizen of the twenty-first century’ in a way that his own narrower, more conventionally privileged schooling could not have done. These signals of the educational project are perhaps also a reminder of the poverty of the market conception of ‘choice’ running through much education policy of recent years, in which ‘choice’ is constructed as a preference amongst a series of plausible options of the sort presumed to face people in everyday retail consumption. We found that a decision to attend a particular school was not the expression of a mere preference of one option over another, but something much deeper. Rather, it was an expression of *commitment* (see Sayer 2005 for a helpful discussion of this preference/commitment distinction).

56.3.2 *Ethnic Diversity as a Resource*

There were many examples of parents promoting friendships across ethnic groups and celebrating the ethnic diversity of the chosen schools, and it was clear that such experience was considered an important facet of the educational project, as well as a source of capital for young people in a context of globalisation and multicultural living. There is here a deliberate use of the urban context (specifically, ethnic diversity) in order to generate particular kinds of disposition. We have described and discussed these aspects of the analysis at some length elsewhere (see for example James et al. 2010; Reay et al. 2007, 2011, 2013) and found some strong parallels with other work on public sector urban professionals for whom urban schools nurture a cosmopolitan view (e.g. Van Zanten 2003) and on the ‘cultural omnivore’ in certain forms of middle class self-formation which encompasses and celebrates a wide variety of cultural forms (e.g. Bennett et al. 2009).

Connected to this valuing of the ethnic ‘other’ as an educational resource was a frequent denigration of both the black and the white working-class ‘other’, which at first appeared paradoxical. There were several examples of parents voicing what

Bourdieu termed ‘white racism’ (Bourdieu 1998) in which lower social classes are thought of as morally inferior, and terms like ‘white trash’, ‘chav’ and ‘charver’ were sometimes used to describe whole groups of people and their children – sometimes groups of children in the chosen school, and sometimes those in other schools that had been avoided. The contrast (sometimes implied, sometimes explicit) was with those ethnic minority families that seem to display a strong work ethic. Our analysis suggested both anxieties in respect of excessive whiteness (cf. Skeggs 2004) and also deliberate processes of differentiating the white middle class self through what we might term ‘adding colour’ to it by association with ethnic diversity. There is a striking resonance here with the work of Skey on different strains of national belonging and the middle class identification with a cosmopolitan cultural diversity (nurtured, for example, through ‘travel’, but constructed in opposition to mere tourism – see Skey 2011).

56.3.3 *A High-Risk Investment?*

This brings us to two final examples of where the analysis of the project would take us. Firstly, the fears and anxieties mentioned above were directly linked to high levels of monitoring of schools and teachers across the sample, and a level of vigilance we termed ‘parental managerialism’. In part, this may be understood against the backdrop of both the popularly imagined and the researched reality of the types of secondary schools their children were attending. As many studies have shown, some urban schools appear to be very good at individualising social differences in economic, social and cultural resources, at recognising only certain forms of ability and at producing personal failure (see for example Archer et al. 2010; Gewirtz 2001). A consideration of this backdrop led us to suggest that white middle-class against-the-grain secondary choosing could often be understood via the metaphor of a *high-risk investment*. In other words, there were conscious and deliberate actions by parents to serve the ends of a clearly-defined educational project, but the means available were anxiety-producing and felt to carry relatively high risks. Nevertheless, the potential gains were also high, compared to the ‘safe’ alternative (of a secondary school with less diversity and high examination pass-rates). As a response to this anxiety and risk, and again in keeping with the financial investment metaphor, parents tended to monitor the process very closely indeed, through roles on governing bodies, visiting the school, friendships with teachers and other contacts. Several spoke of the option of ‘pulling out’ if things did not work out as hoped. However, things did usually work out as hoped:

Across all three locales the young people were generally doing well at school. Most were performing well compared to their age equivalent peers, with some performing significantly above average. The choice of school their parents made did not seem to have had any negative impact on academic development and in fact the children seemed to have benefited from being in inner city comprehensives. In terms of measurable academic success, of the 117 young people who had reached at least 16, all except three boys and one girl did well

in GCSEs...Of the 71 who were over 18, eight went on to Oxbridge after A levels (six from London) and the others went to a range of pre- and post-1992 universities' (Reay et al. 2011, p. 128).

Finally, it is important to note that the anxieties and vigilance we saw were often balanced by a confident perception of the young person's intrinsic high ability, or 'brightness'. Our interviews contained over 250 references to this, none of which had been directly solicited. Collectively, these families held a strong view that their children were special or especially bright and that this would (other things being equal) become reflected in academic credentials. This may be understood as a form of Bourdieusian *misrecognition* (James 2015) as it 'explains away' the social advantages that produce the outcomes, masking the strong mutual affinity between a school's absolute compulsion to maximise its headline results, the persistent monitoring by parents, and the propensity of middle-class children to do relatively well in conventional academic terms, even in these averagely and below-averagely-performing schools. The 'Gifted and Talented' scheme¹⁵ was an important element, and in addition some of the schools attended by young people in our sample had gone to great lengths to persuade them to stay.

56.4 The Urban as an Educative Resource

The two projects reported here, then, give rise to contrasting examples of 'the urban' itself functioning as an educative resource. In the first, there is a city-level attempt to form new partnerships to use the urban locality (and even recent industrial decline) as a tool to drive a large part of the curriculum, not only giving young people a new vehicle for the learning of maths, English, Art and so forth but also the opportunity to change their relationship to the locality and even to engage in meaningful decision-making within it. In the second there is a deliberate family-level use of the urban context to provide a school setting that is itself part of a wider educational project, the fruition of which will be seen in a young person who achieves well in conventional terms but who can also be worldly, street-wise, resilient, comfortable with – and able to relate to – a wide range of other people from a diversity of backgrounds. These more obvious differences between the two examples are important, but it is worth giving at least some brief attention to how they may also be connected.

¹⁵Described at the time of the study on the UK Government Department for Children, Schools and Families 'Standards' website thus: 'Gifted and talented children are those who have one or more abilities developed to a level significantly ahead of their year group (or with the potential to develop these abilities). In England the term "gifted" refers to those pupils who are capable of excelling in academic subjects such as English or History. "Talented" refers to those pupils who may excel in areas requiring visio-spatial skills or practical abilities, such as in games and PE, drama, or art'. The Guidance Note *Identifying Gifted and Talented Learners – getting started* was revised in 2008 and is now available at <https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/Getting%20StartedWR.pdf> (accessed March, 2015).

An important connection is that in both cases, intentions and individual actions are heavily refracted by powerful structural features, and have a range of consequences that go well beyond initial goals. Whilst the current level of curriculum specification and current accountability regimes for primary education (that is, some of the main elements of the learning culture) offered a 'space' in which the Area Based Curriculum project could work, the equivalent learning culture in the secondary school setting provided little opportunity for it to gain purchase. Indeed, it could be argued that what emerged here was *a demonstration of the irrelevance of the local urban setting for the most revered forms of educational activity*. This point about the learning culture and its affordances as a field is vital, because in educational settings we have become accustomed to look to personal, interpersonal and technical-organisational factors (such as vision, leadership, new 'species' of school or forms of organisation) to provide recipes that might yield improvement. Linked to this, and as several theorists have noted, the UK (and arguably, specifically England) continues to suffer from a lack of a shared purpose around educational endeavour. This lack of a shared articulated educational purpose may suit some interests quite well, but the main point here is that it continually prevents any real progress with regard to achieving greater equity. A lack of explicit educational purpose opens the door to a range of shifting assumptions, and

...implicit assumptions about educational purpose, quality and equity do not engage systematically or analytically with detailed arguments about what an equitable education system might look like (Raffo 2014, p. 3).

In respect of the second project reported here, individual choices of school that could be characterised as less than optimal (in the terms of the assumptions of policy and practices of 'mainstream choosing') nevertheless yielded a range of specific advantages. The parents concerned were geographically mobile, with almost 70% having recently moved to the areas in which they now lived, which were often the 'gentrifying' areas of an urban landscape (see for example Butler 2003). They were also highly educated and qualified: as a group they had over four times the UK average incidence of private secondary education and a high proportion had been to selective state secondary schools. Some 83% were qualified to degree level, and over a quarter also held postgraduate qualifications. Together with aspects of family educational history, these characteristics produced capitals and dispositions that would play out differently depending on the field in which they are enmeshed.

The parents' high level of involvement in the schools was often explained in a conventional way. Certain backgrounds, professional skills and connections were felt – by the schools and the parents themselves – to offer valuable support to the school (and by implication to *all* the students within it). Formal involvements included many Governor roles¹⁶ across the sample, but there were also many informal contacts as well. At the same time, our data showed us that it would naïve to regard these contacts as entirely separate from parental monitoring and management

¹⁶For general information about school governors in England, see <http://www.nga.org.uk/Home.aspx> (Accessed March 2015).

of the specific young person's education, so in a sense the parental 'input' to the school may come at a price. Like the American work of Brantlinger (2003) our evidence and analysis suggested that given their backgrounds and dispositions, the families studied would find it difficult to avoid reaping advantages that are hard-wired into the urban school and its systems. This was particularly evident in the form of the extra resources made available to those students designated as 'gifted and talented'. Yet these parents were not setting out to generate further inequalities and were (on the whole) attempting to act ethically in an unethical context. Indeed, many of them saw their choice of an ordinary local school as a strategy for *avoiding* conventional educational privilege and the sorts of differentiation and distinction that come with it.

Yet despite their 'sociological' appreciation of their relative advantage and their confidence that their own children were particularly 'bright', it is important to note the anxiety and uncertainty that characterised the actions and experiences of most of the families. In addition, the structural advantages we clearly see across the sample cannot be equated with some kind of on-going continued structural certainty. As we noted in the preface to the paperback edition of the main book to arise from the project, contemporary economic and social changes put increasing strain on middle class people like those in the study:

...for many of this group, the near-certainties of middle-class life have gone, as welfare cuts bite, job security is non-existent and credential inflation – particularly for graduates – takes hold and is felt more keenly by more people. More of the middle-classes find themselves on uncertain ground, positioned between an extremely rich powerful elite and a growing number of struggling poor. For people like those in our study, this economic and social in-between-ness is lived out, practically and psychologically, in a struggle with a contradiction between wanting the best educationally for their own children, yet at the same time desiring a fair education system for all children. Such tensions generate anxiety, insecurity and ambivalence (Reay et al. 2013, vii).

56.5 Conclusion: The Urban as Urbane or Mundane?

It is clearly possible for the urban to be a positive educational resource in the sense that the locality can be a rich source of expertise, curricula focus, pedagogic design, inspiration, and so forth. Yet for this to work to the advantage of many requires curriculum and accountability structures that permit 'the urban' to be treated as 'the urbane' (Raffo 2014). This seemed to be possible in the three Peterborough primary schools but somewhat out of reach in the secondary schools. It is now many years since secondary schools in England could easily adapt parts of their high-stakes public examinations to be geared to the local through officially-recognised teacher-defined components (the so-called 'Mode 3' General Certificate in Education) and it is important to note that there were perennial concerns around this even in its heyday (see for example Whitty 1985). In England, recent years have seen powerful encouragements to schools to focus on a narrowing band of academic achievements in the name of 'raising standards' and in the hope that doing so may lead to greater

economic competitiveness and even greater equity. There has been some loss of vocational qualifications and also skills-focused qualifications as a result, with the latter having *worsened* some student's chances of access to 'powerful knowledge' via recognised mainstream qualifications (see Harrison et al. 2015). It would be difficult to design a system more effective in preventing a positive use of the local urban area in the secondary curriculum: here, the urban appears not so much urbane, as mundane. Meanwhile, as we have seen in the second study discussed above, the urban setting offers, for some, the means to develop certain counter-intuitive forms of capital as well. Even as the school harnesses new local parental expertise, this is far from a simple gain for all students in the school and it can be bound up in processes that maintain and even amplify certain relative advantages and disadvantages. Thus, as well as being a dynamic and constitutive context, 'the urban' functions powerfully as an educative resource, but in doing so it always begs the difficult and uncomfortable questions 'In whose interests? To whose benefit and to whose disadvantage?'

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Chapter 57

Race Matters: Urban Education, Globalisation and the Twenty-First Century

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The educational landscape in Britain in the early twenty-first century is constantly changing. It shifts according to changes of government, economic instability and global pressures. The key concerns around race and anti/racism of the 2000s have waned into the policy background. The focus now is once again on sameness – on assimilation, an emphasis on the so-called and nebulous ‘British values’ (DfE 2011) and ‘community cohesion’ (Cantle 2001), although now more in the guise of ‘counter terrorism’ (Home Office 2015). The targeted initiatives to address Black and Minority Ethnic¹ underachievement have been cut, and the blame for poor educational performance is laid at the feet of parents, the children themselves, teachers or ‘failing’ schools. Thus the emphasis is on individual responsibility: not structures or, specifically in relation to this chapter, structural racism. Britain, as elsewhere, is also caught up in the global competition for a top place in the educational stakes as defined by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development’s (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (see for example Lingard and Sellar 2013). Initiatives are thus driven by school effectiveness rather than addressing inequalities. Over nearly 30 years we have seen the development and entrenchment of a marketised Education system which has led to an atomised system of schooling, individualisation with the individual being held accountable for her or his own underachievement (see for example Field 2010; Machin and McNally

¹The term Black and Minority Ethnic has taken on a common currency in Britain and is used in policy documents, as well as academic publications; most organisations tend to use it in their publications and reports also. It is not unproblematic and in particular can imply essentialism of Black and Minority Ethnic people which is erroneous. However, I am using the term as a signifier or racial and ethnic diversity which in the British context relates to Black African, Black Caribbean, Black Other, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Asian Other and Black and Minority Ethnic and White, mixed heritage people.

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2006). All of this has consequences for urban education and 'race' issues. The term 'urban education' is taken here to refer to schools and education provision located within town or city centres or conurbations that have substantial populations which are richly diverse socially and in most cases ethnically. In contemporary Britain the schools comprise different types including Local Authority maintained and Academies; faith schools and Free schools. This atomised and fragmented education system also contributes to the challenges facing urban schools, for whilst they offer enriching experiences and are potentially excellent centres for learning and preparation for cosmopolitan citizenship, they are often ill resourced to exploit fully this potential.

Against a backdrop of economic cuts are the changing demographics and diversity of needs and desires. Britain is not only a multicultural and multiracial society but now represents superdiversity according to some (see for example Vertovec 2006, 2007). Additionally in Britain we have seen a rise in poverty, a fragmentation of communities still reeling from the devastation of traditional industries in the 1980s and 1990s and with that the far Right's exploitation of discontent to whip up racial hatred. Following some progress in the development of 'race' awareness and anti-racist policies under New Labour (1997–2010), the Equalities and Human Rights Commission Report (EHRC 2010) 'How Fair is Britain?' demonstrated that Britain is still not that fair at all. For example the enduring under achievement of certain minority ethnic groups namely Black Caribbean, African Caribbean, Somalis, Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage and Gypsy, Roma, Traveller children, prevails (DCSF 2008, 2009; Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) 2010; Department for Education (DfE) 2013).

More recently the Office of National Statistics (ONS) survey (NatCen 2014) of British Social Attitudes revealed that 60% of the population felt confident to declare that they were racist. This sense that it is acceptable to hold such views can also be demonstrated by events such as the Chelsea football supporters' display of racism in the Paris Metro when they refused to allow a black man to board the metro train and chanted that they 'are racists' and 'happy with that' (Taylor and Quinn 2015).

The significance of these individual attitudes is twofold: on the one hand they indicate the changing ethos of the society of what is acceptable and give voice to a narrow retrogressive position of acceptable racism; and on the other this apparent shift in attitudes causes politicians, especially in an election year (2015), to capitulate and try to match equally racist policies around immigration controls. As Tomlinson (2008) argued the obsession with immigration controls reinforces these negative and racist sentiments implying and reinforcing the erroneous view that migrants are to blame for unemployment, housing shortages, pressures on the health service and school failure. This is the context of urban education in Britain in the early twenty-first century.

Underpinning this scenario however, theoretical understanding of racism/s has developed and in the twenty-first century a clearer recognition of Whiteness and its implications for racist oppression has developed (Garner 2007) in relation to an understanding of intersectional identities (Bhopal and Preston 2012; Crenshaw 2003) and the importance of on the one hand foregrounding race, but on the other

the importance of challenging hierarchies of oppression and therefore eschewing damaging polarisations such as between BME groups and between BME and the White working-class.

These are some of the central issues that will be explored in relation to published key research and ideas in a discussion and exploration of inequalities and ideas for progressing social justice. In the rest of the chapter I will focus on the following themes to explore the concerns around urban education and race in Britain today: race matters; the education context in contemporary Britain and implications for racialised education experiences (including a discussion of super diversity); race and education: the state of play; urban geographies: space and place; the role of parents; racisms and White supremacy. In my analysis I will draw on the theoretical resources of Critical Race Theory and theories of Whiteness. I aim to address the salience of gender and social class in relation to race in the struggle for equality and social justice in education. This aspect of the analysis is informed by understandings of intersectionalities (Bhopal and Preston 2012; Crenshaw 2003).

57.1 Race Matters

To begin the discussion of race and urban education I want to outline the rationale of why race continues to matter and in the context of this chapter what I mean by race. Firstly the term race: amongst sociologists and education scholars it is clearly understood that race is a social construction without biological bases. For this reason it is frequently written within inverted commas signifying its problematic nature. Since I believe these problematics are fairly well understood I have decided not to use inverted commas around the term, in this chapter.. The social constructions of race are signified by colour and perceived physiological indicators. These perceptions and constructions translate into racist behaviours and practices overt and covert, explicit and implicit in terms of a racially underpinned and imbued society. Some, such as Modood (2005), argue that racism is also cultural. This is contested by others (e.g. Gillborn 2008) but if we accept this idea of cultural racism, I suggest that it does not follow that culture (also a contested term) is a definition of race. Culture is a fluid concept. Representations of culture might take the form of: language, religion, food, forms of dress, but whilst these might be aspects of culture, none of these is absolute or fixed or indeed can be attributed to a specific person just because they 'seem' to be of a certain ethnic group. Attributions of 'culture' essentialise: Black and Minority Ethnic people in particular, are often described by cultural traits or ascribed a particular manifestation of culture, as though that is their absolute identity. Black and Minority Ethnic people then come to be fixed by some often fairly arbitrary putative, cultural signifier; a signifier that is also an artefact of the dominant group.

The term culture is also used extremely loosely in the sense for example, of talking about people of 'different cultures', when they often mean of different colour or ethnic or national heritage. 'Different culture' is used, I suggest, as a shorthand for

identifying some perception of ‘difference’, often difference of skin colour or physiology, but it is often meaningless, since it is based on a subjective perception.

Without going in to the complex analysis of socio-linguistics which is beyond the scope of the chapter, in this chapter the term *race* is used to denote the experience of racism as defined by Macpherson (1999); it is used here to explore the impact of the perceptions of race on the education and opportunities of young people and the implications for their life chances of structural racism/s (see also Warmington 2009). Also following Solomos et al. (1982) and Gilroy (1992), race is taken as being not ‘a fixed unitary principle’ but one that changes over time in response to political and economic structures and conditions and social relations (Solomos et al. 1982). Race, it is argued, along with other structural inequalities, is embedded in the fabric of society and unless challenged and overturned is and will be continuously, reproduced: in spite of the contemporary focus on ‘super diversity’ and multiculturalism, although the latter is less popular now, this is why the focus on race remains important and relevant.

57.2 The Educational Landscape of Race in Twenty-First Century Britain and the Urban Context

The policy frameworks around Race and Education have changed markedly over the decades from the 1950s to 1960s, two significant periods of post-colonial migration but even more rapidly since 2010 and the loss of power by New Labour. New Labour largely because of the Macpherson Report (1999) arising from the murder of the teenager Stephen Lawrence, introduced the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) which gave recognition, for the first time in Britain, of institutional racism and required all public institutions and organisations to develop policies on challenging and monitoring racism (see Tomlinson 2008; Crozier 2012 for further details of the historical developments of race policies and education). Since then we have seen the focus on race and racism disappear from the political and education agenda. The UK Coalition Government (2010–2015) made severe economic cuts and changes which have reversed the advances in the fight against racism. For example, the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) which, whilst still on the statute books, has been superseded by the less specific and more nebulous Equalities Act (2010) and subsequently the requirement for public institutions and organisations (including schools and universities) to record racial harassment, write and implement policies on challenging and ensuring against racial discrimination, have been abandoned. In 2011 the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG), a specific grant targeted at supporting minority ethnic groups in schools with English as an Additional language (EAL) provision, and other support measures, was abandoned as a specifically allocated grant; also in 2011 the Education Act removed the

requirement for Ofsted² to inspect how schools were complying with the ‘community cohesion duty’ and so on (NASUWT 2014).

Multiculturalism, often regarded by social scientists as the soft option to challenging racism head on, has been denounced by international politicians including the UK Prime Minister Cameron (Wright and Taylor 2011) and the German Chancellor Merkel (Weaver 2010) as, amongst other things, fuelling disharmony and community divisions and putatively contributing to the radicalisation of Muslim youth. We have also seen the rise of the far Right English Defence League and the anti-Europe and anti-immigration United Kingdom Independent Party (UKIP). Both these factions blame migrants for the loss of jobs for British nationals, housing shortages and diminishing public resources, constructing migrants as the feckless and the troublesome Other (Tomlinson 2008). Such sentiments thrive in the climate of austerity with low and depressed wages, an increase in poverty levels amongst families, signified by food banks in one of the world’s richest countries, and one of the worst housing crises since post World War 2 Britain (Islam 2013), without a clear and serious political explanation or locating the blame on financial corruption, mismanagement and ineptitude (Gamble 2009; Harvey 2010).

Over the past decade in urban centres there have been a series of dramatic and significant events, which disrupt and potentially destabilise communities. These include wide ranging events, for example the bombing in London the discovery of other explosive devices in a London park, a parked car (July 2005), the brutal murder in a London street during the day time of an off duty soldier (2013); these events appear to have been carried out by extremists, erroneously in the name of Islam; all of these events have given rise to speculation about the radicalisation of Muslims and concomitantly have fuelled the development of Islamophobia (Stone 2004). In addition there has been civil unrest including demonstrations and occupations expressing discontent with austerity measures, housing shortages and corruption of the banking sector. A national riot took place throughout England (2011) in 66 locations, provoked initially by the police shooting of a Black man in Tottenham, London (Bridges 2012). These are signifiers of major discontent and also a conflicted society; they also suggest something about the failure of urban education to address and meet the needs of the society’s young people. This fluid, diverse and as suggested, in some ways unstable context, is ripe for polarisations and racialised antagonisms.

Britain in 2015, together with much of Western Europe, is more culturally and ethnically diverse than ever. There are many different nationalities represented in British urban centres with for example an estimated 300 national languages spoken in London as an indicator of this (Vertovec 2007). The population includes second and third generation people who came from countries once colonised by Britain and more recently refugees and asylum seekers together with Europeans arising from

²The Office for Standards in Education Children’s Services and Skills is a non-governmental ministerial department (often denoted as a quango) that inspects and regulates services for children and young people, and services that provide education and skills for all ages. See <https://www.gov.uk/organisations/ofsted>. Ofsted reports directly to Parliament.

membership of the European Union and the open border policy. In the last decade with the accession of Eastern European countries former Soviet Block countries, significant migration from Poland, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Romania has ensued. According to Steven Vertovec (2007) this diversity is more complex than has been acknowledged. He argues that there is now complex diversity not only in terms of languages, religion, other aspects of culture but also in terms of education, migration status, social class, occupation, length of establishment in Britain and so on—and this is not just between ethnic groups but also these differences are within ethnic groups. Moreover, he argues that government policies on multiculturalism have focused on the traditional, historic post-colonial groups from the Caribbean and South and East Asia. This he suggests, is too limiting since the newer, smaller, and as he says, less organised groups, are those ‘groups that have transformed the social landscape of Britain’ (Vertovec 2007) and that this needs to be acknowledged and addressed. Statistically, he continues, ethnic diversity is now also spreading across the rest of Britain and beyond London and key cities. Whilst this may be the case to some extent, it remains variable and we have little evidence to assess Vertovec’s assertions. The infusion of cultural diversity in terms of languages spoken, and types of food available in shops are the most noticeable changes; other changes regarding values and ways of being are difficult to research and in any case will take longer to assess. The term diversity itself has been much criticised as vague and nebulous and often leading to obfuscation of the central and significant issue of racism and racial discrimination (Ahmed 2007). Whilst ‘super diversity’ may be an important concept to facilitate understanding the complexity of contemporary society, it is not yet clear what the implications are with regard to the pressing issues of urban education and race matters.

However, the issue of migration which has given rise to the concept of ‘super diversity’, is important to the concerns of this chapter in terms of the conditions of urban education and any tensions or enhancements the complex dynamics of migration and demographic changes might lead to. The accession of six more European countries in 2004 from former the Soviet Block including white and Roma migrants complicates the analysis of discrimination, prejudice and disadvantage given the antagonisms levelled against these people, and the significant educational underachievement of Roma children together with Gypsies and Travellers (Bhopal and Myers 2008). Nevertheless, our increasing understanding of White privilege (Gillborn 2008) is useful in helping us make sense of this, which I will discuss below.

Driven by the PISA assessments and league tables (Lingard and Sellar 2013), as well as the operationalization of the British ‘school choice policy’, schools are pre-occupied with performance and the Ofsted inspection regimes rather than equality issues. Arguably they are interconnected; certainly examination success links with the league table position but the point here is who and what are prioritised? And how are these school successes achieved? We have seen in studies such as Gillborn and Youdell’s (2000) that in order to ensure student success at the Year 10 General

Certificate of Secondary Education³ GCSE assessment point, the practice of educational triage was operated in their study schools. In this way children on a significant grade boundary (Gillborn and Youdell termed this the A*-C economy) were given extra support whilst the needs of others were eschewed. Their research showed that it was Black African-Caribbean students who received the least support.

According to Lingard and Sellar (2013) international league table position in terms of the PISA results is increasingly important, not least because of the financial rewards available to highly regarded knowledge economies, a role which Britain wants to occupy. League table position for individual schools takes on further importance at a national level too, since it is on this basis that parents make their choice of school and subsequently schools might survive or fail accordingly. For these reasons successive governments have introduced various initiatives to raise achievement. The focus though has been on the individual child and the parents – and increasingly on the parents whose own education is spotlighted as a cause for their child's under achievement (Field 2010) rather than on structural inequalities. Leonardo and Tran (2013) argue for example that neo-liberal policies are constructed as providing all solutions for the individual. Thus if the individual fails, then it is her or his own fault that they have not adequately utilised what is available to them. Leonardo and Tran go on to say that neo-liberal individualised and competitive frameworks serve to mask issues of race and racial inequalities.

High performing schools are essential to the marketization of the education project both nationally and internationally. At a national level parents' school choice is a key driver and in turn parental choice drives schools' policies and practice in order to achieve and or maintain the attractive league table position. Clearly not all schools achieve this nor could they. For some urban schools such ambitions are hardly attainable and in some cases head teachers and the school governors prefer not to play this particular game. In terms of urban education what we see is a pattern of differentiation based on class and race amongst school type and school success.

57.3 Geographies of Urban Education: Spaces of Exclusion

It is not only since the inception of neo-liberal education policies that schools in urban centres have been differentiated and segregated. School allocation, prior to the 'school choice' policy was largely based on locality and catchment area. The classed and raced differentiated urban spaces (Savage et al. 2005) translated into classed and raced differentiated schools. These 'geographies of schooling' were exacerbated and further embedded by the 'school choice' policy which as we know from an abundance of research (for example Ball 2003; Butler and Robson 2003; Gewirtz et al. 1995) middle class (and mainly white) parents who have the requisite social and cultural capitals are more likely to exert that choice effectively. In London

³GCSE examinations take place in Year 11 (students age 15–16 years). These examinations' results inform a students' future direction in terms of further study or work.

with the largest Black and Minority Ethnic population in Britain of 40% (2011 Census), whilst rich and poor live side by side, school differentiation along class and race lines is often quite stark (Butler and Robson 2003). Reay et al. (2011) in their study of white middle class families in London and two other areas in England, found in all of the three urban centres that there were some urban schools where there were no white middle class families and in London they found schools with almost 100% Black and Ethnic Minority populations. Although there are exceptions, such as in Reay et al.'s (2011) study which focused on those White middle-class parents who chose to send their children to urban comprehensive schools, Butler and Robson (2003) and Ball (2003) showed that White middle-class families engaged with the essence of the education market and played the system to ensure that their children did not have to go to such schools: schools, which Diane Reay (2007) in her analysis of the urban comprehensive has termed 'unruly spaces'. She argues that White and Black working-class children and 'their' urban schools are constructed in the White middle-class imaginary as 'the Other'; both the children and the schools are frequently demonised as out of control and undesirable and the schools are constructed as places that will inevitably fail their children.

The impact of this demonisation and segregating behaviour is broadly two fold. On the one hand it has a material impact where in a highly competitive field of school choice and where money follows the child, a school whose reputation has been destroyed will be in a difficult situation in terms of recruiting pupils. Moreover, schools that under recruit will not receive sufficient money and thus resources will be inadequate. More concerning is the segregation of children on any grounds but racial and classed segregation evokes frightening historical analogies and creates an elitist ethos. This in turn feeds into, and reinforces, White middle-class privilege and supremacy; the latter of these concepts will be discussed more fully below. Secondly, the emotional and psychic impact of this segregation together with the derogation of their school, cannot be underestimated. Diane Reay (2007) analyses this effect through the voices and experiences of young secondary aged children. The children in her study who attended urban schools reproduced the notion of 'good and bad' schools (Lucey and Reay 2002) most frequently describing their own school in negative, denigrating terms which as Reay (2007) argues had damaging implications for the ways the children assessed themselves and their communities.

Differentials between schools with some schools offering different and more advantaging experiences, has been exacerbated with the introduction of Academies and Free Schools; not that these new types of school are necessarily for the better but also their introduction make the system more difficult to navigate for some. However, the clearest examples of differentiated opportunities that are raced and classed are in fact in universities where reputations are more widely publicised in terms of Oxbridge and the Russell Group 'high status' universities (Boliver 2013). None of these universities have significant numbers of BME students even though BME students are reportedly "over represented in the university sector" (Kerr 2010). Those universities that might be referred to as 'urban universities' such as the post 1992 modern universities which are less well resourced and receive less

research funding, have been the most successful at recruiting and supporting BME students. This is important because these universities have been criticised, often unfairly, for, the quality of the experience they provide including teaching and the value of their degrees (Chapman 2010); also large employers (offering high salaries) tend to target Oxbridge and certain Russell Group University graduates (High Fliers Report 2015) in order to recruit new employees, thus disadvantaging graduates from other universities.

57.4 Race and Education: The Current State of Play

The New Labour Government (1997–2010) claimed that by the end of their term of office in 2010 Britain was a more tolerant and fairer society than it was when they first came in to office. Ministers went so far as to say that race was no longer a central issue of concern and now the focus had to be on social class. New Labour had invested substantially in race and education policies and initiatives and had targeted Black and Minority Ethnic groups in order to raise educational attainment. However, the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) (2010) report ‘How Fair is Britain?’ clearly revealed that it was still not very fair at all and 5 years on, if anything, the situation is much worse.

In particular Black Caribbean, certain Black African groups, and Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage children together with Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children are still significantly under achieving compared to their White counterparts; this is both at school and higher education level (Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF) 2008, 2009; EHRC 2010; Department for Education (DfE) 2012; Stevenson 2012) Social class is an important factor as is gender but research has shown that race is the overriding factor (see for example Strand 2011). The endurance of schools’ failure of BME students is a deep seated and embedded systemic issue. However, Strand (2012) has shown that whilst Black underachievement continues to prevail the picture is more complex with some Black African groups achieving well. Cassen and Kingdon (2007) also identify a complex and variable picture of underachievement for Black and Minority Ethnic groups. At the other end of the scale certain Indian heritage groups and British Chinese children achieve highly, in spite of experiencing personal racial harassment (Mau 2014; Archer and Francis 2007). Social class is a particular factor in these differences but such factors are rarely absolute or singular. The construction of the ‘model minority’, (Leonardo 2009) whilst at a psychic level may have negative effects, in terms of academic achievement, would seem to ensure high teacher expectations and also position those young people in a positive academic space in order to succeed.

Others have written about the importance of focusing on success rather than interminably on failure or underachievement (e.g. Rhamie 2007). The construction of Black children and boys in particular for example, as failures, tends to lead to lower expectations as discussed below and a fixing of this underachievement as part of

their persona or worse, so called 'ability'. The focus is too often on the child rather than on the failure of the schools to recognise their own failure of these children.

Teachers, schools, policy makers and so on are implicated in a complex web infused with hegemonic – White – values. Teachers play a highly significant role; they are at the interface between society and the children. Obviously they are not individually or even collectively solely responsible for this but their role is very important and all teachers and educational professionals have to take some responsibility for school failure and discriminations and the perpetuation of inequalities. Rist (2000), Strand (2012), and Basit (1997), for example, have shown that White teachers tend to have lower expectations of BME children which impacts on their achievement levels, and Rist (2000) and Mechtenberg (2009) more recently, have discussed the impact of this in relation to the self-fulfilling prophecy. Given the differences in achievement amongst minority ethnic groups, as indicated above, it suggests a hierarchy of expectations, when all other things are equal (see for example Strand 2012 regarding his findings on social class and the pattern of Black Caribbean children's under achievement across a representation of all types of school). Archer et al. (2010) go on to say teachers make differentiations between ethnic groups based on their perceptions perhaps informed by stereotypes, prejudices and so on. Burgess and Greaves (2009) provide quantitative evidence from a longitudinal study employing large-scale observational data. They demonstrate that teachers categorise children and create exemplars to make conscious or unconscious judgements about future students from the same group, based on prior information of others from those ethnic groups. Drawing on Chang and Demyan (2007) they also state that these exemplars or stereotypes differ across ethnic groups. In their conclusions they argue that on average Black Caribbean and Black African pupils are under assessed relative to White, Indian and Chinese and mixed Asian pupils who are over assessed. They note that there are important differences across subjects within ethnic groups and differences between schools across groups and subjects. Given teachers use of previously held views of minority ethnic groups and their behaviour and performance, they go on to say: "The dependence of a pupil's assessment of performance of others of her ethnic group locally means that school composition matters." (p. 23).

This evidence identifies the salience and implications of negative constructions of BME children and young people that abound. Black Caribbean boys are frequently singled out as being troublesome, unruly, difficult and disinterested (Sewell 1997; Mac an Ghaill 1988; Noguera 2013). However, the White view of Black people, mainly males, is also that they are fascinating, strange and entertaining (Said 2003). Black girls on the other hand according to Rollock (2011) are often rendered invisible by the contrast and fear of their Black male counterparts. In addition the discourse of girls' academic success together with a stereotype of girls as less threatening mitigates the potential negative effect of their Black identity on White teachers' perceptions. Whilst this may have a positive effect in terms of exclusion rates, their academic success which appears to be positive, is apparently measured against that of Black males who we know are underachieving. When measured against their White female peers they are seen to be underachieving also. Rollock argues that the

Black girls' position is invidious since they have become invisible and their academic aspirations are undermined and neglected. Others such as Morris (2007) writing in the USA, have found that Black girls are frequently described by teachers as "coarse and overly assertive" (p. 491). Teachers aimed to temper this behaviour and mould the girls into a more passive (White) model of femininity. Morris argues how this threatened the Black girls' success. Controlling Black people whether it is males through a positioning as entertaining or exotic, or assimilating Black females into a stereotype of White girls' behaviour, are devices to ensure that Black people are less threatening and can be kept in their place (see also Puwar 2004). Passivity is also a common construct of South Asian girls; in their case it is often used as an excuse or reason for their underperformance in schools, blaming them or their parents for 'low aspirations' (Shain 2003). By contrast South Asian boys, similar to Black African and Caribbean boys, are seen as threatening and 'prone to' forming gangs in school (Shain 2011; Alexander 2000). They are seen as tribal and said to draw on their community and extended family if they need to resolve peer group issues (Crozier 2004).

Following this, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that BME children and in particular Black Caribbean children, are placed in lower sets in both primary and secondary schools (Strand 2012; Gillborn and Youdell 2000). Repeated research (e.g. Ireson et al. 2001; Hallam et al. 2008; Wells and Serna 1997) has shown the disadvantages and damage of streaming and setting. It has the effect of undermining self-confidence and engendering negative learner identities (Hallam et al. 2008) and leads to students giving up hope (Archer et al. 2010). It also reinforces labelling and stereotyping of Black children as deficient (Rist 2000). In fact streaming and setting perpetuates differential achievement outcomes since as Collins et al. (2000) have argued, children in the lower sets do not receive the same education, curriculum content or indeed learning opportunities as those privileged, largely White, students in the higher groupings: "they receive a form of schooling that steers them towards the backgrounds they come from" (p. 135).

School failure leads to disillusioned and demotivated students, often resulting in disaffected behaviour with the consequence of school exclusions. It is therefore hardly surprising that just like the significant underachievement of Black Caribbean children there is correspondingly a disproportionate number of Black Caribbean children excluded from school, with boys in both instances being in the majority (Parsons 2009). Underachievement and exclusion give rise to a domino effect which can account for the disproportionate number of Black young men out of work and also in prison. In the current period of economic crisis the first to suffer in terms of unemployment, and loss of other resources, are young, working-class and low credentialed young people (Blanchflower 2011); also just under half of Black men 16–24 years of age, 47.4%, compared with 20.8% Whites, in Britain in 2011 were reported as being unemployed (Ball et al. 2012).

Whilst Cassen and Kingdon (2007) for example, have suggested that young BME people do not identify racism as a reason for their underachievement, there is other evidence that shows they are acutely aware of the impeding effects racism in society can have on their future opportunities and job prospects. Archer et al. (2010)

for instance report that Black urban school students in their research were disheartened by future prospects holding a view that Black people are only destined for menial jobs. By contrast to Cassen and Kingdon (2007) and Archer et al. (2010) also demonstrate that Black students' concerns about racism were not limited to the world outside of school but their Black respondents also expressed hurt from the racist abuse they experienced from their peers. Such hurt has a number of implications and effects. The hidden psychic costs of racist abuse should not be underestimated but is in fact frequently ignored. The US psychologist Margaret Beale-Spencer has written of the stressor effects of racist abuse and the impact on the self-concept. Beale-Spencer and Harpalani (2001) focus on the structural and contextual analysis of school as a stressful experience that impacts negatively upon young black people's psychosocial well-being. They argue that young people throughout their schooling encounter experiences which contribute to the development of identity and influence their choice of coping strategies. They go on to say that 'the presence and engagement with structural racism poses severe risks for the learning of adaptive coping strategies and positive outcomes with regard to individual and community level health and well-being' (Beale-Spencer and Harpalani 2001).

Throughout the parents' accounts, in my own study, (Crozier 2005a, b) a pattern of racist school experiences for most of the children are identified as emotionally challenging and negative, which it would seem in Beale-Spencer and Harpalani's terms, could result in the undermining of their mental health and well-being. The impact and consequences of the experiences of racism were serious concerns for the parents. They spoke about the need to support the morale of their children and they feared their personality being changed as a result of these pressures. As one mother, Sara (African Caribbean mother, business studies degree) "I'm a mother with an African male child and I know there's an onslaught on our male children, so I'm very conscious about his spirit not being broken." (Crozier 2005b).

In another study of South Asian families (Crozier 2004) South Asian secondary school students reported on the deep anxieties they held during morning and afternoon recess and lunch breaks and even between lessons when they had to change classrooms. Some reported hanging back to avoid being physically hit and resulting in being late for lessons which in turn had the consequence of school punishment. Many of the young people said that they would only go on school trips if their Asian friends went although often their friends were in different sets – another negative consequence of such segregation. The students' stance resulted not in understanding or sympathy from the school, nor positive action, but rather gave rise to teachers' criticisms of the South Asian students' separating themselves off (Crozier and Davies 2008). A further consequence was that the children often missed-out on enriching educational experiences. Disturbingly these experiences did not end at school but in some later work with university students Crozier and Reay (2008) reported that South Asian students in their study recounted similar experiences of fear and seeking solidarity with other Asian students (see also Bhopal 2010). Although this action was understandable, at times it had the effect of restricting or cutting them off from accessing important aspects of their university experience and

put constraints on opportunities to acquire the requisite cultural and social capital to progress successfully through their studies.

57.5 The Role of Parents

School students particularly those who are marginalised from the mainstream or who might be described as vulnerable to discrimination and racist harassment, have limited voice or agency. Their recourse is often to walk away as in truancing or hitting out, as in so called disruptive behaviour. It is in relation to such challenging experiences that parents might be the sole advocate for the child. In the study referred to above (Crozier 2005a, b) the Black parents played this role. They sought to intervene on their child's behalf as well as providing substantial support, and in the case of the child who was on a long term suspension from school, provided alternative educational opportunities. Another parent whose child had also been suspended, had to give up her job in order to be at home with him.

Parents are regarded increasingly as important by schools and policy makers, although their role in relation to schools moves backwards and forwards along a continuum: of support for teachers, as consumers, as stakeholders, calling teachers to account and more recently, providing 'school ready', 'exam prepared' children; children with the requisite cultural capital that ensure success and good league table results for schools (Crozier *in press*). Schools are less keen on assertive, interventionist parents who might question or challenge them and often see this as a threat to their professionalism (Vincent 1996). The BME parents in my study (Crozier 2005a) frequently tried to speak up for their children or request advice on how to support their children, or for more homework. They reported that often they were either fobbed off or not taken seriously. The parents, mainly mothers, including a teacher, social worker, and business woman, described the downward spiral of educational achievement of their children. In spite of frequent visits to the school about homework and setting and exclusions, they reported being ignored and quite ineffective in being able to support their children. This experience with the school contrasts with the experiences of White middle-class parents (Ball 2003).

Studies of White middle-class families and schools have shown the privileged position these families hold in relation to the schools and the benefits their children derive from this (Ball 2003; Ball and Vincent 2007; Reay et al. 2011). Reay et al. (2011) for example, report the high frequency the White middle-class parents intervened if they were unhappy with the school's practice or behaviour such as if their child was placed in a lower set or failed to get on to the Gifted and Talented Scheme. Their successful interventions contrast markedly with the Black middle-class parents reported in Vincent et al.'s (2012) study of Black middle-class parents. Vincent et al. (2012) (see also Rollock et al. 2011) report that their respondents faced a subtle but pervasive form of racism signifying misrepresentation and misrecognition. Some parents felt that the message from the school indicated that their child, as a Black child, was only capable of a certain level of achievement. Parents felt

they also were stereotyped in negative ways, such as some fathers who felt they were seen as a threat, and some mothers were thought to be victims of aggressive partners, neither of which was so. This is a further example where social class is fairly irrelevant in the face of structural racism.

57.6 Racisms and White Supremacy: Underpinning Urban Education

The reasons for BME underachievement are varied and complex and institutional and structural racism is central to this. There is a substantial amount of research that demonstrates the prevalence of racist practices in education (for example: Archer 2003; Gillborn and Youdell 2000; Gillborn 1990, 1995; Mac an Ghail 1988; Mirza 1992; Shain 2003, 2011). Likewise the discussion of the various manifestations of institutional, structural as well as personal racism throughout this chapter provides evidence of this. As stated earlier manifestations of racism shift according to the socio-economic and political context nationally but are also influenced by global factors (Sivanandan 2002), such as the impact or perceived impact of migration and the blame erroneously placed on this for unemployment, housing shortages etc.. As already discussed this has given rise to the development of racisms in terms of forms of discrimination and structural inequalities based on colour and also perceptions of certain cultures. Modood (2005) controversially argues that whilst there is often a connection between colour racism and culture the two facets of racism need not always be present. He makes his argument on the basis of many contemporary developments but the rise of Islamophobia and the media hype of Islam as an international threat is central to this. As already argued, culture is itself a contested term and within race discourses leads into the diffuse and tangential territory of ‘diversity’ and ‘difference’, referred to and critiqued earlier. However, cultural racism does link in with reference to ‘superdiversity’ (Vertovec 2006) and as Sivanandan (2002) has said, racism never stands still and “the racism that faces us today is not the racism we faced 40 or 50 years ago” (p. 1). Sivanandan recognises the racism that is perpetrated against refugees and asylum seekers and he also includes Roma, Sintis and “poor whites from Eastern Europe”. Sivanandan argues that the experiences of these White groups is based on “fear of strangers” and thus xenophobic but is also racist in the way “it operates”. Others, as well as Sivanandan, have argued against the dualist black-white distinction of colour racism in that it ignores Irish racism according to Mac an Ghail (1999) and the White working-class according to Cole (2009). Gillborn (2008) on the other hand challenges this view taking a Critical Race Theory (CRT) stance of foregrounding racism based on colour discrimination. The importance of CRT together with an engagement with White hegemony is in focusing directly on discriminatory practices and Othering, and away from diversionary cultural exoticism (Crozier 2012). These debates are important and complex and I do not intend to ignore the issue of social class or indeed Irish racism, but I

also assert that recognition of White supremacy is essential to understanding racial oppression and in order to go beyond anti-racist consciousness raising or tweaking policy and practice, in the fight against it.

White supremacy is not, as Gillborn (2008) has said, about the narrow racism of right wing, fascist ideologies. It is more powerful and extensive than that, it is a view “that is normalized and taken for granted.” (p. 35). In other words it is hegemonic. It is central to our lives and is wholly pervasive; it is often taken for granted and its dominance rarely questioned or its existence even recognised. Garner (2007) problematises it as a concept and recognises how it can be used in counterproductive ways. But he also shows how it is an important concept to further our understanding of how racism operates and can be challenged. He argues that Whiteness is a racial identity but one that only exists “in so far as other racialised identities, such as Black, Asian etcetera exist” (p. 2). Whiteness, he says, is a system of power, privilege and cultural capital (Garner 2007). Leonardo (2002) identifies it as a discourse, and Gillborn (2005) goes further by suggesting that: “Critical scholarship on whiteness is not an assault on white people per se: it is an assault on the socially constructed and constantly reinforced power of white identifications and interests (see Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995)” (pp. 58–60). Challenges by White people to White hegemony do take place but are limited. Of course not all people are ‘equally White’ (Leonardo 2002). That is to say they do not have equal power, privilege and influence but arguably all White people have equal interest in safe-guarding their relative White privilege and with that relative advantage (Marx 2006).

Utilizing the concept or discourse of Whiteness to make sense of the educational experiences and evidence of oppression discussed in this chapter I suggest, helps to explain why some anti-racist initiatives have failed to make any impact on BME children’s underachievement for example. It contributes to understanding the insidiousness of the symbolic violence rendered on BME children in school, inhibiting their acquisition of those resources to help them progress through the system of attainment and learning and marginalising their voice. Of course White dominance does not just operate in urban schools but it impacts significantly in these spaces where there are already tensions and pressures, as I have discussed throughout this chapter. White dominance impacts on and perpetrates all facets of the education system: policies, resourcing, curriculum, teacher training and so on. In understanding the ways that Whiteness operates and impacts, we can begin to develop ways of undermining and dismantling its hold but this understanding and a commitment to dismantling White hegemony and thus decentering is central.

57.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the socio-economic and political context of urban education. I have discussed the ways this influences and impacts on the educational experience and opportunities of young BME people. The discrimination and failure of schools to improve the life chances of these young people is disgracefully

enduring. In the chapter I have tried to show that whilst some of the structural inequalities have remained fairly constant the context has become more complex. The changing demographics of schools add to the intricacies of the needs and expectations that schools and their teachers have to respond to. The fairly constant policy changes that schools experience with fewer resources and English as an Additional Language support is one such, contributes to the challenge. Moreover, the changes to teacher education has meant that there is now less preparation of new teachers and less opportunity for in-service development to engage effectively with racial diversity and learn how to effectively address racism in the classroom (Davies 2015).

The policy of school choice has contributed to White flight from some urban schools creating an unhealthy imbalance in the school experience of what should be an integrated and enriching racial diversity. The creation of Free Schools has also contributed, albeit unintentionally, to segregated racial and religious communities. The multiplicity of different types of schools including various types of Academies, as well as Free Schools and Local Authority maintained, has atomized the system and made the possibility of developing and implementing unifying anti-racist policies extremely difficult if not untenable. However, prior to the current Coalition Government (2010–2015) in London the Equality Challenge initiative which targeted BME children's under achievement relatively successfully and improved the urban educational experience across the city, demonstrates some progressive possibilities. According to Baars et al. (2014) the successful initiatives included improved resources such as financial, more teachers and improved school building quality. In addition the improvement of London schools also depended upon effective leadership; a more professional working culture and collective sense of possibility and professional development. Likewise, the calls to localism (e.g. Sahlberg 2011) might be a way forward to bring influence on a small scale but with a potentially cascading effect. Also generating parental participative and democratic involvement on an equal basis is another (Hong et al. 2009).

An additional challenge to urban education and the wider community is the danger of polarisations – hierarchies of oppression which lead, amongst other things, to racial antagonisms. Whilst I have focused on race in this chapter and I would argue that foregrounding race is important strategically, the significance of social class must not be underestimated. As I have discussed in relation to BME achievement and parental participation in schools, race is shown to 'trump' social class. However, class oppression is central to structural inequalities and White hegemony as part of that. White hegemony and social class are inextricably linked. Therefore whilst at times foregrounding race it is essential to challenge these central oppressions simultaneously and collectively.

Education cannot be held responsible for societal manifestations of discontent such as the riots of 2013 and the putative rise of radicalisation amongst young Muslim people. The much quoted sentiment expressed by Bernstein (1971) that education cannot compensate for society holds true. But education, academics and education professionals in general, have a central part to play to support and help to guide people and give sound preparation for children's and young people's future lives.

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Chapter 58

‘Closing the Achievement Gap’ in English Cities and Towns in the Twenty-First Century

Geoff Whitty and Jake Anders

58.1 Introduction

A key focus in English education policy in recent years has been on overcoming persistent ‘social class’ differences in educational achievement, even though the issue is often discussed in terms of ‘poverty’, ‘disadvantage’, ‘deprivation’ or ‘social exclusion’ and differences are usually identified using measures of socio-economic status (SES) or eligibility for free school meals (FSM) (Whitty 2001). For many years in the last century there were major concerns about the underachievement of girls. That gender gap has been largely reversed, although not in the hard sciences or at the very highest levels in some other subjects (Ringrose 2013). Minority ethnic achievement has also been a concern, although there are significant differences in the performance of different minority groups (Gillborn and Mirza 2000).

The policy response to these issues has frequently been targeted at schools (or groups of schools) in urban areas, given the generally higher levels of disadvantage in these locations. Although it can be argued that all schools in England are urban in one sense or another (see Campbell and Whitty 2007), urban education in the UK usually refers to specific spatial locations where a particular combination of economic, social, cultural and demographic conditions poses significant challenges for the education system. While these have traditionally been identified as the inner city areas of large conurbations, including London, there has recently been a growing

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emphasis on the rather different set of challenging conditions that has emerged in smaller isolated towns, especially those in coastal areas.

The urban focus of recent policies in England has sometimes been explicit (as in the case of area-based interventions) but more often implicit (as in the case of national strategies for school improvement). In this chapter we explore a number of such policies, the particular challenges in urban education they sought to address, and their successes and failures. Our emphasis here is on narrowing attainment gaps between socio-economic groups as identified through cognitive measures and the achievement of academic qualifications. This is not intended to suggest that the only purpose of schooling is to achieve such qualifications or that those who fail to do so are deficient, either absolutely or relatively, in other important respects. Indeed, during the period under consideration here there was, for example, considerable emphasis on the role of education in fostering 'well-being'.

One difficulty in establishing the impact of other aspects of education though is that data in these areas are limited and highly contentious. Furthermore, in the present political climate in England, many of those advocating the importance of these wider aspects of education find themselves justifying them in terms of their impact on attainment (see, for example, Harrison et al. 2015). Although this might seem to be ceding too much in the argument over the purposes of education, there is a great deal of evidence that life chances in English society are closely linked to school attainment in a myriad of ways and that personal fulfilment and social justice could both be enhanced by narrowing or closing longstanding academic achievement and participation gaps (Schuller et al. 2004). As Kerr and West (2010) put it, 'despite the dangers of narrowing our view of what education is about', a focus on attainment is justifiable because 'attainment undeniably has important consequences for life chances' (p. 16).

One specific reason why it is important to address the academic attainment gap in schools is that student performance during the compulsory phase of education has significant implications for access to higher education and the labour market. There has been a considerable and, at least until recently, persistent gap in England in the rates of participation in higher education between different social groups and in their opportunities for access to employment in science and technology and the professions (Kelly and Cook 2007). There has also been a strong tendency for students at the most competitive universities (usually concentrating on the self-selected Russell Group of research-intensive institutions) to be drawn from more affluent families (Boliver 2011).

Although there may still be some financial and aspirational barriers to widening participation and ensuring fair access in higher education, it is clear that one of the major impediments to students proceeding to higher education is low prior attainment (Whitty et al. 2015). Recent research has found that, while there is a considerable gap in higher education participation between those from different backgrounds, this gap is actually very small once prior attainment has been fully taken into account (Anders 2012; Vignoles and Crawford 2010). Prior attainment and choices made in terms of future study at ages 14 and 16 can then have huge consequences for future employment prospects. Low attainment and inappropriate subject choices

can be particularly restrictive on opportunities for entry into the professions (Milburn 2009) and STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) related employment (Coyne and Goodfellow 2008).

The remainder of this chapter will concentrate on attempts to narrow the gap in the compulsory phase of schooling (ages 5–16), as well as identifying the sorts of interventions in those years that the evidence suggests might have some potential to break the enduring link between social background and educational achievement. It is important to note, however, that parallel policies have been pursued in relation to pre-school (NESS 2010) and post-compulsory education (Harris 2010).

58.2 New Labour's Attempt to Narrow the Attainment Gap in English Schools, 1997–2010

We begin by highlighting the socio-economic gradient in attainment throughout the English schooling system. Using data from attainment in 2005 (DfES 2006), while there is always a gap between FSM and non-FSM eligible students in terms of relative performance, this does not grow inexorably through the different stages of schooling up to age 14. In each of these stages, the performance of children eligible for FSM is around 85–90 % that of the rest of the cohort, but this widens somewhat at Key Stage 4 where FSM-eligible young people achieve roughly three quarters the average point score of the rest of the cohort (DfES 2006).

Survey data analysed by Goodman et al. (2009) present a slightly different picture when using more detailed measures of SES, rather than simply FSM eligibility. These authors find a widening gap in attainment through children's educational careers up until Key Stage 3 (age 14), but that it narrows somewhat for Key Stage 4 results. The difference between these two analyses is accounted for by the fact that FSM eligibility splits the population into a deprived group and the rest, whereas this analysis generally compares a broader (compared to FSM) lower group with a smaller (compared to non-FSM) higher group. Nevertheless, taken together these studies do point to a widening of the socio-economic gap during English children's educational careers.

During its 13 years in office the New Labour government, first elected in 1997 under the leadership of Tony Blair, increasingly made it a key part of its educational policy to narrow the attainment gap between children from different socio-economic backgrounds (Lupton and Obolenskaya 2013). Given this goal it is perhaps surprising that data on the trends for this gap are somewhat patchy. While there are figures on the gap at particular points in time, they often use different measures of attainment and/or different comparator groups, making the assessment of trends quite difficult. It is also the case that, in the initial period of New Labour government, apart from the Excellence in Cities (EICs) and Education Action Zones (EAZs) programmes, the major emphasis was on driving up standards overall.

EiCs and EAZs were both area-based, but ultimately short-lived, programmes, specifically targeting the issues of disadvantage in urban contexts. EAZs were

established in 1998, following a competitive bidding process by partnerships of schools, local authorities, business and community groups. EAZs received £750,000 on top of £250,000, which had to be sourced from private sponsorship in order to be eligible, with which to establish an “Action Forum”. This acted as a kind of super-governing-body with limited powers over member schools and responsible for drawing up an action plan to be approved by the Secretary of State for Education to raise educational standards in the zone. After disappointing results, funding for new EAZs was dropped after 3 years with all EAZs coming to a stop at the end of their 5 year contracts (Brain and Reid 2003; Power et al. 2004).

EiCs were also an area-based intervention, (initially) focused on local authority areas but, unlike EAZs, they were designated rather than competitive. Starting in September 1999, funding was provided in order to provide some additional programmes (such as Learning Mentors and Learning Support Units), as well as facilitate partnership working and sharing of best practice (through Specialist and Beacon schools) between schools in these shared contexts. An evaluation found a positive, but very modest, impact on attainment at age 14 in both English and mathematics, but rather more marked improvements in attendance (Machin et al. 2004, 2007).

It was the failure of this type of policy to have a significant impact on social differences in attainment that led to specific policies after 2001 to address the attainment gap, with a major thrust in this direction after 2005 (Lupton and Obolenskaya 2013). Although there were increases in average levels of attainment in the first period of New Labour government, some have argued that even these increases were at least partly achieved through grade inflation (Tymms 2004).

Figure 58.1 shows trends in the attainment gap up until 2003 and suggests a slight narrowing of the gap between students from non-manual and manual families.

The Office for National Statistics (ONS 2006) provides data on changes in the attainment gap from 2002 to 2005. These figures show a reduction in the attainment gap between pupils eligible for FSM and those not in terms of those obtaining no GCSEs (or equivalents) and the proportion obtaining 5 or more A*-C GCSEs (or equivalents). These figures show a stronger trend towards narrowing when IDACI (an area-based indicator of deprivation) is used instead of FSM eligibility. This is because this measure compares the most deprived with the least deprived, rather than the most deprived with the rest, and there seems to be evidence of generalised catching up between the bottom three deprivation quartiles and the top. In the FSM measures this catching up by pupils in the middle reduced the relative gains of the bottom compared to the top.

Cook (2011) too presents evidence of a further reduction in the attainment gap between 2006 and 2010. He uses performance relative to the mean in sciences, modern languages, maths, English, history and geography, generally regarded as the core subjects. In this case the size of the reduction looks to be relatively modest and concentrated among those in the bottom fifth of households ranked by deprivation (Fig. 58.2).

The analysis shows a steady weakening of the overall correlation between the two factors in the years between 2006 and 2010. Interestingly, this is the case

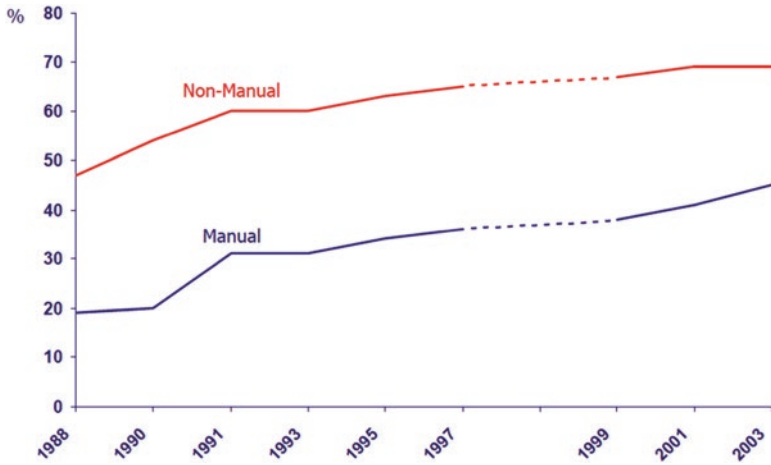


Fig. 58.1 Percentage of cohort achieving 5+ A*-C GCSEs by parents' social class: 1988–2003 (%). Note: Discontinuity exists between 1997 and 1999 because of a change in the classification of social class from SEG to NSSEC. Manual and non-manual categories have been constructed by grouping more detailed breakdown of social class groups. The 'other' group has been excluded from the analysis (Source: DfES (2006) analysis of Youth Cohort Study cohorts 4–12, sweep 1)

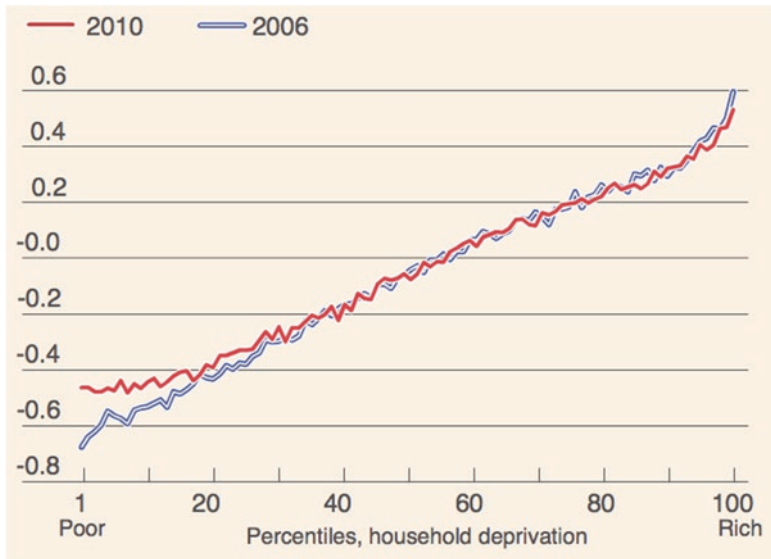


Fig. 58.2 The relationship between household deprivation and relative performance in GCSE point score in core subjects. Notes: Vertical axis shows standard deviation from mean GCSE point score performance in the core subjects of sciences, modern languages, maths, English, history and geography. Percentiles of household deprivation derived using Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI) (Source: Cook (2011) analysis of National Pupil Database)

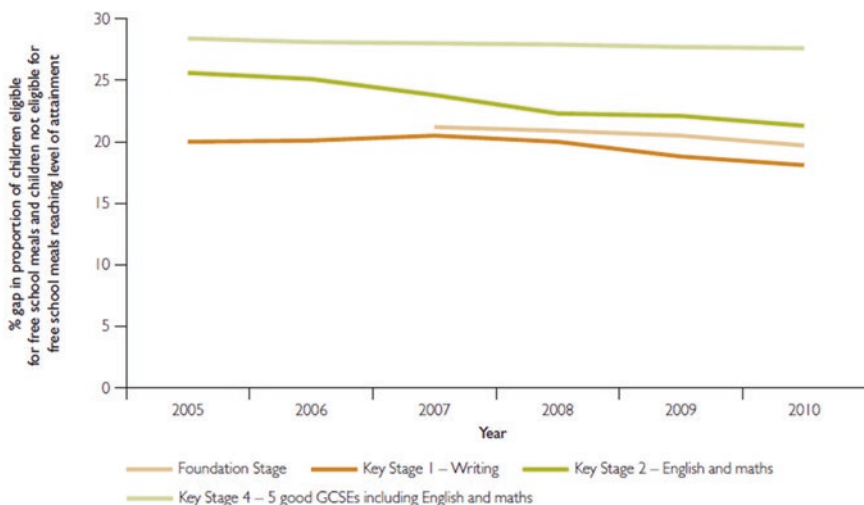


Fig. 58.3 “Gaps in educational performance have narrowed only very slightly despite significant investment” (Source: HM Government (2010b, p. 20) drawing on data from various official sources)

particularly for KS4 attainment overall, where performance on some vocational courses is included. It could be argued that this lends some support to the charge that part of the decline in the socio-economic attainment gap is due to lower-performing students being diverted to alternative courses (de Waal 2008). However, as the core measure still shows a decline not all of the reduction in the gap can be dismissed as illusory, even if one accepts the argument that the alternative courses are somehow less rigorous or marketable.

Although by most measures there was thus a small reduction in the attainment gap under the New Labour government of 1997–2010, it must be regarded as a disappointing achievement when compared with the aspirations of successive Prime Ministers and Secretaries of State for Education. Not surprisingly, the Coalition government that took over in 2010 tended to dismiss even the limited narrowing of the gap that was achieved under New Labour, regarding it as a poor return on the significant amount of public resources invested. This picture is summarised and restated in the Coalition government’s Social Mobility Strategy (HM Government 2010b), and presented graphically in Fig. 58.3 with a politically loaded heading.

58.3 What May Have Contributed to the Narrowing of the Gap?

There were considerable numbers of educational initiatives during the period of New Labour government, reflecting a variety of different understandings about how best to close the gap. They ranged from area-based interventions like Education Action Zones, Excellence in Cities (both of which were described above) and the London Challenge, through national-level changes such as the creation of a network of specialist schools, the foundation of academy schools outside the local authority system, and the National Strategies for Literacy and Numeracy. It also included remodelling the school workforce including the use of more teaching assistants, improving school leadership training, enhancing teacher quality, and the 'personalisation' of education through individually targeted interventions such as Reading Recovery. In addition, there was Every Child Matters, a multi-agency policy that addressed a wider 'children's agenda'. We discuss the success of these policies in the remainder of this section.

The vast numbers of education policies introduced by New Labour led to charges of 'initiative-itis', while the tendency to alter them even before they had been properly evaluated has meant that it is virtually impossible to determine across the system as whole which policies were effective in narrowing the gap. This despite the fact that the government espoused an 'evidence-based' approach to policy and often employed the rhetoric of 'what works' (see Ofsted 2010b; Whitty 2012).

For some policies, such as Education Action Zones, Excellence in Cities and the employment of teaching assistants, the evidence is equivocal or suggests only a very modest positive impact – or even a negative one (Power et al. 2004; Machin et al. 2004, 2007; Blatchford et al. 2012). We therefore focus in the rest of this chapter on the analysis of some of the policies for which there does seem to be some credible evidence that they did have a positive impact on narrowing the attainment gap.

58.3.1 *The National Strategies*

The National Strategies for Literacy (from September 1998) and Numeracy (from September 1999) were a key early policy enacted by Labour in an attempt to raise baseline achievement and thereby, it was anticipated, help to reduce the gap. An evaluation of a major plank of the National Strategy for Literacy, namely the 'Literacy Hour', was conducted by Machin and McNally at the London School of Economics. This identified a significant impact of the Literacy Hour in its piloted form as part of the earlier National Literacy Programme (NLP). It found that 'reading and English Key Stage 2 levels rose by more in NLP schools between 1996 and 1998' than in the comparator schools which had not yet introduced the policy (Machin and McNally 2004, p. 27).

A more critical view has been taken by a series of reports by Tymms and colleagues (Tymms 2004; Tymms et al. 2005; Tymms and Merrell 2007). These question the extent to which standards have truly increased by using secondary data on pupil performance that are argued to be more comparable over time. While it does seem likely that some of the increase in apparent performance has been due to grade inflation it should not detract from quasi-experimental evidence, such as that used by Machin and McNally, since there is no particular reason to think inflation would affect the pilot schools more than comparator schools.

However, the results found by Machin and McNally relate to very early impacts of the intervention. It seems plausible that part of these effects are simply due to the increased focus generated by the introduction of these strategies. Indeed the evaluation of the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies commissioned by the DfES suggests ‘... the initial gains in the 1999 national tests were likely due largely to higher motivation on the part of teachers and others at the local level’ (Earl et al. 2001, p. 5). This would also explain the tailing off in improvements observed in general performance over the period.

More generally Earl et al. (2001) were positive about the impact the Strategies were having in terms of implementation, suggesting they brought about large shifts in priorities within almost all schools in the country. They describe the Strategies as ‘successful’ at more than one point in their report. However, in a critique similar to that later developed by Tymms, Goldstein (2002) suggests the report relied too much on test performance at KS2 to justify extrapolating from successful implementation to success in raising standards.

Machin and McNally (2004) also noted particularly strong effects at lower levels of attainment (but still positive effects for those already achieving above the target level), and an increased impact for boys (who were otherwise lagging) compared to girls. The results on differential impacts at varying levels of ability fit well with the suggestion by Jerrim (2012) of a reduction in the attainment gap at the bottom of the ability distribution and suggests that the Strategies may have been more effective in this respect than their critics claim.

Evaluation of the National Strategies is a difficult task for several reasons. Elements such as the Literacy and Numeracy strategies were rolled out rapidly and comprehensively, quickly becoming a pervasive part of the education system. The Strategies also had many elements reaching across EYFS, primary, secondary, behaviour and attendance, and school improvement programmes. Many evaluations only point to overall improvements in attainment over the period (DfE 2011), implicitly treating almost all New Labour education policies as part of the National Strategies. They also tend to provide only descriptive evidence, and we have no indication of what would have happened in the presence of different or unchanged policies. Indeed the national schools inspectorate (known as Ofsted) has pointed to the failure to evaluate which elements of the National Strategies were successful as a serious shortcoming, partly stemming from the sheer number of initiatives introduced in a relatively short period of time. Its report does however praise the impact the National Strategies have had on increased debate around pedagogy, suggesting

almost all schools feel they have led to an improvement in teaching and learning and the use of assessment (Ofsted 2010b, p. 5).

Specific evaluation of the Narrowing the Gaps element of the National Strategies was carried out by York Consulting (Starks 2011). This focussed on support and resources for both children eligible for FSM and Gypsy, Roma, Traveller (GRT) children. It describes finding evidence of increased use of the practices their literature review suggests are effective in improving pupil attendance, motivation, confidence and attainment. These included capacity building by local authorities to support schools in achieving goals, improved engagement with parents and intelligent tracking of pupil attainment. For the reasons referred to above, there is little specific quantitative evidence of how this feeds through into outcomes beyond the national trends in attainment gaps identified earlier. The limited case study evidence on the reduction of gaps is not particularly encouraging, with only three out of the eight case study schools reducing the attainment gap. However, it is not clear how representative these case studies were and the conclusion appears to relate to a rather limited time frame, although it is not entirely clear exactly what this is. The report suggests that the Strategies were anyway not fully implemented by the end of the period and it argues that with continued support we may see further positive results.

Ultimately, the National Strategies seem to have had a limited impact on the attainment gap, while their overall impact plateaued in later years. By then, and well before it lost the 2010 election, the New Labour government had decided that such large-scale national initiatives were no longer appropriate. Its Children's Plan envisaged much greater local and professional autonomy in driving improvement in the future (DCSF 2007). This was consistent with a wider trend towards handing more responsibility to schools and federations of schools, including autonomous academies and chains of such academies (Curtis 2009).

58.3.2 *Academies*

Originally called 'city academies', academies were based on an expectation that giving greater autonomy to schools with dynamic leadership teams and private sponsorship would improve their performance. Some of these academies were new schools in disadvantaged areas, while others were existing schools deemed to be failing under local authority supervision. Almost all of those founded by New Labour were in disadvantaged, urban contexts.

An official evaluation conducted by PricewaterhouseCoopers on behalf of the DfES (PWC 2008) notes an increased level of performance in these schools relative to the national average. However, this methodology has been criticised (Machin and Vernoit 2011) on two main counts. Firstly, new academies during the period of evaluation had a significantly more disadvantaged intake relative to the national average. Secondly, changes in the socio-economic status of the intake frequently

accompanied the opening of an academy, and these have the potential to further undermine the validity of the comparison.

An evaluation by the National Audit Office (NAO) used a more select group of comparator schools, based on their intake and performance relative to the academies prior to conversion. This found increases in performance, but the analysis suggests this was largely driven by the ‘substantial improvements by the less disadvantaged pupils’ (NAO 2007, p. 27). While improvements are of course to be welcomed, this does not seem particularly promising for reducing attainment gaps between students from higher socio-economic backgrounds unless there are substantial peer effects. On the other hand, as Maden (2002) once put it, successful schools tend to have ‘a “critical mass” of more engaged, broadly “pro-school” children to start with’ (p. 336), so a longer term perspective may be helpful here.

In their own study, Machin and Vernoit (2011) went further to try and overcome the potential for selection bias in the choice of comparator schools. They used maintained schools that went on to become academies after their data collection period. Their analysis yielded preliminary results suggesting that in the academies an extra 3 percentage points of pupils achieved top grades (5 A*-C) at GCSE (or equivalents). However, they only identified this effect in academies that had been open for more than 2 years at the time of their evaluation. Interestingly, their results suggested that despite the same increase in the socio-economic status of the school’s intake noted above (and the consequent reduction for neighbouring schools) there were also increases in performance in those neighbouring schools, perhaps due to increased competition. This finding runs counter to the claims made by most critics of academies, who regard their success as coming at the expense of other local schools.

Further work by Machin and colleagues delved into the ways in which academies achieved improvements in their own outcomes. Their findings are not encouraging for proponents of the policy as a way of closing gaps in performance: they suggest that in general those academies that converted between 2002 and 2007 improved their results by ‘further raising the attainments of students in the top half of the ability distribution, and in particular pupils in the top 20% tail’ and not by improving the results of those in the bottom tail. In addition, they found no evidence of improvements among the academies converting in 2008 and 2009 (Machin and Silva 2013). Perhaps this suggests that conversion to academies is only a useful policy in certain circumstances. Unfortunately, the incoming Coalition government cancelled an evaluation of academies commissioned by the previous government, which might have shed further light on these issues.

Although some of the academies founded under New Labour proved successful in improving the attainment of disadvantaged students, not all academies have performed so well in this and indeed other respects. As Curtis et al. (2008) argued, ‘Academies are in danger of being regarded by politicians as a panacea for a broad range of education problems’. They pointed out that, given the variable performance of academies to date, ‘conversion to an Academy may not always be the best route to improvement’ and that care needed to be taken ‘to ensure they are the “best fit” solution to the problem at hand’ (p. 10). A recent House of Commons Select

Committee report raised doubts about the evidence for academisation driving improvement, although it was more positive about the impact of the early New Labour academies than those created under the subsequent Coalition government (House of Commons 2015).

58.3.3 *Extended Schools*

Extended schools and full service extended schools (similar to full service schools or 'wrap-around schooling' in the USA) were introduced to provide an extended day and/or additional social services on school sites. These were seen as particularly important in areas of multiple deprivation where families needed to access a wide range of support services. The evaluation of New Labour's pilot programme of full service extended schools found that the number of students reaching the national benchmark at age 16 (five good GCSEs) in such schools rose faster than the national average and that it brought particularly positive outcomes for poorer families by providing stability and improving their children's engagement in learning. Encouragingly in terms of the concerns of this paper, the final report indicated that the achievement gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students, based on FSM eligibility, had narrowed in these schools (Cummings et al. 2007, p. 126). However, as this was less of a flagship policy, there is limited evidence about it compared to that available on the National Strategies or the academies programme.

58.3.4 *Reading Recovery*

Support for Reading Recovery was an example of a policy targeted directly at individuals rather than schools or areas and was part of a broader personalisation agenda that developed in the later years of the New Labour administration. Reading Recovery originated in New Zealand but was introduced in England by the Institute of Education and given some government funding and it eventually became a key component of the national Every Child a Reader programme. It provides one on one support to children falling behind in their reading in the first few years of school. While there are often more such children in urban schools, it also supported individuals in more advantaged contexts. A Reading Recovery evaluation (NatCen 2011) saw statistically significant improvements in reading ability and reading related attitudes and behaviours for children receiving help from the programme. It is worth noting, however, that this is a purely descriptive analysis; no comparator group can be identified since it is only in schools where Reading Recovery is being implemented that eligible pupils are identified. As such, we cannot say what progress these children would have made in the absence of Reading Recovery. It could be the case that some would have caught up by themselves or through pre-existing

support mechanism, or alternatively that they would have fallen further behind. The same evaluation also used a quasi-experimental method to estimate a wider impact of Every Child a Reader. This found an encouraging impact on school level reading and writing attainment of between 2 and 6 percentage points in the later years of the intervention.

58.3.5 *Teach First*

There has been an increasing recognition that ‘that getting the right people to become teachers is critical to high performance’ (Barber and Mourshed 2007, p. 16). Teach First, like Teach for America, was an initiative to recruit highly qualified graduates into teaching in particularly disadvantaged schools. It began work in London in 2002 and, until relatively recently, all Teach First recruits spent their 2 years on the programme in school in disadvantaged, urban contexts. An evaluation by Muijs et al. (2010) provides indicative results that schools with Teach First teachers achieve higher attainment for their students than comparable schools (as matched by type of school, gender intake, performance levels, student intake characteristics, location and school size). As with any quasi-experimental method we cannot be sure the results are causal, since the matching will not be able to ensure the schools are truly comparable; indeed, since schools choose if they wish to partner with Teach First there seems considerable scope for those with more proactive leadership or more capacity to benefit from Teach First teachers to be driving these results. The evaluation attempts to assess this possibility by also comparing Ofsted evaluations of Teach First and comparator schools, finding little significant difference. It also finds some evidence of a mild, but significant, correlation between the number of Teach First teachers in a school and its student outcomes, a pattern we would expect where such teachers are making a real difference to the pupils’ attainment. While this does not give us specific evidence on closing the attainment gap, since all Teach First schools have disadvantaged intakes, it seems plausible that this initiative can help to reduce between school attainment gaps.

58.3.6 *London Challenge*

The transformation of schooling in London under New Labour is worthy of particular attention. Wyness (2011) notes that, while the demographic character of London would lead one to expect that educational outcomes in London would be inferior to those in the rest of the country, London students actually perform better than those from the rest of the country at most ages and levels of attainment. Performing similarly well to the rest of the country at KS1, London students ‘pull away from their non-London counterparts at Key Stage 2, with the gap remaining constant, or increasing at Key Stage 4’ (Wyness 2011, p. 47). In this section we explore why this

is the case, considering the role of both direct policy interventions and other influences.

One of the possible explanations Wyness offers for this is the London Challenge, a policy introduced in 2003 at a time when there was something of a 'moral panic' about the performance of London's schools. Its overall brief was ambitious and extensive (DfES 2005). While it included some market-based elements, others seemed to respond to the potentially negative effects of such policies. It was consistent with the New Labour emphasis on standards, and recognised the importance of concerted collective efforts to raise achievement among those schools and children that had been languishing under existing policies. The first Commissioner for London Schools, Tim Brighouse, describes London as trying to be the first place to show that schools could contribute to 'cracking the cycle of disadvantage' (Brighouse 2007, p. 79).

London Challenge was initially a 5 year partnership between central government, schools and boroughs to raise standards in London's secondary school system. Provision included transforming some failing schools into academies, pan-London resources and programmes available to all schools, individualized support for the most disadvantaged students and intensive work with 5 of the 33 London boroughs and more particularly with 'Keys to Success' schools within them. These schools were those in London facing the biggest challenges and in greatest need of additional support. Each school received bespoke solutions through diagnostic work and on-going support (Brighouse 2007). Provision was extended in 2006 to include work with primary schools and in relation to students' progression to further and higher education. Additional continuing professional development for teachers was provided through the Chartered London Teacher scheme and for head teachers through the London Leadership Strategy.

The Conservative Secretary of State for Education from 2010 to 2014, Michael Gove, claimed that the three most important elements were sponsored academies, the use of outstanding schools to mentor others and a focus on improving the quality of teaching – especially through Teach First, the English equivalent of Teach for America (Gove 2012). While this emphasis is perhaps not surprising given the centrality of these particular policies to his own party's preferred reforms, which are discussed at the end of this paper, there is certainly some support for the claim that each of these particular policies had a positive impact on schools in their own right (Machin and Veroit 2011; Earley and Weindling 2006; Muijs et al. 2010). However, we are not aware of any research that shows that they were necessarily the most important elements in the success of the London Challenge or in narrowing the attainment gap in London. In reality, New Labour's London Challenge programme whose success Gove was praising was a multi-faceted and system-wide policy, and it included some elements that seem to be out of step with the present government's approach. It involved a range of interventions at the level of 'the London teacher, the London leader, the London school and the London student' (Brighouse 2007, p. 80ff).

This means that unfortunately, as with national policies, it is actually quite difficult to identify which, if any, of the particular parts of the intervention did make a

difference. Nevertheless, many commentators have suggested that the overall approach of London Challenge does seem to have had an impact. They point to national performance data that show that between 2003 and 2006, the national rate of improvement in the number of students achieving 5 or more GCSE passes with grades A*-C at age 16 was 6.7%, whereas in London it was 8.4% and in the 'Keys to Success' schools in London it was 12.9% (DfES 2007a).

Towards the end of its existence, the London Challenge was extended to other English cities as the City Challenge (DfES 2007b). Hutchings et al. (2012) suggest that these programmes had impacts on reducing the number of underperforming schools and increasing the performance of those eligible for FSM faster than the national average. However, only in London (and in Greater Manchester in the primary phase) was there a closing of the attainment gap over the period 2008–2011.

Even in London, it was initially suggested that the improvement in the overall performance of London schools noted above derived largely from an increase in attainment among the more advantaged students in the schools that were receiving the most intensive interventions. However, subsequently it was found that not only were the 'Keys to Success' schools improving at a faster rate than the norm, the attainment gap for disadvantaged children in London was itself narrowing faster than elsewhere and narrowing fastest in these particular schools. Using FSM entitlement as a proxy for economic disadvantage, data provided to us by the DfES showed that attainment at age 16 for this group of pupils within 'Keys to Success' schools rose by a larger amount than for the non-FSM pupils (13.1 points compared to 12.3 points for the latter between 2003 and 2006). Michael Gove too drew attention to this particular success for poorer children in London when he noted that while in England more generally '35 per cent of children on free school meals achieve five good GCSEs with English and Maths ... in inner-London 52 per cent meet [this benchmark]' (Gove 2012). He also noted that this is not far off the national average for pupils regardless of their background.

A report by Ofsted on the impact of London Challenge described continuing positive impacts beyond the initial period. It noted that the primary schools that joined the London Challenge 'are improving faster than those in the rest of England', partly attributing this to schools continuing to participate in development programmes for teachers after the support given as part of London Challenge had ended (Ofsted 2010a). The report was positive about the possibilities for maintaining the gains from London Challenge due to changes it has engendered in practices (such as increased use of performance data to track progress) and ethos (such as motivating staff to share good practice with other schools). It could be that such collaboration may have countered the more negative effects of school choice mechanisms, so it will be important to monitor what happens in London now that the initiative as a whole has finally come to an end but market-oriented policies remain in place. On this issue, Hutchings et al. (2012) found some encouraging evidence that schools that were part of the initial London Challenge scheme, but no longer funded as Keys to Success schools after 2008, continued to improve at a faster rate than the national average despite the extra support ending.

However, it is possible that there were also other factors at work in London that contributed to progress in London under New Labour (Wyness 2011; Allen 2012). Indeed, various reports in 2014 on the improvement in the educational performance of London, and the role of the London Challenge in that improvement, came to significantly different conclusions. These varied from lauding the London Challenge (Baars et al. 2014), explaining the success by earlier educational interventions (Greaves et al. 2014) and attributing it to the changing ethnic mix of the capital, noting that between 2004 and 2013, the share of London's population that is White British fell by 10%, while higher performing groups such as Mixed, Other White, and Black African became a larger share of London's population (Burgess 2014, Figure 6). The controversy continues to this day (McAleavy and Elwick 2015; Blanden et al. 2015), but this issue requires resolution before we can assume that policies associated with the London Challenge are replicable (even with contextual adjustments) in other parts of the country, as has been suggested by Ofsted (2013) and Centre Forum (Claeys et al. 2014).

After all, it can plausibly be argued (rather as Diane Ravitch (2010) argues in the case of New York school district 2) that even the limited progress made under New Labour, particularly in London, was more to do with their tenure of office coinciding with a period of sustained economic boom and demographic changes than with any of these education policies – so that perhaps the economy is the driver and Bernstein (1970) was right that education cannot compensate for society. If this is the case it will be much more of a challenge to bring about similar improvements in the post-industrial cities of the North of England or the run-down coastal towns that have recently become the focus of education policy.

58.4 Policies Under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition, 2010–2015

The Coalition government that was elected to replace New Labour in May 2010 made an ambitious commitment to 'closing' the achievement gap as part of a wider commitment to increasing social mobility, which it claimed had stalled under New Labour (HM Government 2010a). The general thrust of its policies was to continue and accelerate the emphasis on seeking improvement through school autonomy, competition and choice that was pioneered by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government but continued by New Labour under Tony Blair (Whitty 1989, 2008).

While the academies policy of the Blair government discussed above sought to use academy status mainly to prioritise the replacement or improvement of failing schools in disadvantaged areas, the Conservative-led Coalition potentially extended this status to virtually all schools. Schools highly rated by Ofsted, a disproportionate number of which are in more affluent areas, can now be granted academy status automatically if they so desire. Meanwhile, parents, teachers and others have been encouraged to open publicly funded 'free schools', which like academies are outside

local authority jurisdiction. It remains an open question whether such policies help to ‘close’ the gap or, as some critics have suggested, effectively ‘open’ it up again, and attempts to assess the evidence have so far come to no firm conclusions about the impact of these policies (House of Commons 2015; McNally 2015). Around 60% of English secondary schools and nearly 10% of primary schools now have academy or free school status and increasingly many of them are being linked in academy ‘chains’, whose performance, like that of stand-alone academies, is variable particularly in respect of closing the gap (Hutchings et al. 2014).

Recognising that there is a complex relationship between attainment, autonomy, collaboration and accountability, the House of Commons Education Committee has argued that ‘current evidence does not allow us to draw conclusions on whether academies in themselves are a positive force for change’ and ‘agree[d] with Ofsted that it is too early to draw conclusions on the quality of education provided by free schools or their broader system impact’ (House of Commons 2015). Nevertheless, a study by the think tank, Policy Exchange, has since argued that, contrary to some of the criticisms levelled at free schools, their presence has improved, rather than diminished, the results of poorly performing neighbouring schools (Porter and Simons 2015). However, the methodology of the report has come in for criticism given its lack of statistical significance testing and potential issues of improvements being driven by regression towards the mean (Green 2015). Nevertheless, it is certainly a finding that would merit more rigorous investigation.

As mentioned earlier, a major thrust of policy under the Coalition government was to identify and address achievement gaps outside the large conurbations. Some of these underperforming areas have been in apparently affluent counties such as Surrey in the south of England but media attention has often become focused on small northern cities, small towns in the east of England and coastal towns around the country (Ofsted 2013). It has certainly been important to highlight previously neglected underperformance in such areas and remind ourselves that the achievement gap is (and has always been in practice) much more than a ‘urban’ problem in the conventional sense. Not only are there more disadvantaged children outside ‘failing’ schools in the big cities but they are often ‘unseen’ for a variety of reasons that require careful study. However, the Coalition’s main policy solutions were largely familiar, namely academisation and a series of local and regional challenges (Ovenden-Hope and Passy 2013; Claeys et al. 2014). It will be important that any future such initiatives are aligned to particular local demographics and economic conditions rather than mimicking the apparent success of London Challenge (and to a lesser extent the other City Challenges) of the New Labour era, and give due consideration to the sorts of issues raised in the discussion of London Challenge earlier in this chapter.

There is also considerable controversy about whether the Coalition government’s curriculum policies will eventually help to close the attainment gap. There was for example a commendable emphasis on early literacy but an undue commitment to ‘synthetic phonics’ as the only way to teach reading, despite evidence that, while it can indeed be an effective strategy with disadvantaged children, it is not a panacea and that a more mixed approach is desirable (Wyse and Parker 2012).

Another policy introduced by Michael Gove, when Secretary of State for Education in the Coalition Government, was the 'English Baccalaureate', an award to students but also effectively a new performance measure for secondary schools based on the percentage of students achieving high grades in specified subjects, i.e. English, mathematics, two sciences, history or geography and a foreign language. This seems, initially at least, to have affected socially disadvantaged students adversely as they are more likely to have been exposed to alternative curricula than more advantaged students on a university entrance track (DfE 2014).

A linked policy was to reduce the number of 'equivalent' qualifications that are permitted to be used in school performance tables as alternatives to the GCSE qualifications at age 16. This is having an impact on the number of vocational qualifications taught in schools and has placed a further emphasis on a return to conventional academic qualifications. Ironically, in view of the Coalition government's enthusiastic embrace of the academies programme, some of the New Labour academies that moved sharply up the performance tables in recent years did so partly by introducing these alternative qualifications (de Waal 2009).

The Coalition government's response to concerns about its traditionalist curriculum policy was that social justice requires equal access to high status knowledge and that there is little point in students succeeding on courses that are deemed to have little value by universities, employers and the wider society. However, while there may well be a good argument for ensuring that all students should have the opportunity to gain access to 'powerful knowledge' (Young 2010), if indeed that is what is the traditional curriculum provides, governments will need to give more attention than hitherto to reforming the pedagogy through which school subjects are taught (Whitty 2010). Exley & Ball (2011) have argued that some current approaches involve a return to the nineteenth century and we need to remember that very few disadvantaged children and families benefited from the forms of schooling that predominated in those days.

Some of the neo-conservative policies advocated by the Conservatives were moderated by the social justice agenda of the Liberal Democrat party whose votes gave the Coalition its majority in parliament. Among policies that were strongly influenced by Liberal Democrat thinking was a commitment to address the attainment gap through a 'pupil premium' paid on top of the normal grant for every school age student in receipt of free school meals in state schools. This was consistent with the earlier trend of linking resources to individuals in need regardless of the neighbourhood in which they were receiving their schooling. Unfortunately, welcome as this payment was, the level of it was significantly below that envisaged by the Liberal Democrats prior to the election and it replaced some other targeted benefits that were paid under New Labour. Most seriously, the fact that it was introduced at a time of major expenditure cuts in other areas meant that some schools barely noticed its impact. Nevertheless, it was subsequently significantly increased and extended and, although the money is not ring-fenced or mandated for particular purposes, monitoring of its use by Ofsted may be helping to ensure that it is actually used to benefit the education of the disadvantaged. Early surveys were not particularly encouraging in this respect, and suggested that too little of the money allocated

through the pupil premium for disadvantaged children was being spent on activities that are known to boost attainment (Sutton Trust 2012; Ofsted 2012). However, more recent surveys have been somewhat more positive about its role in narrowing the gap (Ofsted 2014a).

An initiative that may have helped in this respect was the creation by the Coalition Government of an Education Endowment Foundation, a grant-making charity dedicated to raising the attainment of disadvantaged pupils in English primary and secondary schools by finding out 'what works' in challenging educational disadvantage. One of the ways in which it does this is by providing independent and accessible information through a Learning and Teaching Toolkit (EEF 2012), which provides guidance to schools on how best to use the pupil premium to improve attainment by summarising relevant educational research from the United Kingdom and elsewhere. It identified effective feedback, meta-cognition and peer tutoring as three strategies that have been shown to have high or very high impact at low cost, on the basis of strong evidence. In the case of peer tutoring it suggested that children from disadvantaged backgrounds derived particularly large benefits from this strategy. It also identified the high impact of early years interventions, but noted the high costs involved.

But all this may be of marginal significance. There are already signs that the slight narrowing of the attainment gap identified earlier under New Labour has stalled or even been reversed, at least at secondary school level (DfE 2014; Ofsted 2014b). While this may reflect the wider effects of economic austerity as much as specific education policies brought in by the Coalition Government (Clifton and Cook 2012), the downgrading of vocational and alternative courses in accountability measures does seem to have had a significant impact (Adams 2015).

A further issue is that the gap on what are being termed as 'elite measures' (i.e. those recording the highest levels of attainment) has remained stubbornly wide, as illustrated in Fig. 58.4 below.

This shows that, even where the attainment gap in schools has narrowed overall, it is largest for the elite measures, Levels 5 and 6 at KS2, 5A*-C at KS4 and AAB at A-level (even after drop-out). Given the crucial importance of these and other elite measures for social sorting, via entry to the upper reaches of higher education and the professions, the challenge remains considerable. This will hardly be surprising to those familiar with theories of social and cultural reproduction (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

If further progress is to be made, what is needed, at the very least, is an acceptance of the conclusion of Kerr and West (2010) that 'efforts to improve schools must be accompanied by efforts to support disadvantaged families' (p. 41). This was also the thrust of reports by Labour MPs, Field (2010) and Allen (2011). Furthermore, as argued under a previous government, 'society needs to be clearer about what schools can and cannot be expected to do' (Mortimore and Whitty 1997, p. 12). This does not mean that schools cannot make a difference, or that they do not have a particularly important role in helping to narrow the attainment gap and thereby enhancing the life chances of disadvantaged children. It does mean that they cannot do it alone. The analysis of the impact of English education policy since 1997

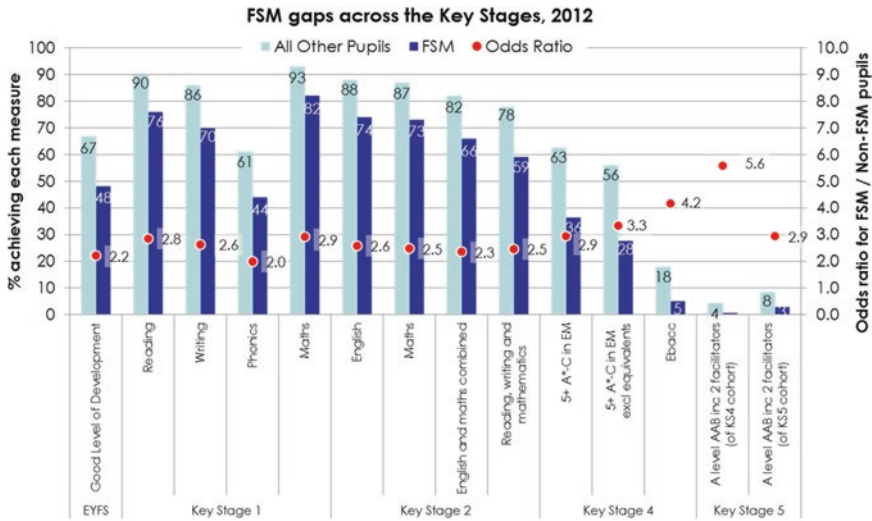


Fig. 58.4 FSM gaps for ‘elite measures’ across the key stages, 2012 (Source: DfE personal communication, 2013)

offered here also provides support for the warning made by Ravitch (2010) in relation to parallel policies in the USA ‘that, in education, there are no shortcuts, no utopias, and no silver bullets’ (p. 3). Unfortunately, there is little evidence that English politicians of any political persuasion have yet learnt those lessons.

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Chapter 59

Migrant Children in Urban Schools in Ireland

Dympna Devine

59.1 Introduction

Education policy and practice has a profound impact on the power and positioning of children in the wider society (Devine 2002). Global policymakers such as the Organisation of Economic Development and Co-operation (OECD) are having a profound impact on shaping who and what matters in education and how children's learning, being and 'doing' is being directed in particular ways (Devine and Luttrell 2013). Neo-liberal market oriented policies, given further momentum in the economic crisis, construct childhood and what is 'good' in childhood in terms of what is required of children in human capital terms. What is defined as 'good' is however value laden. What is at stake is not only how schooling and education is being defined, but how childhood is being constructed through the dominant message systems (Bernstein 1975) in schools. In this context, 'value' is attributed to those children who shape themselves according to the neo-liberal ideal, contributing to the talent pool through their performance in schools. This 'governing by numbers' (Grek 2009) raises key questions for educators in terms of who and what to value in their pedagogy and for children in terms how they negotiate and position themselves in an increasingly value laden synoptic environment. Such questions are bound with the framing of children's identities, including citizenship (Devine 2002), how practices at the level of schooling shapes children's experience of whom they are, as well as what they will become. It raises questions around how children as a group are valued, what is valued in children's learning and if children are valued differently depending on how they 'perform' in school (Devine and McGillicuddy 2016). In this chapter I argue that it is how children are differently valued in schools that set the context within which wider inequalities between different groups of children emerge. This is a complex process, influencing present well-being as well as future

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life-chances. I explore the tensions and dilemmas in the ‘valuing’ of children in urban schools in Ireland with respect to migrant children – a group who are increasingly visible in global policy discourse in education and who epitomize dilemmas around reputation and risk, value and being valued in an increasingly competitively structured education market. However as Pink and Noblit (2007) remind us, the experience of urbanization and urban education varies across cultural and social contexts, and with it the experience of these market dynamics and how they are played out at local and national levels.

59.2 Local Dynamics: The Irish Context

Ireland is an interesting case both in terms of patterns of economic, social and urban development as well as the structuring of the education system. Over a period of 30 years it evolved from being a predominantly rural based economy and society to now being positioned as among the most open economies in the world, heavily reliant on foreign direct investment for economic growth and development. It has in that time strategically sought to position itself at the high end of the global market economy with a significant presence of leading IT/digital companies and companies involved in the pharmaceutical/health care sectors. Urbanisation has accompanied this change, with almost 40% of the population of 4.6 million located in the city of Dublin and its surrounding environs, a proportion set to increase substantively over the next 20 years (Central Statistics Office 2013).

This wider shift has been accompanied by changed patterns of migration. Ireland was traditionally a country of emigration with repeat circulations of a mainly Irish diaspora in patterns of immigration/emigration depending on economic cycles of expansion and contraction. More recently it was identified by the OECD (2010: 25) as having the most abrupt and intensive migration pattern among OECD countries in the past two decades, with the number of immigrants doubling in the period from 1998 to 2007 from 7.8% to 15.7% of the population during what became known as the ‘Celtic’ tiger boom. Earlier phases of this intensive immigration were characterized by the attraction of highly skilled immigrants working in the IT/digital, pharmaceutical and health related sectors. However the pattern shifted from 2006 to a greater intake of less skilled immigrants to service the booming construction and services sectors. While immigrants came from over 180 countries, substantive numbers came from Eastern Europe after 2004 (especially Poland), Asia (India and the Philippines) and to a lesser extent Nigeria (CSO 2013). During the financial crisis, one of the countries globally to be most severely affected (Nolan et al. 2014), net migration declined. Yet the numbers of children of immigrant families in schools continued to increase suggesting a choice by immigrant families to remain in Ireland in spite of the deep recession (CSO 2013). In addition, national level studies of parental background and education confirm higher than average levels of education to degree and post-graduate levels, especially among mothers (primary care givers) in immigrant groups (McGinnity et al. 2015), including those from Eastern Europe,

Africa and Asia.¹ Nonetheless, data also suggests that of the migrant child population many have experienced separation from their parents during the transition process and a substantive proportion (18%) live in lone parent families (Dept of Children and Youth Affairs 2012). With the adoption of neo-liberal policies of economic reform, and severe cut backs to the provision of public services during the recessionary period, the burden of the economic crisis in Ireland has been most strongly experienced by children and young people (UNICEF 2014) with rates of consistent child poverty increasing from 8% to 11% during the crisis years. Migrants, coupled with children in lone families are among those adversely affected, all the more so because they tend to be clustered in disadvantaged communities in the largest urban centres.

The context in Ireland then is one marked by rapid and intensive social and economic change, from boom to bust (and currently considerable growth again), with significant demographic change in the proportion of children of immigrant background in the school sectors. While children of immigrant background now comprise approximately 12% of the primary school population, and 10% of the secondary school population, greater clustering of immigrants is evident in secondary schools in urban centres and in primary and secondary schools more generally in disadvantaged areas. Within Irish society, the ethnic 'norm' is white, sedentary and Catholic. This is reflected in a mostly state funded denominational school system, with over 90% of primary schools under Catholic patronage, and just over 2% classified as multi-denominational (Darmody et al. 2012). As we will see, this raises key issues around recognition and power, including access to schools. Given that only 52% of the migrant population defines themselves as Catholic (CSO 2013), significant issues can arise in the capacity of migrant families to access a school in the local community (Devine 2011).

The analysis and data drawn on in the remainder of the chapter derives from a number of mainly qualitative and ethnographic studies of migrant children and young people in urban schools in Ireland over the past 15 years, and more extensively reported elsewhere.² Ethical protocols in conducting research with immigrant children and their parents were followed and secured through university ethics committee.³ Names used throughout are pseudonyms.

¹ This is especially significant for the performance of immigrant students (OECD 2012) as is the level of clustering of immigrants of low SES together in disadvantaged schools.

² These included intensive case study analysis of policies and practices across 12 urban schools (6 primary and 6 second level) in the earlier phases of immigration, that included interviews with teachers and 345 students (See Devine 2005; Devine and Kelly 2006; Devine et al. 2008), in addition to research in later years on the experiences of immigrant parents in 6 urban schools (Devine 2011), and further research exploring teaching practices through interviews and observations of 78 teachers and their classes in 12 urban schools (Devine et al. 2013).

³ This followed best practice in relation to research with vulnerable groups and specifically with children and young people (Alderson and Morrow 2004).

59.3 Migrant Children and Education: The Impact of Global Policy

I want to take as my starting point two significant global policy platforms in relation to the structuring of modern childhoods and consider these in terms of tensions over the broader value and valuing of migrant children. The first is the influence of the OECD. Globally its impact is felt through the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which ranks countries in a series of league tables based on student performances in the areas of literacy, mathematics and science. The OECD draws very specific linkages between these indicators of children's performance and the maximization of economic growth through their human capital. In other words the *value* of children is increasingly being constructed in terms of the *added value* they bring through their productivity in schools (Devine and Luttrell 2013). The power of such league tables signals a new form of governing by numbers (Grek et al. 2009) which has direct consequences for shaping debates not only over pedagogy but over children's very identities – practices of subjectification par excellence (Devine 2002; Foucault 1979). Rose (2001) refers to the 'governing of the soul' in modern societies, the liberal 'subject' free to choose, and pursue 'excellence' as a matter of personal 'character' and individual agency. We can equally apply such concepts to children in schools – the 'good' child as liberal 'subject' and 'productive' citizen, maximizing personal achievement and development, and the pursuit of happiness through their productivity in school. As centres of disciplinary power, schools then require children to 'work' upon themselves in particular ways (Devine 2002). But this is not played out in the same way for all children and is significantly influenced by the resources they can mobilise (Devine 2009), and which may be differently valued in schools.

The intersection between the global policy space on valuing children as human capital and how this influences practice at national, and indeed local levels, is especially evident in the case of migrant children. With the advent of advanced market capitalism, competition states (Ball 2009) seek to harness the best talent among citizens, but also boost the supply of labour through targeted immigration that contributes to the 'talent' pool. Given the central role of education to processes of 'human capital' development, states compete not only on the attraction of 'high end' immigrants, but simultaneously on positioning themselves competitively with other states in terms of education outcomes. These latter become a signifier of present as well as future economic and social capacities – all important in the sustained attraction of inward high end international /multi-national investment. In countries such as Ireland, a perceived 'drop' in educational capital interpreted through 'PISA' performance scores becomes a potential 'threat' to its reputation as a fertile ground for high end skilled (English speaking) adult labour.

This is where the discourse of migration as contributor to national prosperity becomes a double edge sword however. Tensions arise between the value of migrants as economic labour in the present and threats to long-term economic and social stability if migrants, and especially the children of immigrants, do not integrate into

the broader social and cultural fabric of the society. These issues are to the fore currently in the ‘refugee crisis’ in Europe, as border controls are implemented in the EU, and the racialization of Muslims especially and xenophobic sentiment increases. Alba and Foner (2015) in their overview of policies across Europe and the USA define ‘integration’ thus:

“Integration,” as we understand it, refers to the processes that increase the opportunities of immigrants and their descendants to obtain the valued “stuff” of a society, as well as social acceptance, through participation in major institutions such as the educational and political system and the labor and housing markets. Full integration implies parity of life chances with members of the native majority group and being recognized as a legitimate part of the national community. (Alba and Foner 2015: 5)

Integration here is explicitly equated with value – obtaining the ‘valued stuff’ of a society. But it is also connected with being recognized within that society, as a legitimate member of the community. As we will see what counts as ‘legitimate’ and of value, what is recognized, is key to the wider valuing of those who are ‘othered’.

Concerns over the lack of immigrant integration have given rise to a substantive focus in European policy in this area in recent years, with education targeted as a key mechanism through which integration is to be realized. The European Directive on the education of children of migrant ‘workers’ (EU Directive 77/46/CEE) is one example as is the evolution of policy through the work of the OECD, International Monetary Fund (IMF); the European Union (EU); United Nations Education Social and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the World Bank. One issue that consistently emerges is the relative underperformance of immigrant groups in education into the second and third generations, as well as the clustering of immigrant children and their families in disadvantaged schools and communities (OECD 2010, 2012, 2013).

These embedded patterns suggest tensions with respect to the positioning of immigrants and their children in settlement societies that centre around the *valuing* of migrant children as persons in the present and their *added value* (or not) to the society as a whole through their future ‘becoming’ as adults. Within neo-liberal discourse, migrant children are ‘valued’ as potentially productive, performing, flexible, mobile workers of the future adult labour force, especially in ‘ageing’ societies (Zeicher et al. 2007). They add value to the settlement society *provided* that they accommodate to the norms within that society, interpreted through their levels of comparative achievement relative to native children (OECD 2010). While patterns of integration of migrant children and their families may differ (Alba and Foner 2015; Stepick and Stepick 2010) policy discourses increasingly refer to the ‘enrichment’ value of migrant children, adding to the national talent pool, enhancing the possibility for cultural and economic exchange and flexibility through their very diversity (Bryan 2010; Reay et al. 2010). Simultaneously however migrant children are positioned as a potential threat to the very social cohesion that is required to enhance economic growth and development. They become potential liabilities and ‘risk’ when their performance lowers that of the country nationally in comparative PISA scores, or through patterns of disengagement and dissonant acculturation

(Stipeck 2010) that are perceived as a threat to the social order. We see then a mirroring of the valuing of adult migrants (in productive terms through their contribution to the labour market) with that of their children – through their relative productivity in schools. Within this economically instrumentalist discourse, sustained investment in the education of migrant children is advocated, not as a ‘good’ in and of itself, but almost as a firewall against the negative social and economic impact of the lack of immigrant integration (Devine 2011).

But ‘regimes of truth’ and policy is more complex than this. Power operates in multiple, contradictory and diverse ways and includes the power to resist, re-subjectify and re/form (Youdell 2006). Parallel with this human capital and social investment policy discourse on children and childhood more generally (Kjorholt and Qvortrup 2012), there is an increasing emphasis being placed on children’s rights, voice and participation through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). This latter provides guidelines not only for a ‘good’ childhood but also what is ‘good’ in childhood (James and James 2008). As such it signals very specific discourses around what is valued in childhood as well as how children should be valued. General principles define children’s rights of non-discrimination and having a say in matters that directly affect them (Articles 2, 3 and 12). Within education the convention asserts children’s rights not only to education (Article 28) but to their holistic development and overall well-being (Article 29). Put simply it defines children’s *rights to education* as well as to equality and quality *in their experience of education*. Globally this has led to an increasing focus on children’s well-being, voice and participation that becomes directly translated into policies and practice at national level (Ben Arieh and Froenes 2011; Lundy 2013). While the concept of well-being is itself open to critique (Morrow and Mayall 2009); nonetheless summary indicators such as those provided by UNICEF (2009) attempt to frame the analysis on the valuing of children within a broader framework of inclusion, participation and citizenship. The lens has also focused on migrant children, with a special report on children in immigrant families conducted by UNICEF in 2009. More recently indicators of immigrant integration have also been published (OECD 2012) as well as detailed analyses of policies and practices in schools to improve the quality of immigrant children’s educational experience (OECD 2010). Such research provides clear indicators of the negative impact of clustering of migrant children in disadvantaged urban communities. It confirms that poor student performance, particularly among immigrant students is most strongly related to the proportion of students in the school whose mothers have low levels of education. The links between such clustering and wider processes of integration and settlement into the host society are clear.

However, as education systems become simultaneously directed toward neo-liberal performance based goals, this influences what is valued and I argue how children may become differently valued and positioned within the more competitive market driven discourse. This is especially the case for children at the margins of society, including those of immigrant background. This is not a simple process however and requires a nuanced understanding of the dialectical interplay between structure and agency in shaping actions and reactions in social contexts (Giddens 1984), including in schools (Devine 2002).

59.4 Practices of Recognition in Urban Schools

Pedagogy is fundamentally about transformation, but it is the nature of that transformation (as production or reproduction), who defines what shape it will take and how it is experienced in *practice* that frames children's identities and educational experience. Bourdieu captures these tensions when he speaks of social spaces, such as schools, as fields of struggle, caught between forces of transformation and preservation depending on access to power and resources:

A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field...Constant permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time, becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the *transformation or preservation* of the field. (Bourdieu 1998: 40–41)

Recognition is central to these dynamics of transformation and preservation, endlessly 'affirmed and reaffirmed' through everyday social inter-change between social actors with mutual dispositions in a given field. Of course the capacity to recognise and be recognised is itself subject to the distribution of power with significant differences across social groupings both in the volume of capital (economic, social and cultural) agents hold and the relative weighting of different types of capital in each field. The dynamic and active 'playing' within each 'field' is also undercut by strong emotional and psychosocial processes (Reay 2005; Zembylas 2011) as individuals re/act within them.

Conceptualising school space as social, interactive and agentic allows for a more nuanced analysis of the processes of both production and reproduction that give rise to different learning trajectories for migrant children in schools. These tensions can be framed in terms of tensions in 'productive' practice. It is a tension between the harnessing of migrant children's potential as flexible, mobile productive adult *becomings* (added value) and the full recognition of their *present* lived experiences (valuing) rooted in negotiating their identities (and that of their family) in the settlement society (McGovern and Devine 2015). These are both informed by and contribute to dynamics of recognition/misrecognition at both global and local levels.

It could be argued that the two strands do not need to operate in opposition – that valuing migrant children, securing their 'well-being', brings 'added value' in terms of productivity, integration and social cohesion. The tension arises however because it is policy makers who may frame these possibilities in reverse. Well-being arises *from* productivity and performance, achieved through individual effort and 'character' rather than through social investment and a sustained infrastructure of state support. Within the neo-liberal paradigm, value is placed on those who produce and perform, with an implicit devaluing of those who do not succeed because of assumed deficits in their character/motivation and/or individual capacities. Practically it involves a retraction in support for those who are in need and an increasing reliance on a discourse of personal responsibility and self-actualization. Inter-generationally it emphasizes the value of children as future adult assets, while implicitly valuing children differently on the basis of their affiliation to dominant cultural and classed norms (white/majority ethnic and middle class).

We see this thrust in global policy in the increasing focus on processes of acculturation of immigrant families as explanatory factors in social mobility (OECD 2012). Rights then are placed alongside responsibilities; ‘failure’ at school is ascribed to lack of ‘good’ parenting (Crozier et al. 2010), while wider structural inequalities are downplayed and ignored. While these are tensions that equally apply to other groups of children, the synoptic gaze on migrant children is particularly intense precisely because as a group they are positioned in global discourses as valuable (potential diverse and flexible adult labour supply) and in need of valuing as persons with rights to provision, protection and participation.

59.5 Evolving Patterns with Migrant Children in Urban Schools

From a national policy perspective two key issues signal some of these dynamics of recognition and value: access to schools/school choice; and policy of immigrant supports in schools. I want to consider these with respect to evolving patterns and practices with migrant children in urban schools in Ireland.

59.5.1 *The Impact of National Policy*

The policy context in Ireland has shifted over the past two decades, from one of total absence in the early phases of immigration, to a rapid trajectory of policy and legal developments that signaled shifting and contradictory discourses on immigration and migrant children in practice. This is most explicit in constitutional change to citizenship rights in 2004 where this was now to be determined by blood lineage by the children of existing citizens and/or length of stay of immigrant parents in Ireland prior to the birth of the child.⁴ While the evolving policy discourse presented immigration in terms of the added value it brought to Irish society, tolerance towards immigration itself was equated with ‘having a particular type of immigration’ (National Economic and Social Council 2006: 160), especially those who would induce minimal social and cultural change (Kitching 2014).

The earlier policy inertia and subsequent impetus toward preservation rather than transformation (Bourdieu 1998) in the policy field crystallized in ‘problems’ of school access and choice for immigrant families in the state funded denominational (mainly Catholic) education system. It came to the fore in one urban centre (Balbriggan) on the outskirts of Dublin city in September 2007 (at the peak of the

⁴The impetus for this change was to curtail the inward flow of ‘illegal immigrants and asylum seekers – a group of immigrants who did not ‘fit’ with the attraction of immigrants with high educational capital. In practice it created a dichotomy between children born in Ireland – those who were automatically entitled to citizenship and those who were not.

'Celtic Tiger' economic boom) when a large grouping of immigrant children could not access a school in their heavily populated rapidly growing area. The intersection of poor urban planning, an insufficient number of school places and a system that upheld the rights of School 'patrons' to prioritize the enrolment of Catholic children in Catholic schools, resulted in 80 children, mostly black African, being unable to find a local school place at the start of the school year. This required the establishment of 'emergency' schools to cater for these children, as well as to bus some to schools of their faith outside their local area. It provided a clear example of racialised policies in practice, if not intent, that signaled the indifference to difference that characterized much state social policy in earlier decades. It also provided a telling example of how *practices* are key to signifying dynamics of power, and of the interwoven capillary nature of this power across key institutions which govern, classify and shape in line with deeply embedded and 'taken-for-granted' norms. While the events in Balbriggan spurred State authorities to action because of the clustered numbers involved, what happened in Balbriggan merely crystallized the difficulties that were being faced individually by other immigrant parents in accessing local schools, which were all Catholic, in other densely populated urban areas (Devine 2011). Media headlines at the time reflect the range of discourses and counter discourses that came into play. Church authorities were critical of the State's lack of provision of a sufficient diversity of school types, 'Archbishop says state to blame for school crisis' (Irish Times September 4th 2007), while the State sought to distance itself from any racialised intent: 'Hanafin [minister for education at the time] proposes inclusive school model' (Irish times, Sept 7th 2007). The minister's response was revealing not only in terms of the deracialised discourse which was evident in her remark that 'It might be a skin-colour issue, but it's not necessarily a race issue' (Irish times Sept 8th 2007) but also her attempts to isolate the events to a single community, rather than as a signifier of broader dynamics of power and inequalities in Irish society. The construction of the 'problem' of access to schools as a local/individual rather than a national/societal matter (derived from 'people' making choices to 'gravitate to areas'), devoid of political responsibility (it is not desirable) was further reiterated by the Minister's response to questioning in the Dáil [national parliament] when she stated:

While it is not desirable that a school would only have children from an ethnic background, the position is reflective of the area and the new communities, which have been established in Balbriggan. A similar situation arose in areas to which Irish people emigrated because people gravitate to areas where members of their own communities live. (Dail Eireann, Oct 2nd 2007)

What is interesting from this excerpt is how it also brings to the fore overlapping discourses related to school choice, integration (and what this might mean in a multi-ethnic Ireland), segregation and exclusion. It also called upon prior experiences of Irish emigration to signal understanding/similarity to/embracing of the immigrant community and the difficulties 'they' are encountering. The simultaneous construction of the children of immigrants as 'other' by defining them as being from an 'ethnic' background highlights the normalcy of white Irish ethnicity, which

does not need to be named or defined. It also indicates the ‘polite’ discourse (Kitching 2010) which governs rhetoric in the field, delimiting the racialised dynamics at play given that all of these children from an ‘ethnic’ background were black.

This ‘crisis’ brought to the fore patterns being identified in research that confirmed not only the guilt facing primary school principals especially in ‘turning’ children away, but conversely the highly selective practices that were being engaged in by some schools in ‘screening’ out immigrant applicants and students with additional needs (Darmody et al. 2012; Devine 2011) especially in (middle class urban) areas where there was intense competition for school places.

A forum on school patronage (Coolahan 2012), established in response to the ‘crisis’ recommended the devolution of primary schools from Catholic patronage in areas of high diversity and the creation of a wider range of schools to cater for all faith types. Yet it drew substantively on a discourse of parental choice rather than inclusion and social justice in its primary deliberations (Devine 2011; Kitching 2014). It is a prime example of the State positioning itself as ‘neutral mediator’ between different interest groups and a more modern neo-liberal fashioning of ‘Irishness’ in line with consumer capitalism (Inglis 2008) through appeals to the discourse of ‘parental choice’.

The issue has again come to national prominence in school census data (2014) which highlighted that four out of every five children of immigrant background were concentrated in 23% of the State’s primary schools. The publication of the Schools Admission Bill (2015) which seeks to regulate discriminatory practices in relation to enrolments and access by minority groups (including Travellers⁵ and children with additional support needs) also gave rise to media debate. Newspaper headlines signal the outcome of ethnic segregation and clustering in certain areas ‘Concern school divestment causing ethnic segregation’ (Irish Times, Feb 25th 2015); ‘Census figures raise concerns of ethnic segregation in schools’ (Irish Times Feb 24th 2015).

This wider policy context also contributed to practices on the ground – for schools in terms of dilemmas around the management of ‘reputation’ and ethnic segregation, and for immigrant parents as they sought the ‘best’ school for their child. The shortage of school places in certain areas, coupled with the transitory nature of immigrant experience, ensured that for parents newly arrived into a local community securing a place in a local school could be difficult. School choice then was predicated on belonging to the majority faith (Catholicism), as well as being an established member of the local community, which of course many immigrants, by their nature, are not:

My experience started when I wanted to get the first one into school. There was this barrier there, as they said if you are not Catholic, you cannot go to a Catholic school... I am a Christian – an Anglican. So they sent me to [Siverwood primary]... Catholic schools is basically Catholic. Some Africans feel there is no alternative there because I know some

⁵Travellers are an indigenous minority ethnic group in Ireland and are equivalent to what are often referred to as ‘gypsies’ elsewhere. While their lack of recognition and status is similar to that of gypsies and Roma in other countries, they are a distinct group in the Irish context.

friends who go to Pentecostal churches and they don't want to go to Catholic schools. My daughter is in a Catholic school because then there was no alternative. (Mr Adeyemi, Silverwood primary)

The psychosocial impact is reflected in this Nigerian parent's later description of the delicate 'balancing act' he and his family weave in terms of visibility and invisibility in the local community, including overt involvement in school activities:

Because you don't feel like you are welcome [...] so that would be why we would prefer to be in the shell and just be between your own community... That might be part of the reason that we are not involved in the school activities. (Mr Adeyemi, Silverwood primary)

59.5.2 Performance and Achievement of Migrant Children in Urban Schools

A second shift that intersects the global with the local, relates to the performance of immigrant children in the education system and supports put in place to enable their learning and development. Analysis of first generation immigrant children's performance in PISA 2006 in Ireland suggested provisional indications (given the numbers were relatively small at that time) of comparatively positive scores relative to native-born children (OECD 2006). This dovetailed with State discourse that Ireland was following a similar trajectory as Australia and Canada, as a 'good' country for migrant children (or a country with 'good' migrant children?). Subsequent analysis of PISA (OECD 2009) however recorded a significant decline in Ireland's overall ranking, representing reputational 'risk' to the positioning of 'Ireland Inc.' as a high end human capital intensive economy just at the period of the wider financial crisis, with its devastating consequences for the society as a whole. So seriously was the drop in performance taken that a national literacy and numeracy strategy was instigated (DES 2011) with the first real emergence of strategic targeting of improving performance across schools nationally. While the reasons for this decline are complex (Cosgrove et al. 2010), PISA patterns (OECD 2012) and national level studies at primary level (Shiel et al. 2014) in relation to the achievement of immigrant children confirm their under-performance (especially in literacy) relative to 'all other children'. This applies especially to those immigrants whose first language is not English and to those who are more likely to be in disadvantaged schools. Given the higher than average educational profile of immigrant parents in Ireland noted earlier, these patterns suggest systemic/school level factors are also at play in patterns of under-performance, reinforced through clustering in urban communities of socio-economic disadvantage.⁶ From a policy perspective however – the sphere of re/action is one that normalizes the relative under-performance of migrant children as an inevitability:

⁶The impact of ses of the school has been found to have an especially strong impact on immigrant performance especially if they are concentrated in schools attended by students who face similar socio-economic disadvantage (OECD 2012).

the outcomes of the OECD PISA 2009 tests demonstrated clearly *that like migrant students in other countries* [emphasis added], migrant students in Ireland perform less well in literacy and numeracy than their native peers (Dept. of Education and Skills 2011, p. 65).

This ‘fixing of failure’ (Reay 2005) is predicated on the construction of migrant children and their families in deficit terms. In the Intercultural Education Strategy (DES 2010) for example, this fixing of ‘deficits’ is individualized to deficient acculturating practices of parents (lack of English and poor knowledge of the system) in addition to poor practices in individual schools. Simultaneously however both this Intercultural strategy, and the strategy on literacy and numeracy (DES 2011) acknowledges the importance of recognition and sensitivity to mother tongue learning, citing the pioneering work of Cummins (2001) and the ‘enrichment’ brought to schools through exposure to a variety of languages (DES 2011, p. 65–67). These are positive signifiers of valuing and recognising migrant children in the present of their lives. However in spite of the emerging patterns on immigrant underperformance, language support services for immigrant children and young people was among the first services to be cut back in schools during the economic crisis. This created considerable tensions in the ‘field’ for teachers and school leaders as they sought to work with a diminishing pool of resources in high need contexts. It also raised key questions over their valuing as a group in the system as a whole.⁷ Migrant children are more likely to be positioned as ‘risk’ and/or ‘threat’ during a period of heightened economic recession and decline. This tension is best exemplified by Ms Macken – a teacher with a consistent record of solid work with immigrant communities in her school when she highlights the challenge of recognizing and valuing each child, when resources are scarce. However uncomfortably, a dichotomy may be established, between ‘them’ and ‘us’ as choices are made over who gets the additional time and support:

Its’ not about creating difference between *our Irish child* and *our international child* but it is very much about losing out when they all need extra support (Ms Macken, Oakleaf primary)

Furthermore these ‘choices’ are also inter-connected with wider community dynamics as teachers and school principals manage perceptions and the ‘reputation’ of their school within the local community (Devine 2013). For schools, pedagogic tensions arise between catering to the needs of children of immigrant background in a holistic, authentic manner within a wider cultural, social and economic frame where reputation, risk and added value (through higher school scores) have to be managed within an increasingly market driven environment. The threat for example of ‘white flight’ or being identified as an ‘immigrant’ school becomes a minefield for school leaders to navigate – as school selections based on faith, race, class and colour merge in a system centred on parental ‘choice’. As Ms Hannigan, a principal

⁷ Given the political tensions at the time over the nature of cut backs in education – it is also worth noting the relative invisibility of immigrant parents as a constituency within the system as a whole (Devine 2011), making cut-backs in this area less contentious and more politically viable than in others across the system.

of a multi-denominational primary school in one large urban centre stated (Devine 2013):

One parent wanted his child moved to another local [Catholic] school ...he probably looked in the yard one day and thought 'oh my god' when he saw all the immigrant kids there... are we going to be the black school with the white school?⁸...it is very tricky (Ms Hannigan, Principal Beechwood Primary)

The 'trickiness' of managing reputational risk locally, mirrors the dynamics that take place globally across competition states within the widening neo-liberal climate. Value for money reviews of school successes and practice (DES 2011), coupled with a narrowing of the gaze on individual schools through school comparisons in performance, heighten the stakes for those who seek to remain truly inclusive in their culture and ethos (Devine 2013). While the stakes rise for all children as 'productive' citizens in such a climate, they rise especially for those who struggle to be seen and heard. For children of immigrant background, they are differently valued in that they face the additional burden of proving their right to belong (McGovern and Devine 2015). It is their achievement in school that signals their 'normalisation' – the burden of proof that they are just like 'all other children'.

It is clear that contrasting and contradictory discourses are at play with respect to migrant children in terms of both national policy and expectations relating to achievement'. On the one hand there is a holistic perspective on migrant children (e.g., valuing culture and mother tongue, aspirations toward quality teaching including high expectations for migrant children's learning). On the other there is a discourse that involves a more conditional directive approach to their education (language acquisition and achievement in literacy and numeracy) that does not involve 'radical' change within the wider field of education (DES 2010, p. 7). If considered from a rights based perspective of the UNCRC, these rights appear to be conditional, placed alongside responsibility, as if the latter is exercised as a matter of 'free' choice, independent of the myriad influences that mediate children and their parents capacities and resources to fully participate. Yet this is the essence of constructing the productive migrant child that is implicitly equated with their right to belong. It is an additional burden of responsibility as migrant children are caught at the intersection of local and global agendas (Arnot and Swartz 2012) that is well reflected in the conflation of rights, responsibilities and civilness articulated in the Intercultural Education Strategy produced by the Department of Education and Skills:

If a single concept has emerged from other countries' experiences, it is that integration is about both rights and responsibilities. Clarifying civic responsibilities, for example, has been a major component in international intercultural dialogue events (DES 2010, p. 48)

⁸Simplistic dichotomies of parental choice should not be assumed however. There is evidence of children from African countries seeking to attend the local Catholic school (Devine 2011) – perhaps in recognition of its 'normality' hence prestige, but also because a more formalised structure, that is familiar to them in their home countries, is evident through the wearing of school uniforms.

With the onset of the economic crisis and the contraction of the welfare state, such as occurred in Ireland, the tension between recognition and mis/recognition of migrant children becomes more pronounced. Framed in the neo-liberal discourse of self responsibility, the space of being valued rests on the immigrant family and their children making the effort to ‘integrate’, some with more success than others (McGovern and Devine 2015). It is this wider policy context – both globally and nationally which sets the conditions for how migrant children experience their schooling.

59.6 Migrant Children’s Experiences in Urban Schools

Tensions over recognition are central to pedagogic practice: who to recognize (who is visible?); what to recognize (how much of ‘the other’ to incorporate as ‘our own’) and if this recognition is viewed as core to the pedagogical relationship or peripheral (an additive extra) to the work of teachers in schools. My own initial research with teachers identified consistently positive views that directly related to the *added value* migrant children brought to the classroom environment (Devine 2011):

I guess that the first generation migrants have the manners and the gratitude ...so my experience has been phenomenally positive. (Ms O’Mahony, Redford community college)

Classed and ethnic categories mediated the ‘added value’ of the children however and teachers, signaling a lack of awareness of dynamics of inequality (Devine and McGillicuddy 2016), tended to be most positive about those children who were like themselves:

Very quickly we discovered that the children coming in were by and large I’d say ...a very ambitious set of people and very middle class, very positive (Mr Martin, Riverside primary)

As the boom subsided and immigrant patterns consolidated, it was clear there were differences in how teachers viewed different ethnic groups as well as their progress in the classroom, confirming patterns identified elsewhere (Archer and Francis 2007; Gillborn 2010). When teachers were asked how ‘well’ the children were doing, views also were more circumspect. A migrant child ‘doing well’ implied that they were behaving well and ‘no trouble’. It was their demeanor and disposition, rather than academic progress per se, that was foregrounded in their valuing. Subsequent in-depth analysis of the pedagogical practices of 78 teachers across 12 primary and secondary schools (Devine et al. 2013) through recorded observations of classroom lessons, identified significant differences in practice that was influenced by the number of immigrant children who were present in the classroom. In this respect the greater the number of immigrant children present, the less likely were children to be actively involved in the lesson. In addition, indicators of high expectations – such as time on task, as well as higher order questioning was less likely in classrooms with a higher proportion of immigrant children present.

These latter are key indicators of recognition: being ‘seen’, ‘heard’ and valued in the classroom. Teachers in the study questioned their levels of efficacy and capacity to work with this ‘difference’, suggesting real needs in professional development, both for teachers and school leaders in this area:

You are constantly trying to make sure you are including everyone and keeping everyone happy and trying to get that balance, *when you are brought up in a certain culture yourself and you are stepping out of that yourself [emphasis added]*. (Ms King, Hollybrook primary)

A considerable difficulty for teachers in their work with migrant children was the often ad hoc nature of language support provision and a lack of co-ordination and development of sustained systems and practice. This ensured that they drew upon their practical knowledge and understanding, rather than an informed perspective of what is best practice in the field.

It kind of makes me feel quite helpless because he [migrant child] is not getting any work done; I kind of feel that I am failing him and the system is failing him. (Ms Tuohy, Hollybrook primary)

We had no TEFL department and one of the teachers kind of set up, really off her own back ...it wasn't always taken as seriously as it should have been (Ms Fahy, Primrose Dale)

Our observations confirmed that it was children of immigrant background who were significantly less engaged to the end of lessons, and less likely to be actively participating in lessons observed. Ms Fahy's comment highlights how the lacunae in policy at school level (mirrored by a retractive policy at state level, especially with the onset of the economic crisis) positioned these students as not ‘always taken seriously’, especially in a context of intensifying demands. The clustering of these students in disadvantaged schools gives an additional cause for concern, given the noted tendency for teachers in such schools to have lower expectations for learning. These patterns were influenced by the number of immigrant children present as well as by class size, contextual factors related to the wider field of educational policy as well as housing and urban planning. Where migrant children were in a relative minority numerically, their ‘invisibility’ pedagogically was more pronounced, compounded by the noted tendency, as newly arrived immigrants, to be acquiescent and quiet in the class (Devine 2011).

As we see with Ms Dunne below, in an already strained context, she queries the value of whom she is to spend time with, legitimated in the context of deficit constructs of this particular child of immigrant background (as well as an example of self fulfilling prophecies in action):

There is one student who's English is atrocious and my main problem is dealing with her as she doesn't communicate...then her attendance is atrocious. It wasn't worth the investment of my time when the others needed as much help as I could give them (Ms Dunne, teacher, Oakvale Secondary)

Yet there is a dialectic at work here that is not reducible to finite patterns. The challenge of ‘stepping out’ of oneself pedagogically mirrored the emotional investment of self that was also evident in teachers' engagement with migrant children at an inter-personal level. Words like ‘worrying about’, ‘reaching out’,

'joy' and soft spot' also permeated teacher narratives, alongside concerns over the practical challenges of catering for the needs of all children in the classroom:

I had a student who came into this country with no English and he asked me "can I please come to your higher level class even though my English isn't great" ... He ended up getting a C 1 in Higher Level English ... I get such joy from that. (Mr O'Brien, Blue bell Grove, Disadvantaged Secondary)

Of course migrant children are not a homogenous 'whole' and come to their education with widely varying ethnic, social and migratory (including pre-migratory) experiences (Fernandez-Kelly 2008). Their positioning is mediated not only by access to resources by the family (including wider kinship networks) but also by the 'unsettling' which occurs in negotiating new experiences of identity making. For immigrant parents there is a desire to maintain their cultural heritage and identity while simultaneously acknowledging Irish ways of being and doing. This is reflected in the comments of Mrs Gahatak, an Indian mother and Mr Adeyemi, a Nigerian father:

It is a rule that we speak *our own* language and again at bedtime my daughter or son wants a story we would have a turn in saying stories in Hindi...but I haven't taught them the writing. When we go to India they will learn this (Mrs Ghatak, Beechwood primary)

Each time he (child) said my teachers said to bring 'Nigerian' music, 'Nigerian food' – that is good. He said to me that he wants to write a report on 'African food'. Tell your teacher I don't know 'African food', do you mean 'Nigerian food'? To recognize what they feel that they still belong (Mr Adeyemi, Silverwood primary)

For children, their deeper (required) knowing/learning of the settlement culture presents both risks as well as opportunities. How they negotiate this with parents is a key factor shaping their and their family's successful integration in to the settlement society. In this sense the children play a very active 'bridging' role through their own settlement 'work', mediating the culture and values, as well as social networks, of the society and school community in which they are now embedded. In the example above, Mr Adeyemi impresses on his son the distinctiveness of Nigerian identity and his approval and preference that this would be recognized in school. In the public space of the school however, migrant children must navigate this 'distinctiveness', and in interviews, detailed below, expressed some ambiguity about the extent to which their heritage would be rendered visible in the classroom. As in other studies (Orellana 2010) the children in our studies also engaged in language brokering between home and school. But their relative fluency in English potentially undermined traditional parental authority when it was the children who translated notes home from school, or who knew best how to help younger siblings with homework, or mediate communication from the school (Devine 2009; McGovern and Devine 2015). 'Being valued' derived from the long term benefits to the family through successful integration (and the potential of academic success) in a context where the children were often also required to maintain traditional values tied to their ethnic heritage (language, customs, religion, respectful demeanor).

As noted, this negotiation of belonging brought challenges for the children in terms of what was valued and recognised in their relations with peers. Reay (2005)

and Zembylas (2011) refer to the feelings of shame and fear which can permeate the negotiation of insider/outsider status in school – spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and distance (Hargreaves 2001, p. 1061; Devine 2007) which were evident in my own work with migrant children in Irish schools. Cultural and ethnic identity was important in forging bonds within same ethnic groups but was of little value outside of it, creating spheres of inclusion/exclusion especially in free play spaces intersecting with gender and classed dynamics. In addition to their formal school work, the children did a great deal of emotional work in order to cope with their positioning in school. This was especially the case for visibly different children, black children of African background, who sought other strategies (doing well in school; being good at football) to minimize their ‘outsider’ status. Evident was the resilience of children, querying their positioning as ‘other’ and their capacities to undercut the very discourses which frame them as less valued:

Everybody has a right... I don't know why they call black people coloured. White people, when they get sick, they get blue and pink. When they die they get pale, and when they feel sick they get purple. Black people don't do that. I don't know why they are calling us coloured, they are the ones who turn all different colours (Martha, Second generation Libyan; Oakleaf primary)

This negotiation of recognition also cut across the children's engagement with the formal learning spaces in school. While valuing the opportunities schooling provided, success in school was a double-edged sword that had to be traversed with caution, as the children managed their ‘outsider/insider’ status. Here we see the conflation of social class and ethnic identity, given that many of these middle class children were attending working class schools. What is telling in the excerpts below is how the children themselves negotiated the pace of their learning and their identities as learners (as fast or slow) in order to ‘blend in’ and minimize their difference. While intersections of class and gender are clearly evident, the children here defined their migrant status – ‘being from a different country’ as the significant influence:

Tariq: I used to do maths really fast but now I do it sort of slow... like not the first to finish cos some children they say you are trying to show off *just because you are from a different country*. [Emphasis added]

Other children, agree: ‘just because we are trying to do our best’ (Oakleaf primary)

Negotiating visibility in relations with teachers was also something which had to be carefully managed. What emerged most strongly were migrant children's feelings of *gratitude* when they were recognized and valued in schools. Gratitude can of course itself be a signifier of lower status, of their ‘outsider’ status as migrants. Sarah's comment below about being asked during the interview about her experience of school highlights this double minority status which interconnects with the riskiness of being mis/recognized in order to ‘blend’ in:

you are the first lady who comes to speak to us about this...it is good...nobody asks us
(Sarah, Oakleaf primary)

Gratitude is itself embedded in dynamics of power and can signal feeling less than valued in and of oneself, yet it was consistently evoked by migrant children of all ages that I spoke with. In this sense it suggested a feeling of vulnerability and

lack of locus of control. It inter-connects with the children's working at 'being good' and being respectful in their demeanor in schools, conscious of securing their family's acceptance and 'good' reputation within the wider school community. As we saw in the observational research on teacher practices noted earlier (Devine et al. 2013), this 'acquiescence' however could be at the cost of their visibility, and ultimately opportunities for learning in the classroom. In general immigrant children were reluctant to be overtly critical of their experiences, especially in terms of getting sufficient teacher attention, although this also was dependent on family status and associated levels of confidence in negotiating the schooling experience (McGovern and Devine 2015). It was also influenced by age, with older students in the later stages of second level schooling most critical of teachers having lower expectations and not providing them with the support they needed:

The teaching is like looking, they should put more improvement about the student.
(Roseanne, Ghana, Ashleaf community college)

This sense of vulnerability – of knowing one's self as 'other' was also reflected in the children's attitudes toward the nature of recognition of their ethnic identities in school. Where recognition involved authentic incorporation of cultural knowledge into classroom learning, for all children, they were positive. Ambivalence was expressed however when cultural recognition was practiced as an additive extra for celebration and display. In one of the field trips, to Oakleaf primary, the embodied impact of authentic recognition is reflected in the children's assertion that 'it makes you feel comfortable'. In the excerpt below this is exemplified when a missionary Catholic nun came to visit the school and spoke effortlessly in Arabic to some of the children I was interviewing:

Interviewer: So what's that like when someone comes in and speaks like that? [in your mother tongue]

Sarah: Cool! [Laughs] and she is Irish!.. *it makes you feel very comfortable* (Group interview, Oakleaf primary).

Sarah's comment re-iterates Cummins' (2001) assertions related to the benefits which accrue when mother tongue recognition occurs in tandem with learning the language of the settlement country. It raises important questions about how migrant children are positioned pedagogically and the impact on their sense of self, and by implication their learner identities (Devine and McGillicuddy 2016).

59.7 Conclusion

The positioning of migrant children in urban education, must be considered in terms of the impact of globalisation in a wider context of neo-liberal reform. The creation of mobile flexible and high skilled labour markets, a key focus of the OECD, becomes paramount with respect to migrant children and their education, viewed as an under tapped pool for future market needs, through their present performance and achievement in mainly urban schools. Simultaneously international discourse,

through the UNCRC and UNICEF articulates rights based approaches that signal the need to recognize and value the holistic development of all children, including those of immigrant background, with due attention to culture and identities. Yet alongside the positive attribution of potential in these global policy platforms, there is the contradictory discourse of deficit that positions and shapes migrant children as continuously in need of intervention and reform. Coupled with the retraction in the welfare state within neo-liberal policy, and the associated emphasis on individual responsibility and 'character' in shaping life chances, migrant children struggle in a dialectical loop of mis/recognition that becomes embedded in dynamics of exclusion and school failure. While there are significant differences across migrant groups as well as across different countries (Alba and Foner 2015; Crul and Schneider 2010), success is dependent on having the personal economic cultural and social resources that enable some migrant children succeed. These dynamics are especially evident in urban schools, caught at the intersection of tensions in how migrant children are to be accommodated, valued and understood.

In taking the exemplar of Ireland, a high skills global economy characterized by intense patterns of economic and social development, the analysis highlighted the complex weaving of global and local dynamics in shaping responses to immigration in urban schools. Issues of access to local schools that prioritize majority faith (Catholic) provision, in addition to cut backs to migrant language supports during the economic recession were shown to operate alongside a changing national discourse on performance and reputational risk in an increasingly market oriented education system. For school principals and teachers in urban schools – where migrant children are most likely to be clustered, dilemmas abounded around who and what to prioritize in a diminishing pool of resources and high need contexts. Yet for migrant children themselves, their resilience, determination and ambition was also to the fore. Their contribution to the wider settlement processes of their families, through their patterns of engagement and interaction in schools highlighted their competencies in negotiating new and hybrid identities, often in very challenging contexts. As social spaces, urban schools are a key backdrop in the construction of migrant childhoods and identities. In the Irish context this is overlain with particular dynamics of economic and social development, as well as historical patterns of state/church control in education and emigration/immigration. Patterns of migrant clustering and the consolidation of inequalities into the second generation are beginning to emerge, reinforced through a deep economic recession. This not only undermines these children's rights and well-being in the present, but sets the seeds for wider inequalities and injustices into their future lives as adults.

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Chapter 60

‘I Trust Them More Than I Trust Myself’: Detached Streetwork, Young People and the Building of Social Capital in Scottish Urban Communities

Ross Deuchar, Johanne Miller, and Lisa Borchardt

60.1 Introduction

Youth work in Scotland and the wider UK has its roots in the charitable and philanthropic practices of nineteenth century community-based organisations (Davies 1999; Tett 2010; Coburn and Wallace 2011). It has been argued that contemporary practice in youth work is about ‘giving ownership to young people, getting their views about what they feel about life and helping them with the problems they encounter’ (Deuchar 2013: 155; see also Davies 1999; Wood and Hine 2009; Sercombe 2010; Coburn and Wallace 2011). In this chapter, we explore the types of issues and problems often encountered by young people in disadvantaged communities, and the ways in which streetwork and youth work – as a form of urban education – can help to build the social capital needed to enable them to tackle these issues head-on and gain the resilience needed to navigate their way around the obstacles and challenges they come across.

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First, we provide an analysis of the social and political developments that have arguably led to disadvantaged young people experiencing a greater sense of social exclusion. Second, we examine the principles underpinning youth work, and the particular potential for streetwork and youth work to re-engage marginalised young people. The current political focus on growing and developing youth work practice in Scotland will be outlined, and the particular challenges associated with poverty, social exclusion and youth offending in Glasgow (Scotland's largest city) discussed. Third, we outline the methods we employed to conduct a 4-year longitudinal study of the progressive impact of one youth work service in Glasgow, with a particular focus on examining the extent to and ways in which the service was able to foster social capital in socially deprived neighbourhoods. A critical exploration of social capital is provided, and the key themes that emerged from our data outlined. Fourth and finally, we assimilate our insights with the key theories underpinning social capital. In so doing, we draw some important implications about the potential impact of youth and streetwork in and beyond the west of Scotland context as well as recommendations for the future.

60.2 Young People, Marginalisation and Social Exclusion

Young people, and in particular teenagers, are often perceived as a threat when situated in urban contexts (Valentine 1996; Holligan and Deuchar 2011). To understand the reasons for this, we must look back to a moment in British history that changed public perceptions about children and young people. A watershed moment in the history of youth justice in Britain was the tragic death of Jamie Bulger in 1993 (Muncie 2009). The death of Bulger at the hands of two 10-year-old boys caused uproar in British society, and ultimately changed the public's perception of children and young people. No longer were they viewed as innocents but as beings capable of great evil:

As anguish vied with outrage, calls for retribution and revenge at least matched those for compassion and understanding and a demand for the increasingly secular policing of children was championed in the context of a tardy response by the church. (James and Jenks 1996: 315)

Following this tragic death, a moral panic ensued and public outrage caused politicians to reconceptualise how youth were viewed within the justice system. The system became embedded within a punitive ideology and policies began to emerge that concentrated on surveillance and control of children and young people (Muncie 2009). The Conservative Prime Minister at the time, John Major, was cited as stating that 'we should understand a little less and condemn a little more' (Hayden and Scraton 2000: 431).

During the New Labour years, there was an increasing tendency to draw upon apparatus to control and contain working class communities in order to manage the ills associated with poverty through a series of initiatives aimed at being tough on

crime (Muncie 2006). Legislation towards children and young people such as dispersal orders, curfews, electronic monitoring (EM), civil injunctions, parenting orders, Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and gang injunctions all punished those who committed crime but did little to help alleviate the causes of it; indeed, in some cases they exacerbated problems, causing young people to re-offend (Cullen and Gendreau 2000; Agnew 2006; Deuchar 2011b). For example, Deuchar's (2011b) study into the impact of police-monitored home detention curfews on young men in Scotland illustrates that many experienced anger as a result of their loss of liberty; combined with the erratic nature of police monitoring visits, this led to frequent instances of breaching – thus illustrating the way in which punishment used in isolation can function as a social strain conducive to reoffending (Agnew 2006). The Scottish youth justice system was formally based upon a welfare-based ethos, whereby the Kilbrandon Report of 1964 established that all interventions for young offenders should be directed at meeting their needs rather than responding to their deeds – leading on directly to the establishment of the Children's Hearing System in 1971 (Muncie 2009). However, as the increased use of ASBOs, curfews and EM illustrates, from the 1990s onwards it became increasingly underpinned by a more 'complex set of penal rationales' (McAara 2006: 142). The release of the Anti-Social Behaviour (Scotland) Act 2004 created new powers and incentives to assist local authorities in dealing with a range of youth behavior, and included the extension of ASBOs and EM to 12–15 year olds (Deuchar 2010).

From 2007 onwards, the devolved Scottish National Party (SNP) Government in Scotland initiated a more balanced approach towards dealing with anti-social behaviour, encompassing a focus on prevention, intervention and rehabilitation in addition to enforcement (Nellis et al. 2010). Further, following their election to Westminster in 2010 the Coalition government embraced a 'rehabilitation revolution', which included the abolition of the ASBO (Jamieson 2012: 458). However, although the approach to the creation of community safety adopted in Scotland over the past 8 years has been consistent with past Scottish traditions predicated on a positivistic welfare model as well as the principles underpinning human rights legislation (Cavadino and Dignan 2007), it is also true to say that, in practice, some of the strident punitiveness of the New Labour legacy has remained on both sides of the border (Nellis et al. 2010; Deuchar 2010).

For instance, at the time of writing, police use of stop and search policies in Scotland are under much scrutiny due to its effect on children and young people (Murray 2014). Stop and search policy has the aim of reducing offending, but a side effect emerging from it is that children and young people are pushed further away from the rest of society as they try to avoid the apparatus of the state. Many young people feel that they are targeted by the police and demonised by the rest of society, as a result of how they look and the areas they stay in, causing feelings of distrust, oppression and resentment (Deuchar 2013; Jackson and Smith 2013; Deuchar et al. 2015; Miller et al. 2015). Indeed, many move themselves to the margins in order to avoid CCTV, police patrols (in particular stop and searches) and negative public perceptions (Matthews et al. 1999; Woolley et al. 1999; Percy-Smith and Matthews

2001; Jackson and Smith 2013; Miller et al. 2015). In practice, this results in some young people spending more time in liminal and potentially risky spaces, as they move their locations from visible public spaces into darker and more hidden back streets and alleyways (Matthews 2003; Deuchar 2009).

Accordingly, it is reasonable to argue that those who occupy the streets of socially deprived urban communities are also the most victimised groups within society (Matthews et al. 1999). Many young people who grow up in disadvantaged areas only know their local area as they have little opportunity for trips or holidays away from the locale of the neighbourhood (Deuchar 2009). Indeed, their local environment is their main experience of public life and space and their movement throughout this space defines the boundaries of their world (Ward 1978) and sets expectations upon their role within this world.

Being able to inhabit public spaces is an important element of young people's socialisation process, and as Valentine (1996) highlights public spaces are retreating but they are sorely needed. Lieberg (1995) discusses how teenagers have no obvious place of their own, the only place they have to go is public spaces and this is where they are the most visible for the apparatus of the state and for conflict with other young people. Yet this carving out of place and space is imbued with creating a separate identity; young people require a space of their own without supervision and more and more of these places and spaces are contested by adults (Valentine 1996), resulting in social exclusion (Woolley et al. 1999).

Additionally, one of the key risks of social exclusion is getting lost in the transition from education to the labour market (Bynner and Parsons 2002; Finlay et al. 2010; Miller et al. 2015). It is widely acknowledged that transitions from education to labour are no longer linear (Raffo and Reeves 2000; MacDonald 2011) and young people exist in a world of economic and social uncertainty that has been compounded by the current economic crisis. Those who are excluded from school have a higher risk of offending (McAra and McVie 2010) and those who leave school with little to no qualifications typically end up in the revolving door of low pay/no pay insecure jobs (Shildrick et al. 2010) and have worse health and well being than the rest of society (Parekh et al. 2010). Young people growing up in deprived urbanised areas face more and more complex problems within an uncertain age, and the cost of social exclusion at a young age can adversely affect them for the rest of their lives. In particular, evidence has illustrated that minority ethnic young people living against the backdrop of social deprivation and poverty are exposed to a double layer of social exclusion, stereotyping 'othering' (Deuchar and Bhopal 2012; Myers 2016). In a wider sense, it has been found that the last 30 years have seen an increase in 'xenophobia, ethnic tension, racism and even ethnic violence' in most West European societies, with negative sentiments towards migrants being 'more pronounced' in economically vulnerable populations (Semyonov et al. 2006; Deuchar 2011a: 673). Accordingly, ensuring that disadvantaged youth are re-engaged in urban street contexts is essential.

60.3 Detached Youthwork and Streetwork as a Re-engagement Tool

Youth work has increasingly been regarded as holding strong potential to reach detached, excluded or marginalised youth (Jarret et al. 2005; Deuchar 2009; Coburn 2011). This is not a new phenomenon, since youth work has a long and varied history within Scotland and Britain (Smith 1996, 2005). The focus of its work with children and young people has evolved throughout its history, and it has been a site and provider of informal education, leisure activities, advocating, moral education, a strategy for reducing offending and a means of re-engaging the disengaged (Crimmens et al. 2004). It has undergone many structural changes throughout its long history, originally concentrating on the moral education of children and young people. However, as society changed with the social construction of the adolescent and the introduction of consumerism, the Abermarle Report (Ministry of Education 1960) directed it towards being a universal service for young people by providing leisure pursuits. This period is referred to by Wylie (2010) as the golden era of youth work, when the practice was held in high regard and was supported by government funding and through policy. Yet, in more recent years it has lost such regard and frustratingly to the profession it has become immersed in more formal structures in society such as education, criminal justice and the prison service (Wylie 2010; Bradford and Cullen 2014).

Youth work is often used in order to reach those who are deemed marginalised, socially excluded or hard to reach – in line with policy and practice over the last 30 years focused on the aim of creating better relationships and outcomes for young people (Coburn and Wallace 2011). Detached youth work, in particular, is an effective method of engaging young people on the margins as it maintains the importance of young people's space and goes to where they are comfortable to begin creating relationships:

Detached youth work endeavours to provide a *broad-based 'social education'*, normally at the *behest of*, and largely *in a form determined by*, young people on their own territory. (Crimmens et al. 2004: 8, emphasis added by authors)

This quote is important as it encapsulates three of the main principles underpinning the ethos of detached youth work: (1) the voluntary principle, (2) delivering support on young people's own terms and in their own social contexts, and (3) creating trusting relationships (Davies and Merton 2009). These are not all the principles of youth work (see Batsleer and Davies 2010 for a full account of youth work) – but they are essential in creating relationships that work with young people who are marginalised, disengaged or hard to reach as they put the concerns of the young person to the fore.

One of the areas with the longest history of this type of work is North America, where the practice of street work has been used since the 1920s to reach young people involved in gangs (Klein 1971). Britain's detached youth work has been a more recent addition, coming to the fore following the publication of the Abermarle

Report (Ministry of Education 1960) and its successes are one of the reasons it is seen to be the panacea to youth's problems. Yet the linking to more formal institutions is regarded as a threat to professional youth workers as they feel not only have they lost their secured place but with austerity cuts these links are changing the structure and focus of youth work – making its future uncertain (Bradford and Cullen 2014).

In 2014, the Scottish Government released a national strategy to ensure that 'Scotland is *the* place for children to grow up in' (Scottish Government 2014: 2). The Government committed £17.8 million over 2 years to support youth work within Scotland, and the National Youth Work Strategy 2014–2019 sets out the key ambitions of the Scottish Government in this area over the next 5 years; namely to:

- Ensure Scotland is the best place to be young and grow up in;
- Put young people at the heart of government policy;
- Recognise the value of youth work;
- Build the workforce capacity;
- Measure the impact of youth work (Scottish Government 2014: 2)

This is an ambitious set of aims, particularly when the problems that were discussed at the beginning of the chapter are taken into consideration. Glasgow (Scotland's largest city) was an industrial city that never recovered from the deindustrialisation process that emerged within the eighties, resulting in many of the geographical areas that were linked to industry such as shipbuilding and production becoming steeped in deprivation. At the time of carrying out the research reported in this chapter between 2011 and 2014 there were 55,012 young people between the ages of 10 and 18 living within Glasgow (Glasgow City Council 2010). Of that group 17,000 lived in severe poverty (Save the Children 2008), 3707 were estimated to be in the NEET (not in education, employment or training) category (Scottish Government 2011), over 4000 were thought to be gang members (VRU 2011; Deuchar 2013), and over 700 were in prison, on remand or on curfews (Scottish Prison Service 2011). These types of groups are normally deemed hard to reach as they do not typically engage with more formal or traditional structures within society. These are the groups that detached street work is required to engage and with the problem as entrenched as it is within Glasgow, the challenges that face youth workers are vast.

A youth project in Glasgow set out to try and address the problems that young people experience as outlined above by working together with young people to increase levels of social capital, and as part of a focused funding bid the organisation incorporated a 3 year longitudinal research-based evaluation of the project. We will now discuss this evaluation indicating how youth work acted as a site for social capital building in urban contexts as a result of the relationships that were built with youth workers (Miller et al. 2015; Coburn 2011).

60.4 Background to the Initiative and Research

In 2010, a local youth work service in Glasgow – which for the purposes of this chapter we give the pseudonym *Youth Matters* – implemented a stepping up programme which would see the service expand over the next 4 years across four local communities in the city. This subsequently resulted in the setting up of detached streetwork and youth work projects, youth clubs and early intervention programmes in primary and secondary schools within these local neighbourhoods. In each of the communities, youth workers first engaged with disadvantaged young people out on the streets and invited them to participate in a range of projects, including diversionary sports initiatives (including football, boxing and athletics), issues-based workshops (focused on addressing the causes of, and looking at alternatives to, alcohol and drug dependency, street and gang violence and anger and aggression issues), residential weekends focused on participating in a range of recreational and outdoor sporting initiatives) and opportunities for voluntary befriending schemes with local adult residents as well as a range of other local community service initiatives. Youth workers also gave support to young people with locating jobs, completing applications and preparing for interviews and gaining employability skills.

Each of the communities had a long history of suffering from poverty, deprivation and issues related to anti-social behaviour, territorial violence and alcohol/drug misuse, and *Youth Matters* targeted these areas in an attempt to re-engage young, disadvantaged people and divert their attention away from some of the more negative influences within their communities. With streetwork central to the service's focus, the youth work programmes were designed to engage local young people and aspired to address some of the issues of anti-social behaviour and youth disengagement.

In mid-2011, we began a 3-year qualitative study exploring the progressive impact of the initiative on young people across the four local communities with a particular focus on examining the extent to, and ways in which, the service was able to foster social capital. Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as a resource 'made up of social obligations and "connections" which are convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital' (Bourdieu 1986: 404). Field (2003), among others, has argued that Bourdieu's views on social capital are individualistic: as social connections are being seen as a means of cultivating personal superiority and economic gain, the focus is on the individual rather than on the important interplay between fostering benefit for the individual and the community. Putnam (2000) challenges the individualistic approach by putting forward a community-generated theory of social capital which fosters personal and communal outcomes, generating both public and private returns.

Putnam believes that social capital is a collective asset with a common good. He concentrates upon the interaction of capital between the individual and the community, acknowledges the important and complex relationships that occur between these structures in the creation of capital, and addresses both the cultural and structural importance at play. He posits that there are three levels of social capital:

bridging, bonding and linking. *Bonding* social capital tends to reinforce exclusive identities, maintain homogeneity, mobilise solidarity and is characterised by dense, multifunctional ties, localised trust and unity (Putnam 2000; Western et al. 2005). *Bridging* social capital tends to be characterised by weak ties and thin levels of trust, but broadens identities and brings together people across diverse social divisions. The third dimension, *linking* social capital, is simply a particular type of bridging which enables people to forge alliances with authoritative organisations and individuals in positions of power (Woolcock 2001; Western et al. 2005; Terrion and Hogrebe 2007).

The overall aim of our research was to detect the factors which play a role in creating an environment of social cohesion and trust in which young people, local residents and people associated with public services interact with each other, and where the three levels of social capital outlined by Putnam (2000) can begin to emerge. Across the 3 years, 43 semi-structured interviews with 84 participating young people (mostly aged 14–18) and 7 additional interviews with staff members involved in the programme were conducted. The focus of the research was to explore and examine the progressive impact of the initiative across 4 years. Accordingly, we aspired to track and interview as many of the participating young people on more than one occasion as was practically possible and so many of the young people were interviewed on several occasions. However, it was not always possible to follow up on all young people due to minimal drop out combined with some young people moving on to positive destinations (such as full-time education or employment) which made it more difficult to re-engage with them. Transcribing of the interviews was followed by a two-stage data analysis process. First, we engaged in a conventional content analysis phase where we immersed ourselves in the data and conceptual themes and sub-themes were identified. Thereafter, a directed content analysis phase was conducted where emerging overarching themes were interpreted in light of the existing literature on social capital (Hsieh and Shannon 2005).

In the sections that follow, the key themes that emerged from the data will be outlined, drawing on key quotations that represent the participants' views as well as insights from existing literature. Pseudonyms are used for all of the participating young people and staff members. In presenting these themes, we provide an insight into the way in which the service was having an impact over the 3 years. In the concluding discussion, we assimilate our insights with those emerging from the key theories on social capital, draw some wider implications for wider social and cultural contexts and make recommendations for the future.

60.5 Themes and Insights Emerging from the Interviews

60.5.1 Theme 1: Building Trust, Reciprocity and Confidence

According to the Scottish Index of Social Deprivation (SIMD), just under a quarter of Glasgow's communities are among the most deprived 5% of datazones across Scotland (Scottish Government 2012). In its focused attempts to address the root causes of social disaffection and youth crime, each of the local communities *Youth Matters* selected for the street and youth work interventions was characterised by high indicators of poverty and multiple deprivation. In all of the communities, young people who participated in the youth work programmes were mostly between the ages of 12–18 and were predominantly from white ethnic backgrounds – reflecting the fact that only 15% of Glasgow's population is currently derived from ethnic minority groups. The youth workers who delivered the interventions at *Youth Matters* (consisting of six males and one female) were also all from white ethnic backgrounds and were either full-time or sessional (part-time) workers; although all had some level of Youth Work and/or Community Learning and Development qualifications, not all had completed a full degree prior to taking up their professional posts. In addition, while some had many years of experience in the field, others had only been working in a youth work context for a few years – but all shared a strong commitment towards building a sense of social justice and inclusion among young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.

In each of the local communities where the research took place, youth workers highlighted how the support being offered to young people had to be consistent and that this took time. Being visible on the streets within an area for a lengthy period of time enabled the workers, regardless of their age, gender or relevant experience, to build relationships with young people where worries were listened to and their aspirations given room to grow:

We might not agree with what they say. But you've got to let them have a voice, you know. And I think that's important. And that's what we do, you know. You don't shout them down just because they've got an opinion. And I just feel a lot of young people have got opinions but a lot of people don't want to listen to their opinions. Irrespective of whether you think they're right or wrong. You still, they still have got an opinion. And you really should be sitting there and listening to their opinion. (*Jimmy, Youth Worker*)

Ensuring the young people had spaces where they felt they were listened to and given support from an adult was essential in creating a relationship that was built on trust. The issue of trust was something that was raised in a number of interviews with young people, as this participant illustrates:

You don't get many people you can trust. Well for me I don't trust many people 'cause I lost a lot of trust. You know what I mean. I used to trust everybody, tell them all my business. And it would all come backfiring on me. But it was only a few people that I can trust. [*Youth Matters worker*] is one of them. (*Stewart*)

Across the four areas, the young people talked about the wide-ranging activities that the *Youth Matters* staff had pointed them towards, including opportunities for

playing pool and football, going on residential trips, engaging in issues-based and practical workshops. During the final set of interviews in 2014, young people in several of the local areas highlighted the recent opportunities they had been given to participate in boxing programmes as a result of personal interests they had in the sport. Initially workers in one area were reluctant to take a group out of their local community due to the need to take public transport and walking a distance while out of their own area as the young people had previously taken part in territorial violence. But after sharing their doubts and listening to the young people, the youth workers established trust and successfully took the young people outwith their area.

Around three quarters of the young people who were interviewed felt that *Youth Matters* enabled them to get off of the local streets, out of their houses and – on occasions – away from their housing schemes:

They take me places, and get me off the streets (*Jack*)

It gets you out of the house from like just sitting there playing your console and all that. (*James*)

It gets us oot the scheme [housing estate]. (*Ben*)

The issue of trust and rapport with the workers was a consistent theme that emerged within discussions with young people:

(We trust) workers like at *Youth Matters* generally because they, they're friendly, they're friendly faces ... they just kind of, they want to talk to you, they want to be friendly. (*Stacey and Beverley*)

We found that the vast majority of young people continued to engage with the service, with a small minority of 'drop outs'. Where young people did begin to disengage, youth workers were quick to follow them up and re-establish contact wherever possible. Where we found that young people were unavailable to participate in follow-up interviews, it was often because they had moved into positive destinations (full-time education or employment) as opposed to any form of disengagement or 'drop out', and in such cases we did attempt to track these young people and mostly were able to engage them in follow-on interviews. During later interviews, after the programme had been implemented for almost 2 years, we found that trust in the youth workers had deepened among those who continued to engage with the service (and those who had moved on to positive destinations but continued to have intermittent contact with the youth workers). Indeed, the young people valued the opportunity to confide in them about personal, sensitive issues:

They never tell anybody else ... they help you oot in a lot of things ... if we need anything then they're still there ... if you have a problem or anything, you have to go and talk to them or find oot. (*Mark and Sharon*)

Like, if you've got a problem we can just go and tell them. (*James*)

I trust them more than I trust myself! I probably get along wi' [worker] more than I dae wi' my own mates. (*Chris*)

By 2014, many of the young people talked about the way in which they felt that the workers were always there for them. They described wide-ranging examples of the support that the youth workers had given them with personal and family problems and with accessing opportunities for education and training initiatives and

even housing accommodation. One young man in one of the areas described the local workers as 'warm and kind and loving', This relationship was reciprocal, with youth workers often going above and beyond their professional roles to show young people they cared about them:

... me and Paul we've actually kind of like ... got bags of clothes from the house from ourselves, for our kids and what have you and pretended that we were going to go to the charity shop, the Cash for Clothes shop and it was shut, and 'och, oh shit I don't believe it, oh no, I've got that bag there, any use to anyone?' Then they might need this or whatever, not want to say maybe use new clothes or maybe use, could do with the help or whatever. And there's times you take them places and they're wearing what you gave them right because you know they've not got anything else, it's an absolute shame. I don't know who else would go the extra mile for them. (*Adam, youth worker*)

These types of examples were consistent across all the areas and illustrated the level of caring and understanding that workers showed towards young people that made them feel valued and enabled reciprocal relationships to grow. In two of the local communities, the regular youth workers changed during the course of our research due to staffing issues. In one case the worker had been moved to work in a different area, which caused some of the young people to feel that they would struggle to trust a new worker due to the rapport built with the first worker. However, after going back to interview the same young people several months later, the situation had changed; it was very evident that the young people in both communities trusted the newer youth workers completely, with some talking about the way in which they had really helped to 'improve relations in the community'. In fact, one young man explained that he now valued the new workers *more* than the original staff. The relationships among young people and youth workers also broke down gender barriers; for example the level of trust in the male youth workers allowed several young women to feel that they could confide in them about confidential, personal issues:

They're personally helped me through so much ... we're lassies (girls) and see if we were away on residential (weekends) n'that and see if we started our periods, we would have the confidence to go and say something to Jimmy and that's a guy! (*Stacey*)

I went to them because during like my past I had quite a rough time ... I was kind of, went into the act of being in a depression, and I've told them about it. And they spoke it through with me ... they talk to you, they let you get everything out and they tell you, that, they promise it'll be OK. (*Rose*)

Like if you've got worries, you can tell them ... but like the conversation stays been yoos two. (*Paula*)

Sometimes in areas where trust levels were very low, it took workers up to 2 years before they had trusting relationships with the young people. In two of the areas, the regular youth workers changed during the course of our research due to staffing issues. In one case the worker had been moved to work in a different area, which caused some of the young people to feel that they would struggle to trust a new worker due to the rapport built with the first worker. However, after going back to interview the same young people 5 months later, the situation had changed. They still spoke about the first worker and still requested to get her back but over time

most of the interviewees had begun to build up trust with the new workers. Indeed, by the time we conducted our final set of interviews in 2014, it was very evident that the young people in this community trusted the newer youth workers completely, with some talking about the way in which they had really helped to ‘improve relations in the community’. In spite of these trusting relationships, three young men we interviewed indicated that some of the younger people in their local housing scheme might not trust new youth workers coming in to the area again in the future, because they might be afraid they will talk to the police:

People just think, when they’re no’ too sure about them, grasses or whatever. (*Brian, Jim and Phil*)

What was apparent in early interviews was that many of the young people struggled to build trust with other adults, particularly the police. By 2014, it appeared that many of the young people’s attitudes towards the police were still very hostile, because of their experiences of being stopped, searched and dispersed out on the streets. However, as a result of conversations they had had with youth workers or experiences they had gained during residential trips, there were early signs to suggest that some young people were beginning to differentiate between police officers who were negative in their approach towards them and those who were not. In two of the areas, young people recognised that officers were simply trying to do their jobs correctly and could be normal, decent people:

(Some are) just decent people ... some of them are just nice. (*Fergus*)

We never used to like the polis ... but then there was a guy that came on ... a residential wi’ us for a weekend ... and then after that, that’s when we started to think, ‘well, they’re decent people – they’re just normal living people ... you wouldnae even have thought he was a copper unless he told us that. And that just goes to show that, without the uniform, they’re just normal people. (*Stacey*)

In wider terms, across the 3 years of the initiative a recurring theme among the young people in all areas was their lack of trust in other adults. Some young people explained that they were reluctant to trust people when they met them at first, in case they were the police or were drug addicts or dealers. However, by 2014 some of the young people indicated that they had gained an increased sense of trust in local adults as a result of their engagement with *Youth Matters*. This was particularly apparent in one of the areas where youth workers had encouraged the young people to become involved in organising a Burns’ Supper for local residents, and where reciprocity began to emerge between younger and older generations as a result of a local voluntary befriending scheme that young people became involved in:

We worked wi’ older people when we done the Burns’ Supper ... we’d get like a table each and we’d serve them. And they’d just chat away to you and stuff. (*Paula*)

I did the ‘Rabbie Burns’ thing. The old woman ... she was like, ‘some old people just think that you are all toerags [hooligans], you cannae dae anything wi’ your life and everything.’ She’s like, ‘we don’t think that ... we think that your generation is better than our generation.’ (*Kerry*)

Like the befriending n’all, like you can help old people ... like I don’t know, before we were wee bastards ... but then we learned how to respect adults and give an adult respect, they’ll respect you back. (*Stacey and Beverley*)

Thus, it seems that *Youth Matters* was able to instil a sense of social support and trust among young people, but in situations where key points of contact changed it took a long period of time for some young people to adjust. Levels of trust differed in each area and analysis of both the workers and the young people's interviews indicated that the level of trust the young people had with workers, residents, organisations and police officers correlated with the length of time spent in an area. However, the evidence arising from the two areas that were affected by staffing changes suggests that the support offered by *Youth Matters* staff – new and old – generated reciprocity, confidence and trust in time due to their approachability and commitment to build positive relationships. The youth workers were clearly encouraging young people to trust other adults outside of *Youth Matters*, particularly in one of the areas where youngsters took on leading roles in local community events.

Our insights suggest that, towards the end of the funded period, *Youth Matters* was beginning to find an increased role in supporting young people to deal more effectively with the police, and in some respects was enabling the building of social capital between young people and local police officers as a means of preventing the circularity of 'othering' that can occur between these groups (Gormally and Deuchar 2012). Accordingly, our research suggests that, by building reciprocity and trust between young people and youth workers, and confidence among young people, the *Youth Matters* service was able to contribute to the development of:

- *Bonding* social capital, through building localised unity among young people and between young people and workers.
- *Bridging* social capital, through broadening young people's identities via volunteering, helping them to achieve confidence and success beyond their localised networks and bringing them into contact with groups and individuals from different age generations.
- Initial signs of *linking* social capital, through enabling some young people to respond with less hostility towards police officers.

Thus, the service was instrumental in building communal forms of social capital which raised self-esteem and self-belief among disadvantaged groups of young people.

60.5.2 Theme 2: Addressing Territorial Violence, Anti-social Behaviour, Alcohol and Drug-Misuse

In early interviews, all participants were asked what they thought of their local areas and what they would like to change. A number of issues were discussed but, interestingly, many of the young people had become accustomed to territorial violence occurring in their neighbourhoods. In early and middle-stage interviews, many also discussed alcohol and drug use and anti-social behaviour as things that blighted their communities:

The schemes split. Like, there's people you'll know fae the schee that you'll like and talk to ... and there's other people in the scheme that you won't het on wi' cause you won't talk to them (*Brian*)

This isnae the nicest of areas ... fae the gang violence and all that, and drugs and alcohol. (*Tony*)

During later interviews, there were differences of opinion about the extent to which territorial issues had dissipated, and – where they had – the role that *Youth Matters* had played in this. For instance, in some areas the young people felt that territorial gang conflict had been seriously reduced and felt that *Youth Matters* had assisted with this:

Before this, everyone was fighting and arguing, doing bad stuff... [that's changed] a lot. (*Jack*)

Now we get on with each other much better. (*Scott*)

Like, when we go on trips ... we dae talk to other people, like – aye – we get on. (*Katie*)

[The trips] take their mind off actually goin' oot and fightin'. (*Ross*)

'Cause they just show that the person's no' as bad as they think they are. And they can get along wi' each other ... and there's like no need for fighting. And like it's, if you've got a problem wi' the other person it's, you can talk it out. (*Benny and Jody*)

These young people clearly felt that the physical activities and recreational trips organised by *Youth Matters*, combined with the personalised mentoring and team-building skills of the workers, had helped to break down territorial barriers. During the final sets of interviews conducted between 2013 and 2014, although there was the recognition that the problems associated with territoriality were still around, young people across all of the targeted communities spoke highly about the workshops they had engaged in as part of the service. The workshops were from a range of youth work resources, included input from reformed offenders and taught them about the risks associated with violence, alcohol and drugs.

Youth workers discussed how they had to be adaptable to the area and the situations they were in, utilising existing resources and creating something new from them to be able to address the issues that came up at that time. They also heavily relied on inter-agency working when they felt that a specific area required a more specialised focus. For example, it was thought that the gang workshops that they were delivering were not hard hitting enough for the groups they were working with so the workers contacted *Medics Against Violence*, a particularly hard hitting agency that addresses the impact of violence in the west of Scotland. Being able to be flexible with the workshops that were required was reported from all areas as being of great importance. At different times, with different people, different methods were required to address the issues that came up:

We've just been working on street work, actual street work. Group work on the streets. We've got flash cards, got all these different things. So we've been trying to tackle the sexual health stuff but alcohol's still...but there's a lot of work to do still. (*Jennifer, youth worker*)

And it's, and we needed a hard hitting thing. You know, it's saying, 'look this is the real world. This is what happens when you carry a knife. When you're drinking alcohol, this is what happens. You might have the knife, and you might not intending to use the knife but

you mix the both of them it's going to happen. This is what happens'. And they show you the consequences of what happens. (*Jimmy, youth worker*)

The young people were particularly positive about the outdoor recreational activities they were taken on with *Youth Matters*, and often felt that these and other recreational activities helped to break down territorial barriers and divert their attention away from fighting. To be brought out of their housing schemes and mix with other schemes and local areas was something that almost all interviewees reflected positively on. During the final interviews in 2014, several young people highlighted the way in which they had developed more positive relationships with those from other local areas:

We had a residential, and we shared a bus wi' people like from (area 1) and people from (area 2) and (area 3). (*Sharon*)

Jimmy has got (scheme 1) and (scheme 2) to play fitba' together ... and if they play fitba', do you know what I mean, they'll end up getting' a relationship, so they've telt our pals that they're alright ... so it definitely has stopped the fightin'. (*Beverley and Stacey*)

Alcohol and drug misuse within the local communities was a common theme to emerge in early interviews. Two and 3 years later, the young people in some of the local areas disclosed that they still drank alcohol most weekends and – in one of the local areas – admitted to smoking cannabis regularly. However, in several of the communities where *Youth Matters* was deployed youngsters clearly felt that workers had helped to address alcohol and drug intake and enabled them to reflect more deeply about consequences:

When anybody was drinking or smoking (the workers) would always say ... they've been telling them to stop it because it can harm them (*Jack*)

I'm a responsible drinker ... but it was good to know from the alcohol side of it in the workshops, and what to look out for n'that. (*Chris*)

Indeed, one youth worker referred to a young man who participated in the service and – as a result – moved from drug intake and crime to a positive destination in sport:

One young ... boy was in heavy, heavy involved in drugs and alcohol. And I just said, 'look I'm going to start a wee boxing thing up here. Would any of you be interested?' And probably about ten of them say, 'aye I'll go down, I'm quite interested'. And cause of territorial stuff I had to take them out of the area. I had to take them to (area name). That's across the other side of the water. And I got this young boy involved in the boxing side of it. And... he's potentially now, he's going to be a professional boxer. (*Jimmy, Youth Worker*)

We had a boxing programme and it went right through the winter months last year ... we have got a wee boy who will probably be a champion next year probably, who we got him out a drug gang. And he is now just starting, he will probably turn 'pro' this year ... now he is just an athlete. He was on drugs, he was smoking all sorts, he was hitting teachers, he had a reputation and he was out of school at fourteen. Then Jimmy got him into the boxing. (*Janice, youth worker*)

Previous research has illustrated that youth work can be a powerful means of engaging young people, directing their attention away from gang violence and building and deepening socialisation networks (Deuchar 2009, 2013). Our insights indicate that the *Youth Matters* programme was a powerful impetus for change in

young people's lives in this respect; by widening young people's networks beyond their immediate, localised peer groups through organising recreational activities and excursions, the youth workers enabled some youngsters to move away from their focus on territorial behaviour. By establishing organised workshops and facilitating open discussions focused on the dangers and risks of alcohol and drug misuse and anti-social behaviour, the initiative also enabled young people to reflect on their own behaviour in this respect. Coburn and Wallace (2011) highlight that a 'health belief model of health behaviours' suggests that young people are more likely to take preventative action when they believe that there is a risk to themselves. By adopting a programme of workshops underpinned by this approach, youth workers at *Youth Matters* were able to support young people in taking greater responsibility in minimising the risks associated with drugs, alcohol and crime.

We can summarise that – by helping to address territorial violence, anti-social behaviour and problematic patterns of alcohol and drug-misuse – the *Youth Matters* service was able to further contribute to the development of:

- *Bridging* social capital, through widening their socialisation networks during recreational excursions: young people were regularly introduced to networks that spanned across traditional social boundaries.
- *Bonding* social capital, through building communal opportunities for self-reflection and instilling a sense of solidarity among young people via open discussions that raised awareness about risks and dangers associated with alcohol and drug dependency. In some cases, this led on to increased recreational and even professional engagement in sport.

However, due to the deeply ingrained culture of territorial violence in some local areas in Glasgow and the continuing acceptance of excessive alcohol intake and cannabis smoking as a form of recreation among young people, the service recognised that it had further work to do in continuing to build social capital as a means of further confronting these issues and minimising health and wellbeing risks:

So we've just been working on street work, actual street work. Group work on the streets. We've got flash cards, got all these different things, but alcohol's still...but there's a lot of work to do still. (*Jennifer, Youth Worker*)

And it's, and we needed a hard hitting thing. You know, it's saying, 'look this is the real world. This is what happens when you carry a knife. When you're drinking alcohol, this is what happens. You might have the knife, and you might not intending to use the knife but you mix the both of them it's going to happen. This is what happens'. And they show you the consequences of what happens. And we've got that on [a] Tuesday night [workshop]. (*Jimmy, Youth Worker*)

60.5.3 *Theme 3: Generating Responsibility, Empowerment and Social Inclusion*

During interviews with young people across the four target areas, several referred to the way in which youth workers within the project had provided them with the support that they needed to apply for jobs, perform well in interviews and – in some cases – to actually gain employment. This was particularly evident during the later interviews we conducted, where young people were able to look back and reflect upon the way in which workers had supported them in this way:

They're helped me wi' my job search ... how to make my CV better and what to say and help me wi' my interviews and that when I do go for it. (*Katie*)

I was trying to find work to dae and they were givin' me like forms for apprenticeships and stuff like that ... and I've just started at the Apollo Players Theatre, doing backstage work ... [the worker] sent emails out for me and I ended up gettin' it. (*Sharon*)

They help you wi', like, they take you and tell you what to put on your CV. And, like tell you – 'cause obviously they've got experience and all that, so they know what they can ask you and that. So they can dae mock interviews and that wi' you. (*Katie*)

During our final set of interviews in 2014, several other young people described the way in which they had managed to gain employment or entry back into education as a result of the support offered to them via *Youth Matters*:

Me and Gary went for (an apprenticeship) and Gary got a job ... through it. (*Paul*)

I wouldnae have got into my first year (at college) ... Jimmy was the one that gave me my reference. And then my second year he helped me dae my 20 hours volunteering. If I didnae dae my 20 hours volunteering I would have never got into my second year. And if I didnae get the reference I wouldnae have got into my first. (*Beverley*)

They helped one of my pals to get a job ... in scaffolding. (*Tony*)

In addition to gaining employability skills which in some cases led onto job and training opportunities, many of the young people talked about the way in which the youth workers increased their sense of personal confidence and their ability to communicate with wider groups of individuals. For example, one young man in one of the areas described the way in which he had been given the opportunity to lead a workshop on gang violence with pupils in the local secondary school, which had given him a great deal of confidence. Other young people also talked about being introduced to opportunities to do peer mentoring; one young person explained that this gave her the confidence 'to go into a room and meet people', while another felt that it had given her the motivation to 'help other people just like (*Youth Matters*) helped us'. Several young people talked about the way in which the new opportunities they had been given through *Youth Matters* had helped them to 'calm down' and, during one of our final interviews in one of the four areas, the young people talked at length about the way in which the *Youth Matters* staff had helped them to widen their ambitions and aspirations in life and to really believe in themselves:

They're an inspiration to everyone ... like, they know what to say and what to do. They encourage young people to do better with themselves, like to achieve more and reach high for what they believe in. (*Rose*)

However, youth workers indicated that the potential to support young people back into work is likely to get harder, as the availability of jobs in the west of Scotland becomes slimmer and the need for previous experience and more complex skills becomes more prominent:

The thing is, the problems here are getting bigger. No' because it's just because of the unemployment side of it, but we've got young people who are going to find it very difficult to get jobs. (*Jimmy, youth worker*)

Our insights suggested that the youth work principles underpinning the *Youth Matters* initiative were pivotal in generating communal social capital between workers and the young people in the four targeted areas of Glasgow, and that this in turn improved the young people's opportunities for acquiring personal social capital and self-efficacy that could be traded for economic capital via employment (Bourdieu 1986; Bandura 1995). The methods of engagement used by the youth workers built trust, respect, co-operation and reciprocity. The workers clearly looked for a 'glimmer of potential' and set up opportunities that enabled young people to recognise their own skill set and to feel safe enough to reach out and test their abilities (Sercombe 2010: 131).

Opportunity-giving was the most common theme that emerged from analysis of how the workers built trust co-operation and reciprocity. Opportunities that were provided were varied and included social gatherings that incorporated residents, family members and young people from other areas. Activities such as boxing, flying, swimming, residential excursions, camping etc. all increased the amounts of available leisure activities and were activities that the young people may not have accessed without the service. Opportunities such as training/college courses, help with home/course work, C.V.'s, applications, accessing specialist services for dyslexia and finding and applying for jobs were the most common ones that were listed by workers and young people.

The participating young people were thus given a sense of responsibility and self-belief, which helped them to move back from the margins of their communities. In some cases, they gained opportunities for both voluntary work and paid employment (Putnam 1993). But, even although there were clear indications that a sizeable number of the young people engaging with the *Youth Matters* programme were beginning to find routes back into education training and employment by the end of the 3 year evaluation period, the staff indicated that the problems associated with accessibility of jobs and the continued need for developing flexible and complex skills may make this process harder in the future.

Overall, then, our research suggests that, by generating responsibility, empowerment and a sense of inclusion among young people, the *Youth Matters* service was able to further contribute to the development of:

- *Bridging* social capital, through broadening young people's identities via volunteering and employment opportunities, helping them to achieve confidence and success beyond their localised networks and bringing them into contact with groups and individuals that spanned across traditional social boundaries.

The building of opportunities for responsibility and empowerment generated additional layers of communal social capital that raised personal esteem and self-belief, while also generating individualistic forms of capital where self-efficacy emerged that could be traded for economic capital via employment. Evidence from the longitudinal element of the study suggested that young people increasingly began to reap the benefits of this towards the end of *Youth Matters'* 3-year funding period, where more groups of youngsters were beginning to find their way back into positive destinations.

60.6 Concluding Discussion

In this chapter, we have argued that detached youth work has increasingly been seen and recognised as a particularly effective way of engaging marginalised young people through its focus on engaging with young people in their own social spaces and on their own terms and its fundamental orientation around the building of trustful relationships (Crimmens et al. 2004; Davies and Merton 2009). In this way, it represents an important means of empowerment within socially disadvantaged urban street contexts, where contemporary literature suggests that many young people feel demonised, are often subjected to excessive surveillance and control and experience feelings of distrust, oppression and resentment (Valentine 1996; Muncie 2009; Deuchar 2013; Jackson and Smith 2013; Deuchar et al. 2015; Miller et al. 2015).

Cognisant of these issues, in Scotland the Scottish Government (2014: 8) has acknowledged that its ambition of ensuring that young people 'achieve the best possible outcomes for themselves and society' is dependent on building youth empowerment. In socially deprived urban communities, enabling young people to exercise genuine power is particularly important given the sense of social exclusion and disadvantage they routinely experience. The Scottish Government argues that effective engagement with disadvantaged youth can offer 'developmental opportunities as well as the ability to lead, take responsibility, make decisions and make a real and lasting contribution – both economically and socially – to Scotland's present and future' (*ibid*: 8). In this chapter, we have drawn upon the evidence from a longitudinal research-based evaluation of one particular detached youth work programme that focused on some of the most socially deprived and disadvantaged communities in Glasgow, in an attempt to examine the extent to which the service was able to foster social capital and – in so doing – build a greater sense of youth empowerment.

Our insights illustrate that the *Youth Matters* service led to an increase in *bonding* social capital within the communities where it was deployed, characterised by dense, multifunctional ties, localised trust and unity (Putnam 2000; Western et al. 2005). Although the transitions that emerged as a result of staff changes in some of the local communities led to uncertainty and unease to begin with, the young people ultimately adapted and enthusiastically accepted newer staff due to the hard work and dedication of each successive team of youth workers who worked tirelessly to

earn young people's trust through positive relationship-building (Coburn 2011). In generating closer social bonds, many of the young people developed increased levels of confidence and self-efficacy that enabled them to enhance their opportunities for gaining employment (Bandura 1995). By encouraging young people to recognise their own skills and potential and develop an increased ability to write CVs and prepare for interviews, social capital was converted into cultural and economic capital (Robson 2009).

Our evidence suggests that the *Youth Matters* service was increasingly able to support young people to find positive destinations in education, training, employment and in voluntary services by the end of the 3-year funded period, as well as reconsidering their use of and dependency on alcohol and drugs to some extent. Although not discussed in the chapter, an unexpected outcome of the project was that the service helped young people deal with family problems and youth workers played a large role in advocating for young people. For example, some youth workers supported young people during periods of bereavement and also provided positive references for them to accompany college and job applications or – in a minority of cases – as evidence for bail reports if they became involved in the criminal justice system.

The emerging insights also suggest that the *Youth Matters* project enabled some of the young people to move away from territorial violence as a result of the *bridging* social capital that was generated by youth workers, as well as the implementation of local issues-based workshops. By organising recreational trips that brought young people from different housing schemes together, the youth workers were able to broaden identities to some extent and bring together people across some diverse social divisions (Putnam 2000). However, our data also suggests that aggression and violence could still be normalized by some young people within the focus communities and that historical territorial rivalries were still in evidence – as the quotations from young people such as Brian and Tony in earlier sections illustrate. The *Youth Matters* service was clearly able to achieve some very impressive results in terms of steering young people away from violence; however, it has to be recognized that the problems associated with territorial gang violence are by no means resolved in some of the communities in Glasgow (for a fuller discussion, see Deuchar 2013).

The groups of young people that *Youth Matters* worked with could not have been reached with traditional youth work alone, but the mix of street work and traditional youth work meant that the service was reaching the majority of young people in the communities. Street work was repeatedly mentioned by the youth workers as the first step in reaching those deemed to be 'disengaged youth' and once a trusting relationship was built they were then able to move the young people towards more issues-based work where they could then start addressing issues such as violence, drugs and alcohol etc. This was then accompanied by providing activities and signposting young people towards other agencies so having a mix of traditional and street youth work was essential in *Youth Matters*' success with young people.

Insights from the final sets of interviews also indicated early signs that the service had slowly enabled some young people to become more tolerant towards the work of the police and to manage the pressures that the police sometimes created in

their lives more effectively. The implementation of local befriending schemes and community service initiatives had also encouraged the breaking down of barriers between young people and local adult residents, and built youngsters' confidence in their use of communication skills (Deuchar et al. 2015). Accordingly, we would argue that services like *Youth Matters* can and do enable disadvantaged young people in urban contexts to lead, take responsibility, make decisions and make a real and lasting contribution to society (Scottish Government 2014).

In spite of the many positive insights to emerge from our research, we believe that organisations like *Youth Matters* need to be aware of the risks associated with young people's dependency upon their services. Across the four neighbourhoods where we worked, the final sets of interviews in 2013 and 2014 indicated that many of the young people had started to become dependent on *Youth Matters* and the support offered by the youth workers. When asked what they think might happen if the *Youth Matters* project was to come to an end, they indicated that they might drift back into old patterns of behaviour and that the local communities and young people would really suffer from the lack of support.

Serbombe (2010) has argued that, alongside the virtue of empowerment often lies the vice of dependency. Although it is undoubtedly recognised that 'the process of youth work [is]...contingent on the quality of relationship between a young person and a youth worker' (Harland and Morgan 2006: 10), the young people in Glasgow's socially deprived communities would benefit from a facilitated process of becoming less dependent on youth workers for gaining a sense of trust, confidence and support. Indeed in a general sense we believe that, in providing an empowering form of urban education on society's margins, youth workers also need to ensure that young people build positive relationships with other professionals and adults in both their local and more distant communities, and to facilitate agency (Sercombe 2010). For example, Sercombe (2010: 133) argues the need for spreading the professional load and facilitating young people to build a relationship with other workers, referring young people on to other services and helping young people to build a 'normal' support base: a mix of 'friends, family fellow student or co-workers and professional support'. In our later interviews, signs were beginning to emerge that this was happening in some of the areas where *Youth Matters* workers were arranging more distant trips to rural parts of Scotland. This type of work needs to continue in these communities alongside a focus on supporting young people to build wider relationships with other professionals as well as local adult residents, as per Sercombe's suggestions (above). In order to truly empower young people, agencies like *Youth Matters* need to encourage them to take ownership over their own lives and to believe that they can achieve things without the support and mentorship of youth workers.

In addition, we believe that youth work agencies in socially deprived communities like the ones we worked in need to place an added emphasis on generating stronger forms of *linking* social capital, which will enable them to forge stronger alliances with authoritative agencies such as the police (Woolcock 2001; Western et al. 2005; Terrion and Hoglebe 2007). One way of doing this is to adopt an assets-based approach and engage young people in the organisation of local com-

munity ‘listening events’. Bringing local people, agencies and authoritative organisations together in ‘irrational’ ways can facilitate a focus on co-production of ideas, open and deliberative dialogue and the building of localised positive action focused on collective resources and strengths, rather than on needs and problems (Ritzer 1996: 197; Deuchar et al. 2015). As our wider, collective body of work has illustrated (Deuchar et al. 2015; Miller et al. 2015), local integration initiatives of this kind can enable localised fear and anxiety about young people’s behaviour to begin to dissipate and enhanced feelings of safety and wellbeing begin to emerge. They can also ensure that power and who does, or is perceived to, hold power within communities is discussed, challenged and most importantly shared.

While we need to be cautious about generalising our insights from Glasgow to wider social and cultural contexts, we believe that our research insights illustrate the potential for youth work services to adopt a role in facilitating agency, empowerment and power-sharing process in socially disadvantaged urban contexts. Despite being complex, relational and situational (Gormally and Coburn 2014), this type of practice can have a positive impact for all involved. By enabling this type of interaction and localized agency, services like *Youth Matters* and others like it that exist in Scotland, the UK and the wider world have the potential to have a wider influence on reducing anti-social behaviour, alcohol and drug misuse and increasing the number of young people engaged in positive lifestyles. In so doing, they can play a wider role in the building of safe, inclusive and flourishing communities.

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Part X
Western Europe

Chapter 61

Urban Education in Western Europe: Section Editor's Introduction

Francesca Gobbo

In their introduction to the first edition of the *International Handbook of Urban Education*, the General Editors George W. Noblit and William T. Pink (2007) questioned whether “urban education” could exclusively be understood as the research and intervention realm that urban centers have engendered, owing to the many problems (poverty, crime, overpopulation, despair) afflicting them, and pointed out the need to take into consideration “th mirror image” of towns and cities that is instead communicated by the word “urbane”, specifying how the polarity urban-urbane provided researchers with alternative paths for exploring and debating the meanings and scope of “urban education”. About 10 years later, the authors anthologized in the new Western Europe section contribute with their research and interpretations to further problematize such meanings and scope of “urban education” – even when it is not acknowledged as part of the Western European educational vocabulary (as Lorenz Lassnigg points out) – and attest their engagement with problematic school issues and the pursuit of social justice and civic participation in different social and national contexts. Interestingly, the latter do not merely represent the wider frames in which those issues and aims are set, defined, and negotiated, but are in turn affected, and more or less deeply changed, by the recognition of the problems and the search for solutions, as Jens Adams and Alik Mazukatow indicate with reference to a “post-migrant” Berlin, or by Francesca Gobbo, with regard to the institution of the nursery school as a “public service” and its opening to men educators. In fact, notwithstanding the complexity and specificity of each urban context documented by the chapters, I believe that at least a *fil rouge* can be traced connecting the contributions across their diversities, namely *change*.

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Change seems to be especially relevant, as it also translates as *agency* with reference to individuals and communities, and resonates at the level of *identity*: with regard to nation states, change results from the acknowledgement of their multicultural social fabric to which immigrants have contributed either as the “new citizens” in “post-migrant” Berlin (though citizenship legislation does not guarantee that they be symbolically included in discourses of national community), or as indispensable, but ignored, “warrantors” for the stability of the ageing Austrian population. However, the perception of demographic and cultural transformations is also heightened by the awareness of minority groups such as the Roma in Catalonia (studied by Bálint-Ábel Bereményi and Silvia Carrasco) or the Trentino Sinti in the North East of Italy (reported by Federica Setti of the Italian wom.an.ed collective) that they have long since been part of the cultural identity of their countries, albeit their likewise long social exclusion and/or marginalization. The case of Roma, and Sinti, is particularly interesting because of its European relevance that has produced important initiatives such as the Decade of Roma Inclusion and more recently the *EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies*, and adds a transnational and transcultural dimension to the subjects’ national and ethnic identity. Changes that have to do with a process of identity complexification can be traced in practically every chapter: thus, for instance, from Setti’s investigation we come to know how the Trentino Sinti teenagers’ involvement with the imaginary characters of television series, and/or their participation in the web social networks make them elaborate an unforeseen, multifaceted identity; Paola Giorgis’ contribution alerts readers of how the learning a “non-mother tongue” provides both immigrant and non immigrant youth with the opportunity to achieve a critical view on themselves and others, to structure new affiliations and understand the symbolic connection between languages and social environments; the voices of immigrant students – in Rebecca Sansoé’s paragraph –, who attend a vocational education course in Turin (Italy), underline how through it they have attained a new perspective on themselves as persons able to be, at the same time, prospective workers (notwithstanding the economic crisis) and thoughtful, caring sons for their families; Isabella Pescarmona points out, in her report, how the impact of an educational innovation on the schools’ everyday pedagogy and expectations prods teachers to critically reconsider and reconstruct their professional identity; Elisa Sartore underlines that since history, and particularly the history of Italy, has always been characterized by cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic diversities, the issues of identity and diversity can be critically approached only through the historical lens, and she does so by collecting life stories of Somali-Italians; finally, the agency of Turkish immigrants in Berlin, reported by Adams and Mazukatow, is successfully testified by their founding of a private school to counter discrimination too often experienced by their children in public institutions, the establishment of a cultural/ethnic association that aims to achieve higher visibility and social recognition for the immigrant community, and by the private school’s students’ investment in their future who subscribe to goals of achievement, performance, meritocracy and self-responsibility that can apparently co-exist with the school’s “ethnicization” process.

This last observation allows me to take into consideration the issues of identity and change from a different angle – that of identity theory -, and to point out that the interpretation of urban and ethnic identities as multifaceted and complex co-constructions is in these chapters the result of a learning process construed as either entailing “multiculturalism as the normal human experience” (Goodenough 1976), or as a path of additive enculturation. In both cases, the so called cultural roots of the subjects intersect, or intertwine (rather than being silenced or effaced by majority's actions and policies) with new cultural and relational experiences. Though situations of discrimination and segregation are not eliminated, minority or immigrant subjects seem to have decided that they can no longer be expected, or required, to give up what they learned from the family's or community's teachings. Yet the persistence of segregation and exclusion cannot be ignored, and it is explored by two interesting contributions, respectively by Clément Rivière and Sonja Kosunen, and by Sofia Marques da Silva and Pedro Abrantes. In the one comparing two culturally and ethnically mixed neighborhoods – in Paris and in Milan – Rivière and Kosunen explore the urban dimension by focusing on the processes of children's urban socialization that are promoted, or on the contrary not encouraged, by the families' social background and aspirations. Thus, while the authors underline the different choice made by the Milan families, they also point out the role of the so called school markets as related to, and reinforcing, the French families' concerns for their children's social mobility that indirectly produce a newer form of segregation: in fact, as their children attend a school outside the area of residence, the lines of social differentiation and inequality are redesigned, since low status families can only afford to enroll their children in the local schools. The contribution by Sofia Marques da Silva and Pedro Abrantes sets the theme of “urban education” against the background of the current global crisis and provides readers with a provocative interpretation of how the lack of social change and the persistence of inequalities engender young people's disinvestment in and disaffection for education: in reviving Erving Goffman's theory of “cooling the mark out” the two Portuguese researchers convincingly highlight, and explain, youth's contradictory beliefs toward schooling as well as their (unexpected, by the older generations) availability to downsize their hopes and prospects, and thus indirectly legitimate the neo-liberal political narratives and the current economic austerity measures.

In devoting the next pages to retracing the different chapters in greater details, I aim both to answer the readers' expectation for a more analytical presentation of the authors' research and interpretation efforts, and to suggest – as Noblit and Pink did for the first edition of the *International Handbook of Urban Education* – that this second one be also read and understood “as a tool for opening up conversations about the current status and possible futures of urban education” (Noblit and Pink 2007, p. xxxv).

The chapter about Spain, that opens the Western Europe section, is an interesting example of how Urban Education in Europe often translates into engaged research on minorities' education, namely the educational and social “problems” of stigmatized Roma families and their children, and/or of immigrant communities inhabiting democratic, albeit economically and socio-culturally stratified European societies.

Bálint-Ábel Bereményi and Silvia Carrasco, in their “Bittersweet Success. The Impact of Academic Achievement among the Spanish Roma after a Decade of Roma Inclusion”, deal with the “Roma problem” by choosing to investigate the short-period results and the wider effects of initiatives and policies the “problem” elicited at the national and European levels¹ to tackle cultural and institutional stumbling blocks to school continuity and further educational pursuits, as well as social and economic inclusion of the members of this culturally non homogeneous minority, whose Spanish citizenship was granted only in 1978. These ample research and intervention concerns characterize most of the studies carried out among Roma people in Spain (and in many other European nation states, cfr. Gobbo 2015): in this case, the authors extend the line of research initiated by Abajo and Carrasco (2004) and focus on the conditions that promote academic success among young Roma in Catalonia, and on the impact that their successful trajectories have on themselves, their families and the Roma communities. Rooted in the belief that schooling is a “key element” for achieving social justice and equality of opportunities, the researchers’ investigation innovates both in terms of the issues investigated (*school continuity* instead of disengagement and dropping out, for instance), and of theories with which to interpret the success and inclusion of Roma rather than their failure or exclusion. The latter have not disappear – the authors acknowledge – because, while funds for Roma projects have increased (at least at the European level), they can still perpetuate a form of social separation, if not segregation, precisely because the investments target only Roma pupils and students. For their research purposes, Bereményi and Carrasco singled out a number of subjects respectively belonging to the pre-Decade generation and to the Decade generation, whose recollections – as interpreted by the authors – point out that the Decade generation has a more linear school trajectory and a positive participation in academic peer groups, from whom they can, for example, learn how to “navigate” the relatively unfamiliar school world and culture. If feelings of social isolation, loneliness, mistrust, together with the lack of institutional knowledge, persist also among the Roma youth of the Decade generation, they are not as sharp and marginalizing as they have been for the previous generation. In fact, the younger Roma recognize how there are teachers they can rely on, and who are engaged in making changes so as to realize the students’ right to education. In both groups, parents, and older siblings, provide emotional support, and urge the younger ones to bear the social and educational frustrations in order to attain the indispensable cultural and academic capital, and even realize the unachieved ambitions of some adults. Bereményi and Carrasco stress how the organization of panEuropean Roma networks has furthered the

¹With regard to European initiatives, see Directorate-General for Internal Policies (2015), *Evaluation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies*, available at [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536485/IPOL_STU\(2015\)536485_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536485/IPOL_STU(2015)536485_EN.pdf); see also European Commission (2014), *Report on the Implementation of the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies*, available at http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_implement_strategies2014_en.pdf

For an earlier investigation and debate on the issue of Spanish Roma education by the same authors, see Bereményi and Carrasco 2015.

construction of a transnational Roma identity and, especially among those of the Decade generation, an engagement in forming themselves as European Roma persons, notwithstanding the few models available, and valorizing their transcultural identities through national and international networks and/or NGOs. In fact – as the two researchers notice – the good command of English and of the Internet that many of them have, contribute to the elaboration of a multifaceted identity where forms of continuity with Roma culture and values, and maintenance of strong emotional ties with the community and the family (cfr. Setti 2015), co-exist together with pro-academic attitudes and a deeper awareness of local and global injustice. According to the researchers' interpretation, both generations have thus been able to achieve "accommodation without assimilation" to the non Roma cultural contexts: the *process of additive acculturation* they undergo does not demand a sharp discontinuity with most of their cultural traditions, though it can often be difficult, or even painful, especially in the case of Roma women eager to pursue further schooling and at the same time gain emancipation from cultural rules such as early marriage (cfr. Gobbo 2004, for an Italian example). The positive expectations of trustworthy teachers towards them as Roma students, the provision of social and academic capital by peer groups who function as bridging agents, and the support of parents and siblings allow Bereményi and Carrasco to posit a theoretical interpretation that valorizes multiples forms of capital – aspirational, navigational, social, cultural, linguistic, familial, resistant and identity capital – as the factors thanks to which personal academic projects can be envisaged and enacted, and a European Roma identity attained and nourished, notwithstanding that the "Roma problem" is still under notice of default, and the cultural discourse often pushes into the background, or even silences, the needed political solutions.

In the chapter that follows, authors Clément Rivière and Sonja Kosunen deal with the themes of "School Choice, School Markets and Children's Urban Socialization" through a comparative approach that takes them to two socially mixed area of Paris (France) and Milan (Italy), namely Paris-Villeite and Monza-Padova respectively. They explore the urban dimension from the point of view children's school experiences and careers in relation to processes of urban socialization that shape their perception and familiarity with the urban spaces, and are promoted, or limited, by families' aspirations and children's social background. Through in depth interviews of parents in the two areas, Rivière and Kosunen aim to learn how children acquire mobility skills, what such ability means from the points of view of social relations within the neighborhood of residence and of academic prospects, and how relevant are the parents's concerns and expectations with regard to their children's autonomy when they leave primary school to enroll in lower secondary education. The findings highlight the different orientations of families in Paris-Villeite and Milan/Monza-Padova on school choice and educational investment, on the one hand, and, on the other, the children's differential learning about their own social identity and that of other social groups, as well as the construction of new ties and networks for the young ones who daily leave home and use public transportation to attend a school in another neighborhood. In fact, children's mobility appears strongly related to the choice of secondary school, and though parents want to make

sure that their sons and daughters will be able to use public transportation on their's own before letting them do so, the appreciation schools outside the place of residence enjoy among middle and upper class French families is crucial in promoting children's urban autonomy. While it is true that both French and Italian parents give additional similar reasons for such autonomy (the irregular school timetable of secondary schools, the peer group's pressure on children that would make adult supervision embarrassing, lesser parental involvement in school matters than in primary education, the reassuring company of school mates in busses and metro), the journey to a school in a different neighborhood shapes the urban and social experience of French students in characteristic ways: the parents' economic, social and cultural resources favor mobility (unlike what happens for lower class students who tend to enroll in the local schools), but at the same time promote school segregation and reinforce social inequalities. Rivière and Kosunen connect the latter to the role of school markets, and to the greater relevance they have in the French context, as among French middle and upper class parents school success is perceived as what will determine children's future social prospects and foster their upward mobility (or at least protect them from sliding downward). And while they see quality of education – which is presumed to be better guaranteed by a school outside the neighborhood of residence – as a “life investment”, the schools themselves compete for attracting students and thus redraw the lines of social differentiation and inequality through the experience of urban socialization. The two researchers point out that, on the contrary, the Milan school market is less hierarchical: in fact, for Northern Italian families school choice means enrolling children in a private (i.e., Catholic) school, rather than in a public one, and both options are available in the neighborhood. Thus, in the Monza-Padova area, the production and reproduction of social differentiation is less relevant, since – in the authors' interpretation – schooling is also strongly related to family life, and benefits from the help and supervision of grandparents, so that leaving the neighborhood is not encouraged and therefore the peers' pressure for children's autonomy is exercised, and felt, to a lesser degree. Rivière and Kosunen close their research by once more underlining the role of school markets “in shaping in a specific way the social differentiation of urban socialization”, but suggesting that the interaction between families, the State and the market in different mixed areas is worth asking further questions given that, in Paris, an “elitist state” with its production of sharp spatial and social hierarchies, threatens local schools and engenders school segregation, while, in Milan a “delegating state” makes local schools still relevant for the organization of daily life, and maintains weaker “the spatial dimension of parental educational strategies”.

In their chapter titled “Trans-/Locally Situated: Informal Educational Processes and the Emergence of a New Urban Civil Society in ‘Post-Migrant’ Berlin”, Jens Adam and Alik Mazukatow present and discuss an interesting and ambitious educational initiative, founded and supported by the descendants of Turkish immigrants to Germany, that aims to improve the school performance and future prospects of their children of Turkish origin (though pupils and students from different backgrounds can also enroll). The chapter is divided in five sections: the first one reports the ethnographic exploration (which is expanded in the third section) of the school

“as an urban site”, where informal educational processes, and involvement with the socio-political dimension of Berlin, take place besides the teaching/learning of the official curricula. In the second section the authors explore the transformation of Berlin urban civil society and argue that it has been re-shaped by the presence of the immigrants, and of their descendants. In the fourth section the authors cast a closer look at the informal educational processes engendered by the intersection between the school and the city, as well as at the various “strategies of social positioning” and the effects that interventions into urban education produce for the socio-political fabric of a “post-migrant city”. Finally Adams and Mazukatow discuss the formative power of migration for the social life of Germany, by pointing out how dominant concepts of “education” and “urban civil society” can be challenged by a civic engagement that at the same time is characterized by transnational affiliations and by a solid local grounding and orientation intending to answer unsatisfactory educational policies.

In presenting the school – that is interpreted as productive of “locality” –, the authors underline how the transnational religious movement founded by Fethullah Gülen, with his attention and care for education, inspired the establishment of the private Gymnasium. The goals were to counter the discriminatory experience of public schooling by children of immigrants, who in Germany as in other European countries are overrepresented in vocational education, and offer equality of opportunity to students who are third or fourth generation Turkish immigrants. The Gymnasium provides an educational alternative to segregated schooling (as the authors notice, local families living in Berlin mixed neighborhoods can choose to enroll their children in schools outside the place of residence) and also offers Turkish language as a regular school subject to students who, after the change of citizenship legislation in 2000, are representatives of the “new Germans”. Nevertheless, the latter tend to remain excluded at the symbolic and discursive level from a national community that has at last come to perceive itself as a “country of immigration”. Borrowing from Stefan Lanz’s scholarly contributions, Adams and Mazukatow see in the concept of *dispositif* an effective interpretive key allowing them to understand the changes in self-perception of Berlin inhabitants: from the national-homogeneous city to the multicultural-differential metropolis to the cosmopolitan-diverse metropolis where diversity is highly valued and the contemporary neoliberal turns of the market stress self-responsibility, that is also fostered in the Gymnasium together with the importance, for the students, of investing in their future. During the ethnographic observations and in depth interviews of teachers, students, parents, Mazukatow witnessed the efforts the school made for conveying – even through the decoration of the building’s interior walls – the importance of achievement and performance. Students subscribe to it, confiding that a good education, enrolment in a prestigious university, meritocracy and self-responsibility can lead to a future satisfactory working position almost by default, and to a social recognition that will repay them of the (direct or indirect) experience of discrimination. For the “social actor” that the school founding association embodies, the most important goals are the improvement of one’s social position and the capacity to transform the urban context, namely to create “urban sites” where formal and

informal educational processes and new modes of interaction with the urban context are enacted. A few more points deserve to be mentioned, namely the co-existence of “strategies of social positioning” with a process of “ethnicization” of the school, the perception of differences as “normal”, and the conversion of a socially constructed minority into a “majority” that, through the association, organizes social events and establishes contacts with the relevant social actors (policymakers, civil society, for instance) so as to realize the associates’ aspiration for recognition and higher visibility within the urban context. According to Adams and Mazukatow, such high educational and social investment can promote and support the demands for social justice, for more and better opportunities for immigrants, for acknowledging the role of multilingualism and diversity both in the national context and in Berlin, as a “post-migrant city”, where “migration” becomes a “perspective on changing societal realities”, and basic notions such as “belonging”, “nation”, “citizenship” cannot be but problematized, especially since the ideals of achievement that structure the self image of the school and of its pupils correspond to the neoliberal concept of the entrepreneurial self.

The chapter by Lorenz Lassnigg on “Urban Education in Austria – ‘Repression’ of the Topic and a ‘Reversed’ Political Agenda” opens with the acknowledgement that “the concept of urban education is not familiar in the Austrian and the wider German speaking discourse either”, and that “not even an expression in the German/Austrian language exists for this concept”. Yet, as the author delves into the complex historical and geo-political and educational mapping of Austria to trace the reasons of such silence, we learn that issues usually connected with Urban Education are in fact present, but misrecognized or, as Lassnigg puts it, “repressed”, owing to the Austrian school policies that have supported the rural regions and overlooked the urbanization processes taking place in the areas around the three more important cities – among which only Vienna has a metropolitan dimension – as well as the reality and effects of immigration. The author’s overall interpretation of the Austrian urban-rural polarity, of the lack of a common perspective in political discourses, and of a common strategy towards effective solutions – all effectively veiling the problems of urban education – results from his keen examination of different, interrelated dimensions, namely

- The distribution and aggregation of population along the urban/rural continuum and the concurrent disregard for the shape and development of urbanization;
- The political conflict historically waged over the Austrian educational structure that allows to understand the urban/rural division from a wider and complex perspective;
- The consequences of the “political (in)capacities” (as the author writes) to tackle the urban education issues; and, finally,
- The impact of immigration on urban education that now suffers from the ensuing political polarization.

The complex federal structure – warns Lassnigg – and the long history of political struggles along urban/rural and left/right lines have hampered the solutions of problems such as the high enrolment of disadvantaged youth in urban common

schools (that can nevertheless provide a route to upward mobility through upper secondary vocational colleges enabling students to access higher education), or the considerable number of academic schools in urban rather than in rural areas, with the resulting inequality of opportunities for those inhabiting the latter. Furthermore, the great agglomerations around the three urban centers appear as hidden from the attention and concerns of citizens who can thus ignore both the social class duality in urban environments and the greater social and educational contradictions obtaining within the urban/rural polarity (for instance, transportation privileging the agglomeration centers, less diverse school provision in rural areas, social and educational focalization on urban youth that entails marginalization of the rural one from political discourses). Somewhat ironically Lassnigg points out that “the rural regions are ‘privileged’ by the distribution of primary school, whereas they are ‘rationed’ in the academic track”, even though the rural schools receive “relatively more resources than urban ones”: thus, if the “reversed political agenda of support of the rural regions” misrecognizes the relevance of urban education issues, a parallel misrecognition of the uneven allocation of economic and educational resources, or of the distribution of upper level schools, and individuals’ opportunities, takes place among the regional and central authorities. As for the issue of immigration, the Austrian author observes how much time has been inefficiently used for the education of an increasingly diverse school population who often ends being enrolled in special schools, or in schools with special needs programs, and whose failure rate is considerable. The reluctance to recognize that, in Austria, immigrants are indispensable for the stability of an ageing population, and the oscillation between a strong assimilationist approach and a multicultural one have hindered the acknowledgement of immigration as a “political object” and, with regard to the schooling of immigrants’ children, the need to identify and implement appropriate language policies for such linguistically diverse school population. Thus, Lassnigg’s concluding reflections on immigration cannot but stress how the factors causing the “repression” of urban education problems (“the hidden agglomeration process, the historical legacies concerning federalism, the political polarization around the lower secondary schools, and the complex and contradictory governance structures”) have also been able to hold off political and practical action towards the immigrants and their children.

The chapter authored by the Italian wom.an.ed collective, and titled “Identity and Diversity: the Educational Challenge in Urban contexts”, focuses on the relevance of, and interplay between identity and diversity in a number of Italian urban and educational contexts that each wom.an.ed member studied through an extensive ethnographic approach. Furthermore, the collective chooses to emphasize the concept of diversity rather than of difference(s), in the firm belief that the former entails a horizontal, non hierarchical plan where the opposition us/them can dissolve (as long as the balance of power allows it) in a multiplicity of memberships related to contexts and individuals’ interactions. Not unlike other European nation states, Italy too has acknowledged that the researchers’ attention to such themes is the consequence of the immigration flows that started to arrive in the mid-1980s and that promoted an unprecedented – though not always effective – engagement of

educators with anthropological concepts (such as culture, ethnicity, processes of cultural transmission and learning, among others), on the one hand, and, on the other, with the discourse and practice of intercultural education, and of social justice. Furthermore, Roma and Sinti groups that have lived for generation in Italy, and hold Italian citizenship, are now approached by educators as culturally and ethnically *diverse* people, rather than as marginal or outcasts (though of course the unjust ways in which too many of them are treated, and the prejudices they suffer from, are denounced), whose specific cultural identity needs to be known and taken into account to realize the children's right to education. The various authors intertwine their methodological and theoretical competence with their engagement in education, particularly in the field of intercultural education, since even when the contribution is not about immigrants, or minority youth and adults, as in the case of Isabella Pescarmona, the schools investigated in Bologna and its province have already become multicultural and it is precisely this initial situation that prods teachers and the researcher to introduce, and test, the cooperative learning approach, known as Complex Instruction, that is aimed to provide equity and inclusion in heterogeneous classrooms. Here, however, Pescarmona focuses on the critical learning and on the identity dilemmas that an educational innovation arises among teachers: as the latter are engaged in creating the conditions for pupils' group working at multi-dimensional tasks and in delegating responsibility of results to them, they have to grapple with the culture(s) of the school taken until then for granted, with a complex educational "architecture" that rests on rigid classroom timetables and unquestioned respect of colleagues' loads and teaching goals, as well as with the children's reluctance, or sheer difficulty to trudge a new way of doing school work and assuming authority. Thus the goal of providing the diverse pupils with equality of opportunities implies for the teachers not only learning to practice a new pedagogic approach, but also, and especially, to critically reconsider their professional identity, the meaning, and manners, of teaching, as well as the social barriers and the (prejudicial) expectations they entail. As teachers start to question themselves *as teachers and engaged persons*, their perception of the classroom and of their role changes (though not always smoothly) and fosters a more problematic and multifaceted individual and professional awareness.

The paragraph written by Rebecca Sansoé deals with the increasing enrolment of immigrant youth in vocational education. Her ethnographic research was carried out in two courses held in Turin and established by the Piedmont Region, and the conclusion she draws from a 2 year participant observation, and in depth interviews to students, teachers and trainers, underlines the crucial relevance of attending to the students' voice (or emic view, in the anthropological vocabulary) in order to understand their decision to continue studying or, on the contrary, to drop out and choose "to do business". In fact, the choice of those who stayed in school and elected both teachers and trainers as their reference points is highlighted – as Sansoé points out – by the step in the opposite direction taken by those peers who soon leave. For the first ones, the educational experience implies not only the acquisition of knowledge and competences, but also a new perspective on themselves, and a willingness to meet both the challenge of the learning process and that of a job, just

as the economic crisis heavily hits Turin and its local small manufacturing firms. As the disruptive global processes impact on industrial production and the economy, the young immigrants' professional capacity and skills on which they capitalize for constructing better prospects (and securing a legal immigrant status and the residency permit) is not only at risk, but their availability to personal and cultural changes is also deeply affected. Thus – points out Sansoé – researchers themselves will be challenged to investigate the influence of global events on these subjects' disposition to transformation and future commitments.

The chapter's section by Paola Giorgis concerns multilingualism in its constitutive relation with identity: the researcher underlines how languages shape and orient people's identities and their (urban, in this case) experiences, on the one hand, and, on the other, how everyone is “the sum of her/his languages ... [which is in turn] the product and the producer” of people's everyday lives. Giorgis' research is carried out in foreign language classrooms where, through the study of a “non-mother” tongue, youth – both of Italian and non-Italian origin – can explore the assumed “natural” connection between languages and the socio-cultural environments, and realize how such connection is a symbolic and historical construction that further benefits from the encounters with, and contributions from other languages. Though she is conscious of young people's “linguistic consumerism” and of how they often subscribe to an uncritical reproduction of marketed cultural and social habits, Giorgis argues for the relevance of such learning process: the appropriation of a foreign language and the practice of cross-linguistic interactions allow youth to cast a different view on themselves and on others, establish new affiliations and elaborate diverse identities, according to the context, the actors, the communication goals. She further invites readers to notice that in so doing, those students – perhaps unwittingly but positively – question the monolingualism and monoculturalism of the school, highlighting instead the intercultural potential of languages, and confirm that “diversity” should be inflected in the plural.

Giorgis' bold interpretation of Italian and non-Italian students' linguistic practices and of the issue of diversity provides a meaningful introduction to Federica Setti's fieldwork findings and reflections on the Sinti minority of Trento, in the NorthEast of Italy. Her ethnographic research was first carried out in a Sinti family – a choice that allowed her to come in contact with the family's teenage daughters – and then in a lower secondary school where the social relations with Gage (as Sinti call the Italian majority) and immigrant peers are more positive than in other Italian school contexts, owing to the awareness of adult and young Sinti that they are effectively part of both the past and present of the Trento area (regardless of the injustice and prejudices they had, and have still to face), as their fluency in the local dialect testifies. As Setti observed and learned, such trans-ethnic dimension of their identity continues to be intertwined with Sinti cultural rules and meanings that are respected and upheld also by the younger generation, notwithstanding its lively involvement with American television series and pop music stars, as well as its virtual “hanging around” the social networks. She interprets the process of Sinti identity construction and faceting through the theories of Ward H. Goodenough (1976) and Harry F. Wolcott (1991) that posit how enculturation is from the

beginning a multi/intercultural learning experience, and that indirectly engender – as Setti remarks – the successive notion of cultural intersectionality as well as the review of the cultural discontinuity paradigm, at the basis of early anthropology of education research. Thus this researcher points out how Sinti youth are, at the same time, enculturated by their families, by the peer groups, and by the culture of the schools, but she also stresses how the latter too often tends to consistently ignore this minority’s cultural and linguistic complexity, or to scale it down through procedures of labelling and categorizing (frequently supported by media reports and ad hoc political claims) that can only produce a short-sighted and essentialistic multiculturalism.

Elisa Sartore, with her final notes on the relationship between “our” Italian history and the history of others, concludes the chapter written by the wom.an.ed collective. She opens those notes by asking how to deal with “the construction of differences and identities from a historical perspective”, and answers by remarking how “it is a historically blind assumption defining diversity – romanticised or problematised – as external and alien to us”, because, as she points out, in the history of Italy those who are (or appear) different from us have always been with us, leaving lasting traces in the urban environment, in the language, in our cultural ways. History is for Sartore the crucial tool thanks to which to approach critically – even ironically – the issues of national identity and diversity, and to understand how they have in time been addressed and constructed – or, more often, mis-constructed. Through her research she aimed not only to re-establish a *just* perspective on the national narratives, but also, and most urgently, to question how certain interpretations and theories (as well as policies) were/are elaborated, disseminated, taken for granted and naturalized in a “dominant” discourse. She set out to collect a number of life narratives from Somali-Italians, a “forgotten minority [that] can be considered as a living legacy of Italian colonialism and postcolonialism”, whose human and cultural alienating experiences, that the narrators had to undergo during their childhood and youth, she analyzed, highlighting their personal strength and capacity to develop a definition of themselves that is at the same time “a statement of belonging” and “a complex representation of (...) their otherness as a multiplicity of identities”. As Sartore underlines, the collected Somali-Italians’ narratives compel “us” to understand the Italian national identity “as a composite one”, and they further invite to complement such understanding by recalling, and once more valorizing, the educational perspective and action of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, from whom to learn how a transformative educational path can only be attained through dialogical spirit and practice.

Sofia Marques da Silva and Pedro Abrantes, in their chapter titled “Growing up in Europe’s Backyard: Researching on Education and Youth in Portuguese Poor Suburban Settings”, present and discuss a number of researches that were carried out against the background of the current global crisis and that deal with issues (problematic schools in problematic areas, students from families with stories of unemployment, exclusion and even poverty) typically found under the rubric of Urban Education, and that in Europe characterize instead suburban areas, or the urban peripheries. The latter (that in the case of Portugal regard the cities of Lisbon

and Oporto) have both undergone considerable changes as they are now mostly inhabited by immigrants from Africa (many of whom from the country's former colonies) whose children have a high school failure rate or, if older, are overrepresented in vocational education courses, and by those Portuguese citizens who either emigrated from the countryside or moved away from the urban centers, owing to the rising costs of living there. Thus, in the presentation of the research findings, da Silva and Abrantes argue that, notwithstanding the country's investments to promote equality of opportunities, the results are meager, and they will hardly improve soon, given the effects of European austerity regulations, the prevailing neoliberal orientation in Portuguese politics and policies, and the gloomy prospects for the national economy. Then, in underlining the consequences such situation engenders at the social and educational levels, they point out how, on the one hand, a majority of young people seem to express a form of detachment relatively to the hope of making their life conditions and work opportunities (now increasingly temporary or "on call") better, and how, on the other, their decreasing expectations about the future not unexpectedly affect their perception and evaluation of the educational experience and relevance. It is therefore interesting – and even provocative – that da Silva and Abrantes propose to interpret the young people's disaffected disposition through Erving Goffman's theory of "cooling the mark out" that the American sociologist posited to explain the lack "of adverse reactions, which may lead to the collapse of a certain social order". They further notice how, in contemporary Portugal, the acceptance of the situation, by those who are most disadvantaged by it and now no longer exclusively belong to low income families, is characterized by a series of apparently contradictory attitudes – "a growing distrust in authorities and institutions"; subscription to a perspective that stresses individual availability and initiative, speed and flexibility; the idea that young people "have to adapt in their own identity" and downsize their possibilities – that unintentionally justify both the *status quo* with its unbalance of power, as well as their feelings of insecurity and vulnerability instigated, and then legitimated, by current political narratives and actual economic measures.

The final chapter by Francesca Gobbo is about "Bringing up the Babies: Men Educators in the Municipal Nursery Schools of an Italian Town", and translates the concerns and engagements characterizing the field of Urban Education in terms of "participation", a democratic value and a political goal that, with particular regard to the care and education of babies and toddlers, in 1971 prodded the Italian Parliament to vote a law that instituted municipal nursery schools which would, at the same time, provide women with work opportunities, and men with the possibility to bring gender diversity into a "feminized" environment. The author had initially aimed to explore gender diversity at the level of nursery schools (and specifically the municipal ones of Hilltown), but, as often happens with ethnographic explorations, a different theme emerged from the narratives she was listening to, namely the men educators' engagement with their professional role and identity, and their construction in relation to the trajectories of each of them. The latter are approached by first presenting the socio-political context that promoted the nursery school as a public service, at a time of considerable cultural changes in

Italy, and the educational debate and research projects that have since accompanied and enlivened both this institution, its educational practice as well as the (not many) reflective contributions on gender and early childhood education and care by Italian and European experts. Then the men educators' narratives are introduced, and both the common and diverse aspects that characterize the narrators' life and professional career experiences are considered and interpreted. Gobbo highlights the relevance that personal concerns and interests played in each man's construction of his professional identity, the "situated" learning process that most of them underwent, the stress they placed on their *educational role* rather than on gender, even though none of them denied the tensions and conflicts that a man's presence introduces in the nursery schools. In her conclusions the author points out how those educators take pain to underline men's differences, rather than commonalities, and thus to eschew expectations of gender homogeneity (as in fact happened during the early years of feminist militancy), how their "apprenticeship" – as Gobbo dubs the learning "by doing" or "in the field" they evoke – opens up a new area of research on identity and work practice, and how their educational engagement with children so deeply touch their memories and selves that they interpret it as a further, and crucial, learning experience. From the point of view of an intercultural educator as the author of the chapter is, the latter awareness is not only highly meaningful but it can also be an invitation to approach Urban Education from a different point of view, namely by considering how children, in this case, and learners, in general, *contribute* to educators' personal and professional realization.

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Chapter 62

Bittersweet Success. The Impact of Academic Achievement Among the Spanish Roma After a Decade of Roma Inclusion

Bálint Ábel Bereményi and Sílvia Carrasco

62.1 Introduction

The Roma in Spain, called *Gitano* or *Caló*, represent the most numerous¹ and most stigmatised ethnic minority that historically has been discriminated against (Laparra 2011; FRA and UNDP 2012). Despite the often stereotyped view, the Spanish Roma,² just like other European Roma groups, represent a highly heterogeneous community in terms of identity, cultural norms, socioeconomic conditions and even language. Unlike other widely studied stigmatized groups, such as those from non-EU international migration, the Spanish Roma may become more or less visible according to their performed phenotype (including clothing style, jewellery, hair-styles, speech). In the past two decades European agencies, institutions, expert bodies and an emerging trans-national Roma civil society have created a new political subject: the “European Roma”, through policies that have developed from a generalist, human-rights protection approach to a targeted, ethnically based one, especially through international political commitments such as the *Decade of Roma*

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¹Estimations vary. Recently Council of Europe (2010) published 750,000. Others (Laparra 2011) estimate a population between 500,000 and 1,000,000.

²In this article we apply the term “Spanish Roma” to refer to the *Gitano* or *Caló* population, instead of using these latter *emic* concepts, in order to link our contribution to the academic literature of the emergent field of “Roma education”. We will clearly highlight when we allude to other ethnic-cultural groups described by their environment as Gipsy, Sinti, Roma, Cigány, Țigan, etc. collectively identified under the umbrella terms of Roma/Gypsy/Travellers.

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Inclusion (2005–2015) and the EU Framework for National Integration Strategy up to 2020 (2011) (Kovats 2002; Kóczé and Rövid 2012). Spain has also had a long tradition of drawing up Roma development plans since the mid-1980s. Currently, the Spanish National Roma Integration Strategy (NRIS) offers impressive educational target figures despite the fact that from 2010 onwards all educational investments – both generic and targeted – have decreased (Laparra et al. 2013, p. 12). Regional Roma plans (e.g. in Catalonia) also need to be mentioned as they are the principal frameworks of social and educational interventions targeting the Roma population in particular Autonomous Communities in Spain. There is a general agreement among experts that schooling is a key element or *strategic area* towards the elimination of the social inequalities experienced by the European Roma population. This idea stems from numerous reports and statistics that highlight the Roma's disadvantaged situation throughout the European countries (FRA and UNDP 2012). Indeed, over the past 35 years, educational and social policy reforms have significantly contributed to improving the social inclusion of the Roma population in Spain. Nevertheless, the gap in school achievement between mainstream Spaniards and the Roma population has hardly reduced (Laparra 2011; FRA and UNDP 2012). Consecutive educational reforms have often been frustrated by under-financing (Carrasco 2004, p. 10). Despite their inclusive and intercultural character, an increasing number of measures have tended to focus on specific populations, such as the Roma or immigrant children in a segregated way (Carrasco 2004) using different terms and professional roles (intercultural mediators, school promoters, professionals in social inclusion, etc.) to work with problematic populations (Carrasco and Bereményi 2013). In the last two decades an increasing volume of educational programmes and projects has emerged, explicitly targeting Roma children and youth, in response to rising European funding opportunities. However, up to now few systematic evaluations of these programmes are available (for an exception, see Bereményi and Mírka 2012), which increases the relevance of any small scale research that gives an insight into them.

Research on Roma schooling has evolved a heated and highly politicized debate among experts, politicians, decision makers, practitioners and the general public, fundamentally in negative terms, highlighting phenomena such as school segregation, underachievement and dropping out. An approach that makes high achievement visible became more than necessary, bearing in mind the risk that providing a biased image of a stigmatized minority may justify the lack of adequate services addressed to them. Recent studies on successful school trajectories among Roma youth (Abajo and Carrasco 2004; Gamella 2011; Bereményi and Carrasco 2015; Brüggemann 2014; Kende 2007; Mendi 1999; Óhidy 2013; Fehér 2015; Feischmidt 2008; Durst et al. 2014; Kriston and Varga 2011; Máté 2015; Székelyi et al. 2005) are revealing a greater capacity to explain the complexity of Roma youth's educational, social and cultural experiences today than previous common approaches. Activists and many school professionals define the positive consequences of school success in terms of empowerment, emancipation and widened opportunities as a

linear process, often failing to reflect on its more complex social and cultural effects. Our analysis aims to refine this view addressing both positive and negative effects at an individual, family and community level from a social capital perspective that draws on recent works on minority, working class groups and may shed new light upon previous and new data collected on academically successful Roma youth. In order to do so, we defined two main research questions that will take us through the analysis. Firstly, we inquired into how social capital is operating in the family and ethnic community, in peer relations and with regards to institutional agents. Secondly, we aimed to identify what sociocultural changes are triggered by academic success.

62.2 From Failure to Success: Shifting Perspectives on Minority Students' Academic Trajectories and the Research on Roma Youth

62.2.1 Minority School Success, Education Research and Social Capital Frameworks

In the last third of the twentieth century most of the research about minorities and education was dominated by different and more often complementary than contradictory paradigms that attempted to *explain failure*, by focusing on students, schools and communities that were overrepresented in underachievement. Certain groups appeared to be permanently challenging the widespread belief that education was unmistakably the key to better job opportunities and the right investment for moving out of poverty, as well as the nation-states' policy expectations of the production of human capital. John U. Ogbu's ethnographic and theoretical work on African-Americans and schooling complicated the pervasive culturalist explanation of the educational situation of certain minority groups by establishing the distinction between what he called 'immigrant' or 'voluntary' minorities and 'caste-like' or 'involuntary' ones and their relations to schooling, shifting the focus to specifically subaltern structural positions of ethicized minority conditions and experiences. The main concern of the cultural ecological framework was to explain differences in minority students' performance and to produce evidence to show how this performance could significantly vary in different contexts (Gibson and Ogbu 1991), identifying societal factors and community forces that could account for those variations. Ogbu's highly "influential and controversial" framework (Foley 2004) triggered the development, not only of major relevant works from similar positions (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Fordham 1996), but also considerable criticism that tended to focus on variations within the same minority groups in order to identify patterns and conditions that favoured their academic success (Horvat and Lewis 2003).

In parallel, drawing on other outstanding theoretical works produced in the sociology and the anthropology of education,³ an important number of scholars⁴ contributed to the understanding of how different processes of reproduction and resistance were taking place and what kind of impacts they had on the school experiences of immigrant and non-immigrant minority students from highly stigmatised groups. Moving away from underlying deficit perspectives that had often impregnated previous analysis and focusing on processes of subtractive schooling and institutional racism, as well as on the assets and agency of marginalized groups, social capital theories, critical race theory and intersectional analysis addressed their specific as well as common social and education experiences. Especially relevant in the development of this new approach is Stanton-Salazar's pre-eminent scholarship (1997, 2001, 2004) on a social capital framework for understanding how minority working class children and youth and their *support networks*, located in the USA, manufacture both 'hope' and 'despair,' going beyond the conventional interests in isolated elements such as performance, and acting as resources for potential transformation. Stanton-Salazar also recalls the importance of *protective agents* (Cochran et al. 1990; Coleman 1988; Garbarino et al. 1992) as resources related to healthy human development within families, communities and schools and social services that can be highly instrumental for the promotion of some individuals but also may apply selective logics that determine who shall "make it" and who shall not, among them. For students from highly marginalized groups, the "provision of regular, personalized, and soundly based *evaluative feedback, advice, and guidance* that incorporate the thoughtful provision of institutional" (1997, p. 11) becomes essential.

Another essential contribution is Carter's analysis of differences in school attachment and engagement among African-American and Latino youth. Carter (2003, 2005, 2006) challenged and complicated the explanatory power of the "acting white" hypothesis⁵ by focusing on the minority students' capacity to handle and combine what she defines as dominant and non-dominant forms of cultural capital. She notes that academically successful African-American students have *broken the boundaries of this insideloutside world dichotomy*. These "cultural navigators" or *cultural straddlers* understand the functions of both dominant and non-dominant cultural capital and value and embrace skills for participating in multiple cultural environments, including their mainstream society, their school environments, and

³The unprecedented transformation of sociological and anthropological theories of education until today, with the works of Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) in France and Paul Willis (1977) in the UK, has been by far well acknowledged and synthesized.

⁴In the last decades of the twentieth century, emblematic contributions by Fordham (1985); Gibson (1988); Valdés (1997) or Valenzuela (1999) in the US or Gillborn and Safia Mirza (2000) in UK have to be mentioned, although they initially focused on originally immigrant students.

⁵Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu (1986) in their widely cited work sustain that one major reason for academic underachievement among Black youth in the USA is a general cultural devaluation of educational attainment among African Americans, which bases on an oppositional cultural identity.

their respective ethno-racial communities –a conclusion that reinforces Stanton-Salazar’s analysis.

However, other scholars are not so optimistic and emphasize the “burden of academic success” for working class minority youth. Inspired by Fordham and Ogbu, and also concerned with the attribution of “acting white”, Hurst (2007) explores the process of estrangement in attending a 4-year college as it is experienced and managed by working class youth of different (White, Latino and Native American) origins and presents the students’ feelings and reactions in an apparently insurmountable situation of *divided loyalties*. At the other extreme, other authors (Gibson et al. 2004; Conchas 2006), report the disadvantaged students’ attribution of their successful trajectories to their families’ support, values, motivation and upbringing, as well as to schools’ strategies of engaging and promoting minority students who were already performing better and thus creating *school connections* as crucial sources of social capital.

Several studies of academic trajectories of working class minority students of highly stigmatised immigrant backgrounds in different European countries (Pàmies et al. 2013; Shah et al. 2010; Behtoui and Neergaard 2015) have also shown the high value of immigrant parents’ social networks such as religious and cultural associations as vital resources to foster success, as they neutralize the negative effects of discrimination by providing emotional support, positive self-images and friends, and essential information and advice related to educational options. Crul et al. (2012) highlights, among other factors, the importance of positive teacher-student interactions, the support of peers in similar situations as well as the access to alternative routes to further education stages in the education system.

Finally, other dimensions of social capital have been identified as part of the cultural wealth of minority communities’ capacity from the perspective of critical race theories that account for academic success, such as the different forms of capital defined by Yosso (2005) –aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital – that overlap and play significant roles, for example, in creating *cultures of possibility* between different generations within the family. At an individual level, this would be consistent with Côte’s notion of *identity capital* (Côté 1996) such as more complex ways of negotiation, making sense and fitting into multiple, intimidating or unexplored worlds.

62.2.2 Research on Roma Students’ Successful Academic Trajectories in Spain

It was not until the turn of the century that some European researchers turned to some of these theoretical contributions to address the educational situation of Roma children and youth. In the case of the Roma in Spain, it started by re-conceptualizing them as an involuntary minority according to Ogbu’s framework, but also adopting a completely unusual approach to the education of Roma youth, up to that point, by

focusing on achievement and agency rather than on failure and marginalization. It is important to recall that the Roma in Spain only became full citizens of the country with adoption of the 1978 democratic constitution which gave them the same rights and entitlements that advanced the social and political status of all nationals, although exclusion and prejudice remained quite unchanged. At the turn of the century, the vast majority of the Spanish Roma had only recently left behind a pervasive experience of generally precarious, well-intended charitable schooling initiatives, especially those who lived in highly excluded settings. Roma children were also affected by an extensive dropping out of school in poorly equipped public schools where compensatory interventions for limited expectations were the norm. In parallel to massive numbers of international immigrant arrivals since the mid-1990s, a progressive comprehensive school reform was put forward that extended compulsory education until the age of 16. This had devastating consequences for the Roma students who had been increasingly completing the previous compulsory basic education that finished by the age of 14, and the path to academic promotion through post-compulsory options suddenly receded as primary school students now had to change schools and attend secondary schools at the age of 12, a step that many Roma students never took and quite a few still do not take nowadays. Most of the Roma students still appeared to be more disengaged from schools and dropped out earlier than children from immigrant and mainstream backgrounds. However, in spite of all these direct and indirect barriers to trajectories of academic success, practitioners and researchers were aware that some of them, in a variety of situations and settings, were making it.

Abajo and Carrasco's groundbreaking research (2004) was carried out in five regions in Spain that differed in several key elements such as being predominantly urban or rural, with different average income rates and proportion of Roma inhabitants, as well as diverse regional policies in education and social affairs. By reconstructing the social, academic and personal experiences and trajectories of Spanish Roma women and men, the project explored the relative weight of different factors involved in *generating conditions for achievement and school continuity* in diverse social situations, but also the *personal and social implications of achievement and school continuity* for girls/women and boys/men within the cultural strategies of reproduction of their families and communities and the possibilities for additive acculturation processes in contrast to ethnic encapsulation and cultural assimilation. These authors revealed that those successful Spanish Roma youth mostly believed in both effort and luck, because they were confident in their ability. They had had no – or only limited – experiences of segregation, either between schools or within the school, into ability groups and all mentioned having been exposed to high demands and expectations from teachers, regardless of the type of school they had attended. Those individuals who had experienced the most difficult situations in their trajectories highlighted the importance of the personal involvement of certain school personnel in crucial episodes, as well as the critical role of support grants to remain in education apart from free tuition fees, as a key factor in obtaining their families' permission. As for the influence of community forces and the perception of the opportunity structure on their school performance, it appeared to be much higher on men than on women, but equally important on the parents of Roma youth

and young adults, regardless of gender. Finally, gender and ethnic identity re-elaborations were found to be much more important than social class (or socioeconomic position) for achievement and continuity. In sum, although current knowledge would have expected that sustained positive social conditions – commonly identified as integrated positions of families in socioeconomic and educational domains – and strong encouragement would promote greater possibilities of achievement and educational continuity, they could be accomplished in a wide variety of social and personal situations, including extreme poverty, disabled conditions or the lack of a supportive intra-ethnic peer group, provided that certain experiences took place in the individuals' trajectories. More relevant conditions for achievement would appear to be, therefore, those related to teachers' explicit expectations and their early communication of attributed ability to the parents and the students themselves, the participation in an academically-oriented peer group (intra- or inter-ethnic), and the resulting emergence of academic aspirations among parents and students.

The project's findings on the *impact* of achievement and continuity on identity construction and social relations were quite different in weight and content for men and for women. While young women saw academic continuity in relation to a notion of general emancipation of both Roma men and women, young men did not. For Roma boys and young men, achievement and continuity in education implied postponing marriage and having to cope with some accusations of unfaithfulness to expected family duties relevant for the ethnic community. For Roma girls and young women, however, achievement and continuity in education implied several other challenges. They had to learn how to make better use of fewer opportunities than those their male relatives enjoyed but also show good results as a proof of real interest in education while, at the same time behaving in the expected traditional way and coping with responsibilities both at home, outside home and at school. In addition to this, young Roma women had to struggle to postpone marriage or had to face the difficulties of intra-group marriage. Facing these decisions and constraints, some of them were increasingly part of a trend that considered symbolically undesirable alternatives such as marrying out of the ethnic group or ultimately giving up on marriage. In sum, the impact of achievement and continuity obliged young women to make considerable efforts to build a positive Roma identity with no available models while being often accused by community members of threatening or losing ethnic traits and ties, as a considerable body of literature has repeatedly stated in similar situations among subaltern ethnic minorities.

One of the main contributions of Abajo and Carrasco was that they proved how relevant available public resources could be to making academic success and education continuity a real possibility if perspectives of research and intervention changed, especially underlying the sustained commitment to specific allocated resources for low income and excluded social sectors in which they are overrepresented. In 2004, Spanish Roma youth, therefore, seemed to be standing at the crossroads of multiple unexplored paths related to education, gender relations and cultural change that could be simultaneously and successfully followed, provided that certain changes took place in public policies to allow for community participation and development in additive ways.

By the time this study was published, there was a growing interest in success stories among European Roma groups as these stigmatized minority groups were gradually becoming a hot topic in the European policy agendas.

62.2.3 Recent Research on Roma Students' School Success

Research on successful academic trajectories of Roma students and its impact, is scarce, though. Instead of representing a subsample of wider projects, knowledge is mostly based on a purposefully sampled population that is chosen in order to find out what conditions may lead to success and, less frequently, what consequences it may have on young Roma. Qualitative research in this field, in the past 15 years (Mendi 1999; Abajo and Carrasco 2004; Kende 2005a, b; 2007; Óhidy 2013; Fehér 2015; Gamella 2011; Máté 2015; Kende and Neményi 2006; Ceglédi 2012; Kriston and Varga 2011; Durst et al. 2014; Székelyi et al. 2005; Feischmidt 2008) identified individual characteristics and personality traits – with a strong emphasis on resiliency – as well as outstanding interpersonal skills among the successful Roma informants, that facilitate the development of strong adaptive and solution-oriented coping strategies. Overemphasising individual traits, without studying the wider societal and economic environment would be misleading. Thus most of these studies highlight as important supporting factors the family's social and economic background, the experience of an integrated and non-discriminative living environment, a non-segregated schooling experience, emotional support received from family and sustaining good relations with significant individuals, especially teachers and Roma or non-Roma peers, as well as the presence of institutional support structures. A further, often overseen factor, namely, the evolution of certain demographic variables (drastic drop in mortality rate, and more recently, in birth rate in the Roma populations), is also mentioned by anthropologists and social psychologists (Gamella 2011; Székelyi et al. 2005). While all these can be seen as paramount supporting factors, many of them were missing or were present only on a temporary basis in the informants' life trajectory, which suggests, following Abajo and Carrasco (2004), that academic achievement and continuity can be developed in any sociocultural or economic conditions, though with different probabilities. Nevertheless, most of these authors go further, analysing the individual, social and cultural impacts of social mobility through schooling. Mendi (1999) puts the main emphasis on mid-term fatigue (and the corresponding psychosomatic vulnerability) that these Roma students are exposed to due to the repeated adaptation efforts in their school environments. Several studies explore ongoing struggles related to different adopted complex identity strategies (levels and forms of acculturation, class and gender identities); while others (Durst et al. 2014; Abajo and Carrasco 2004) inquire into dilemmas with respect to labour-market integration, life-work balance, couple-choice practices and alternative family models. Authors highlight major gender and social class differences not only in terms of success factors, but also of their individual and social impact. Mendi (1999), Abajo and Carrasco (2004), Durst et al.

(2014) and Máté (2015) explicitly warn us of the often invisible costs of social mobility that may undermine the widely predicated direct connection between continued educational trajectories and the promised positive effects in terms of social mobility.

Further on, our findings aim to contribute an interpretation highlighting how social capital is created and operates in family, ethnic community, in peer relations and also with regards to institutional agents. At the same time we will also reflect on what sociocultural changes are triggered by school success.

62.3 Methods

Our study followed a purposive sampling approach that is commonly applied in the case of hard-to-find populations (Bernard 2011, p. 191), with low social visibility, which applies to Roma youth with academically successful trajectories. To be included in our sample we have searched for *Spanish Roma youth with successful academic trajectories* in Catalonia. Both ‘success’ and ‘Roma youth’ have been defined by objective and subjective criteria. We regarded academic success as ‘school continuity beyond compulsory education stages’ and have complemented this definition with the subjective perception of every young Roma person included in the sample about his/her achievement, not necessarily defined by high grades but as ‘satisfactory performance that enables them to follow further education stages’ in the Spanish education system. As a result of this relative flexibility, our sample has been composed of a fairly diverse population in terms of socioeconomic conditions, family structure and (inter)ethnic composition, families’ and peers’ cultural and social capital, among other aspects. Self-ascription to the Roma (Gitano) ethnic group has been accepted for the inclusion of individuals into the sample, bearing in mind their context-dependent multiple cultural, ethnic, social or ideological identifications (Tremlett and McGarry 2013; Messing 2014).

Our strategy for reaching the target population entailed the mediation of institutional gatekeepers: NGOs in charge of the distribution of scholarships, a Roma NGO with a mentoring project and other Roma and pro-Roma NGOs. Nevertheless, the most important sampling method was chain-referral (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). All those youth found through institutional agents had some sort of relationship with Roma or pro-Roma NGOs, at least those towards the end of their compulsory schooling. In contrast, many of those identified through chain-referral had only occasional contact with those NGOs, and none of them were employed or contracted by them. It is clear though, that this research could not reach those *invisible* high-achieving Roma that would not disclose their ethnic identity, that live away from recognised Roma communities, or simply live in geographical zones (rural areas, far from capital cities, with poor communication and transport, etc.), that researchers and pro-Roma NGOs rarely reach.

To carry out our analysis, we included cases selected from two sets of samples. The first one corresponds to the ‘pre-Decade generation’ and the data were collected

in 2002–2003 consisting of a set of 25 individuals from whom we selected the 9 richest and most suitable ones for the current analysis. The reconstruction of their experiences and trajectories was widely backed up by ethnographic fieldwork both among Roma communities and in school settings and was part of the first approach this team developed as part of the larger Spanish project coordinated by Abajo and Carrasco. The second set of the sample is composed of 12 individuals and corresponds to the ‘Decade generation’, from which we have selected 7 for the current analysis, having among the richest materials of the diverse types of trajectories collected. They were interviewed in 2014/2015 with the same thorough instruments previously designed and applied in the earlier data collection and in areas with which the research team is familiar after several projects. The interview guide included several sections designed to reconstruct objective data on academic trajectories and encourage reflective narratives from the interviewees upon their own experiences.

In both cases, in-depth interviews were conducted that lasted 70–140 min. Most of the interviewees were met twice in order to allow for further elaboration of some important aspects in their life-paths. In order to guarantee enough diversity within the sets and also some differences due to the time gap, we have strategically picked 16 life-trajectories: 11 women and 5 men; 10 from the age-group of 18–30 and 6 from that of 31–50. Both sets of informants, on average, were in their early 30s at the time of the interviews. Currently, all the interviewees live in urban areas in Catalonia, all but one live close to the city of Barcelona and all but two were also born in Catalonia. Seven out of 16 were born in segregated and stigmatized urban enclaves, four in integrated neighbourhoods with a significant number of Roma population, and five of them in integrated neighbourhoods with no other Roma population. A 12 year gap before and after the Decade’s initiatives⁶ has been designed and implemented, which yields an interesting opportunity for comparison, and we will also attempt to understand both changes and continuities of experiences and trajectories in a swiftly changing economic, social and policy environment.

62.4 Findings

In the following section, we present some relevant findings of our empirical data on academically successful Roma youth. Firstly, we present the two samples, or generations, that we are analysing. Secondly, we focus on the family conditions of our informants. Thirdly, we mention the most important aspects with respect to the school climate and the institutional agents. Fourthly, we highlight the potential of the programmes targeted at the Roma. Finally, we centre on some of the

⁶Again: we do not refer to the initiative of the Decade of Roma Inclusion in the strict sense, but rather to a wide range of policies, programmes and projects that have recently emerged targeting the improvement of the Roma populations throughout Europe.

relationships between school success and sociocultural change, at the individual, family and community levels.

62.4.1 Who Are the Successful Roma Youth?

At the beginning of the twentieth century, commitment of European governmental and international bodies to the inclusion of the European Roma began to intensify, and it finally materialised in a formal commitment called the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015 (hereafter referred to as ‘Decade’). Spain did not join the Decade until 2009, but it initiated programmes, debates and interventions in the spirit of the emerging European Roma debate. Our analysis includes academically successful Roma youth who completed their compulsory schooling before the ‘Decade’ (‘Pre-Decade generation’), and those whose schooling coincided with the design and implementation of the new Roma-targeted initiatives (‘Decade generation’). Our definition of ‘academically successful Roma youth’ for the Pre-Decade generation was broader and looser, and included young Roma individuals having completed education beyond the compulsory school stages – due to the fact that those youngsters regarded themselves as such, and so did their local communities. In contrast, in the Decade generation, we already had a wider available pool of young Roma university students to select from, due to the changing situation that we further detail later. It has to be noted, therefore, that quite interestingly, and perhaps also inevitably, the construction of a sample by identifying individuals to be included in our specific study has itself produced the first kind of findings. In effect, a narrower and more conventional definition of who the academically successful young Roma are has led us to individuals who share much more conventional trajectories and identities of school achievement and continuity with their non-Roma peers. However, the questions remain as to the relative weight of the different factors that have triggered and materialized their aspirations and engagement.

While in the pre-Decade generation more than half (five out of nine) of our interviewees were born in integrated working-class neighbourhoods, in the Decade generation they are mostly (four out of seven) from segregated, poor, stigmatized districts, brought up in precarious socioeconomic conditions. The latter fact may have to do with improved educational opportunities available to poor Roma children growing up in segregated, poorly served neighbourhoods. It should be emphasised that in the pre-Decade generation we found a higher proportion of interrupted academic pathways, namely those who were forced by circumstances to abandon studies on a temporary or permanent basis. Recently, there have been more young Roma people with a lineal, uninterrupted school trajectory. All the interviewees maintain some relationship with Roma or pro-Roma NGOs, some of them (7 out of 16) have been employed by these, but only one enjoyed targeted support from a Roma foundation during his compulsory education. While in the pre-Decade generation we recognised a supportive role of the Roma NGOs in terms of employment and post-compulsory studies, in the Decade generation a modified influence can be

identified: NGOs get young Roma people connected with pan-European Roma networks providing them, not only with positive elements for forming a European Roma identity, but also with related knowledge, skills and experience. Four out of the seven more recent informants have travelled abroad as part of some Roma related programme, having a good command of English. Finally, it is important to highlight that significant gender inequalities in most of the above-mentioned dimensions have not faded away in the Decade generation, though some new related phenomena have appeared, that will be treated further on. In Table 62.1, we summarize the most relevant data corresponding to our interviewees.

62.4.2 *They Wanted Us to Have the Opportunity That They Didn't Have*

Most of our interviewees are second or third generation rural-to-urban migrants of the 1950s and 1960s. At the time of the interviews (2003, 2015), the informants' families lived in three types of urban context: segregated working class, integrated working class or integrated middle class districts. The analysed cases offer a great diversity in terms of family size, model and ethnic composition, roles and status, and also in gender relations. For example, a shrinking family size is observable in our sample, as opposed to earlier ethnographic studies, as emphasized by Gamella (2011). Interviewees' parents mostly became engaged in unskilled temporary jobs. Construction and the service sector (bars, restaurants, cleaning) are the most recurrent job profiles among the parents of our informants, combined with more marginal jobs, such as itinerant trade or scrap metal collection. Relatively few of them worked in the flea-market on a regular basis or other ethnicised niches, and most of the mothers became involved in mainstream jobs. Parents had sporadic school experience, though in some cases, they attended alternative learning courses as adults. Their own frustrated academic aspiration appears as a recurring central element in the interviews, projected on their children in positive terms. Pilar, similarly to the others, recalls her father in this way:

He had to leave his studies because he needed to help at home. So he always transmitted to me the fact that he could not finish his studies... he wanted me to, well, do what I did. He urged me a lot. [Pilar]

In most of the cases, parents provided care and assistance acting as supportive agents, but having limited information of the school system. Informants' elder siblings and close relatives are also often mentioned as key figures not only as motivating factors but also as the ones who transmit knowledge about the school culture and provide access to networks. However, in several trajectories this was not the case, as an academic orientation is not necessarily shared by those relatives.

My older brother has always been very different from me, very, very different... He was always on the street, well, still he is. He went into school and straight away he left with two

Table 62.1 Main data on the Roma youth selected for this analysis

Sample	Roma youth	Age now	Neighbourhood type	Highest educ achieved	Family ethnic composition	Social Economic Status	High school ownership	School trajectory	Significant institutional agents
Decade generation (2015)	Noelia	28	Integrated, working-class	University	Mixed	Comfortable	Public	Lineal	High-school teacher; Father's colleague
	Eli	32	Integrated, working-class	University	Mixed	Precarious	Public	Interrupted, short-term	Intragenerational support; Trade unionist; Fellow members of a social movement
	Gabriel	30	Segregated, poor	University	Roma only	Precarious	'concertada'	Lineal	Employer where mother works as domestic cleaner; High-school teacher
	José Eugenio	26	Segregated, poor	University	Mixed	Intermediate	'concertada'	Lineal	Primary/High-school teachers; Non-Roma peers
	Sara	24	Segregated, poor	University	Roma only	Precarious	'concertada'	Lineal	Intragenerational support; Employer where mother works as domestic cleaner; Primary and High-school teachers; School peers
	Ainara	40	Integrated, working-class	Upper Vocational	Mixed	Precarious	Public	Interrupted, long-term	Roma peers connect her to Roma university access course
	Víctor	29	Segregated, poor	Mid-level Vocational	Roma only	Intermediate	Public	Lineal	Roma NGO mentors

(continued)

Table 62.1 (continued)

Sample	Roma youth	Age now	Neighbourhood type	Highest educ achieved	Family ethnic composition	Social Economic Status	High school ownership	School trajectory	Significant institutional agents
Pre-Decade Generation (2002, 2003)	Pilar	37	Segregated, poor	University	Mixed	Intermediate	Public	Lineal	Fathers' politically active colleagues and friends; father's contact person at university
	Mariluz	36	Segregated, poor	Upper Vocational	Roma only	Precarious	Public	Interrupted, short-term	High-school teachers; middle-class mentors at a working place
	Juana	46	Integrated, middle class	Mid-level Vocational	Mixed	Intermediate	Public	Interrupted, dropped out	High-school teacher; entrepreneur father's need for administrative work
	Diego	55	Integrated, rural	University	Roma only	Intermediate	Public	Lineal	Father's friend: teacher in a progressive high-school; Civic servant father
	Óscar	42	Segregated, poor	University	Mixed	Intermediate	Public	Lineal	Father's colleagues (father voluntary worker in non-formal education)
	Charo	37	Segregated, poor	Mid-level Vocational	Mixed	Precarious	Public	Interrupted, long-term	Local pro-Roma organisation
	Rosario	54	Integrated, rural	University	Roma only	Comfortable	Public	Lineal	Intragenerational support (all older siblings achieve high education levels)
	José	48	Integrated, middle class	Mid-level Vocational	Roma only	Comfortable	Public	Interrupted, dropped out	Schooling in Switzerland, in a more liberal atmosphere: supportive teachers
	Natalia	38	Integrated, working-class	University	Mixed	Intermediate	Public	Lineal	Father: politically implicated Roma activist, with good academic and labour market contacts

or three friends to hang around and they spent the whole day on the beach or... well, he would just go into the classroom and he would do nothing. [Victor]

62.4.3 *What I Knew in Eight Grade Was the Same as Someone Who Was in the Fifth or Sixth Grade in a Normal School*

Most of our interviewees began and finished their compulsory school trajectory in public schools. Those coming from comfortable socioeconomic conditions (3) pursued their education in the public system, but all of these lived in integrated neighbourhoods where Roma, immigrant or vulnerable students were not present in any significant numbers. In those families of intermediate socioeconomic conditions (7) school election strategy varied: all of them went to public primary schools, but none remained in stigmatized public schools in the second part of their compulsory education or in post-compulsory stages. Some chose public secondary schools or publicly financed private schools (hereafter: ‘concertada schools’), but predominantly away from their home districts, in the search of better quality and more integrated peer-relations. Among the youth growing up in precarious conditions (6) all but two attended public schools in their own district. Two siblings attended ‘concertada’ schools with a significant monthly fee. The younger sister sums this strategy in the following way:

After all, what I think is that those who value education will go out of the neighbourhood.
[Sara]

Sara’s older brother, Gabriel, changed school five times in the search of “better quality”, until he got admitted to university. Gabriel’s case is that of a pioneer with exceptionally high school mobility, pursuing high academic aspirations coupled with sustained family support with scarce school-related knowledge. In the pre-Decade generation we could not find any Roma who had attended ‘concertada’ schools, while we did in the Decade generation. This picture shows that parents living in segregated neighbourhoods holding high academic aspiration will choose ‘concertada’ schools for their children. As a contrast, Charo from the pre-Decade generation could not count on strong family support and she began primary school in a highly segregated public school. In her interpretation, initial low quality schooling limited her further opportunities both in terms of academic preparation and of labour market aspirations and orientation. Years later, she passed the university admission test, but in the end she could not combine her studies with productive and reproductive roles, so she had to settle for short-term vocational courses.

Like Charo, many other informants mentioned that loneliness was one of the strongest feelings they had owing to being in school together with mistrusting non-Roma peers, and having limited institutional knowledge and skills. This experience however can generate a strongly critical understanding of the society and one’s place in it.

And so, if you are a Roma, and on top of that you are poor, and you live in a marginalised neighbourhood, the very society will shut you out... When I went to school and I said I was from Fountain Hill and I was a Roma... well, nobody would talk to me. [Charo]

Family members, especially parents, were active in preparing their children for these forms of frustration that, they believe, belong to the minority condition. Ainara owes to her mother the development of a strategic capacity of being reserved about entering into any relationship with school peers.

My mother kept telling me: 'You keep silence. Once they know you, then you can tell them you are a Roma [Ainara]

Beyond challenging experiences with non-Roma peers, all informants report having close affectionate relationships with school-oriented non-Roma fellow students, which meant having an opportunity to obtain academic and cultural capital, as well as to receive emotional and moral support. Time spent with non-Roma peers is often described as a continuous intellectual challenge, a process of identification with their values and practices.

I stuck together with a bunch of girls who studied a lot. And I wanted to be like them. Yeah, they wanted to become teachers, or wanted to become whatever, or... Perhaps all those things just passed on to me. I wanted to, I wanted to become something. [Mariluz]

Those were the happiest years of my life, because I felt so good. There, we could have contact with people of special sensibility. And we were only 15 and we were already involved in group debates [Diego]

The explicit or implicit will to befriend the “clever pupils” or the school-oriented ones is sometimes induced through parents’ messages as an unquestioned strategy of acculturation. The importance of school relationships with non-Roma peers is accentuated by the fact that most of our informants never had access to extracurricular activities or membership of formal organisations.

In primary school, many interviewees established caring relationships with the teachers, while the secondary school often meant the loss of this protective, familial environment, and instead they felt a lack of guidance and even fear from more distant teacher-student relationships. Some informants though, reported close relationships with significant high-school teachers who had good teaching skills, strong personal commitment, trust and high academic expectations.

Actually, I did have some teachers who helped me a lot in elementary school. Well, they are the ones who really know you... they did back me up a lot... because perhaps... actually, it's the only support I ever received. Motivating me, like, "you're really worth it, don't stop, keep on going"... Yeah, because I would never hear it from my parents. [Eli]

Ironically, José Eugenio and Gabriel mentioned that teachers’ low expectations and guidance towards low-prestige tracks triggered defiance, decisiveness and resistance, desire to show one’s capacity to achieve, despite negative prognoses.

at the end of secondary school I was given an aptitude test with the Psychologist, and he looks at it, [...] And this person tells my parents and me and my tutor, that I have no chance whatsoever of getting into university, that I should immediately forget about it... That I should forget about university, that I should put the Baccalaureate out of my head, and that vocational training might suit me, but not without difficulties. [José Eugenio]

This latter case, only observed in the Decade generation among those attending ‘concertada’ school, points to students’ academic resilience (Borman and Rachuba 2001). Professional services such as career guidance, that favour middle-class students, may also activate frustrations in ambitious working-class minority students if they operate in a culturally insensitive way. In the observed cases, however, unconditional family support could counter-balance the destructive effects of the career guidance. We can see at this point that eventual school success can be produced in different pedagogic and school models, but initial caring and trustful relationships with at least one institutional agent is a crosscutting aspect, although it is often missing in secondary school.

Interviews also reveal other non-school-related institutional agents that played some role in Roma youth’s academic promotion, as the following examples show (see the full list in Table 62.1). A Roma NGO’s mentor helped Víctor choose the most adequate vocational training. A trade-unionist got Eli involved in an ongoing social movement and indirectly motivated her to return to formal university studies. An old acquaintance of Pilar’s father provided her with a range of information about how the university and scholarship system functions. Mariluz, working in a school canteen, got in touch with a teacher, who connected her with a Roma NGO that immediately enrolled her in a professional training course and offered her a job opportunity. As a domestic cleaner, Gabriel and Sara’s mother gained access to information on the best ‘concertada’ schools of the district, directly from her middle class employer. Natalia’s father, a Roma activist, had a good relationship with university anthropologists who could assist Natalia in choosing the most adequate university course for her. All these *weak* social ties could occasionally function as institutional agents, i.e. agents connecting one with institutional resources and opportunities, sometimes with life-altering effect.

The influence of these institutional agents is especially strong where parents’ own cultural and social capital makes it impossible for them to foster the children’s academic career. In Table 62.1, we can observe that all our informants were given a hand by someone either at an early or more advanced point of their school process: a supporting element or even structures that helped develop and strengthen one’s academic resilience and engagement.

62.4.4 Targeted Roma Programmes

We also turned our attention to policies, plans and programmes explicitly targeted at the Roma population that might have had a direct influence on school success and the academic continuity of the Roma youth. Some of our interviewees highlight the impact of some promising programmes while others demonstrate their limited scope and coverage. These promotion programmes have mostly emerged in the past 15 years, so we expected that they would appear in the Decade generation. Indeed, their impact on those interviewees who could benefit from them was considerable.

A personalised mentoring project run by a Roma NGO and partly financed by governmental funds, aims at promoting successful academic trajectories in agreement with families, schools and the promising students. Only one of our interviewees enjoyed its benefits during and beyond the compulsory school years. Víctor got in touch with the project through her school tutor in a highly segregated secondary school.

When I finished the second year of secondary school, when I began to think about the future... then there was the XYZ Foundation, those were the ones who helped you. Yes, yes... the only ones who I've received support from was the foundation... [During the vocational training] they helped me even more, because they wanted a Roma to achieve... [Victor]

Another measure, a preparation course for the university admission test, targeting Roma students over 25 years of age, has been run for five consecutive years through the Catalan Comprehensive Roma Plan,⁷ which is financed through public funds. It is one of the few ethnically targeted measures that foster access or return to post-compulsory formal education. Interviews suggest that rather than its academic content, it is the relaxed and trustful atmosphere, caring relationships, mutual attention, and the continuous presence of Roma role-models and peers that create its added value compared to ordinary preparation programmes.

I had this, this insecurity within me, of being incapable... Well, it is true that, through the Comprehensive Plan... what I could find there was a lot of support, on the teachers' part. "You can make it!" And also we used to go there together... this motivated me a lot, because we went there together... and then we chatted... Besides, with folks who also liked it a lot, liked to learn and know about history... We always had sort of interesting conversations... about what we studied there. [Eli]

Three informants who participated in the course previously had fairly good academic trajectories and strong school-related motivations, while one had experience of truancy and disengagement from the school system, which shows the mixed profile of participants. Two of those who passed the exam could not take up university studies due to their family commitments. Certainly, reengagement with tertiary studies is challenging under the contrary pressure of academic aspirations and unfavourable conditions.

Other targeted programmes are significantly missing from our interviewees' accounts. The flagship project of the Catalan Comprehensive Roma Plan called Roma School Promotion Programme (SPP) aims to promote Roma students achieving school success and a life-long learning trajectory (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009). Nevertheless, in practice, SPP allocates most of its energy to the reduction of truancy and dropping out, concentrating more on the Roma students who are perceived by schools to be problematic – and hence assigned to the Roma school promoter⁸ – than on the average or high-achieving ones (Bereményi and Mirga 2012).

⁷“Comprehensive Plan for the Romani People in Catalonia” or “Pla Integral del Poble Gitano a Catalunya” in Catalan.

⁸The “school promoter” is a Roma person who acts both as a tutor and an intercultural or community mediator keeping strong relationship with school teachers, families and Roma children both in primary and secondary school.

Our empirical data show that while this and other similar targeted programmes may have a decisive role in certain educational stages and life situations, they are not systematically available to all Roma students, as resources are often designed in terms of the desired outcome (school attendance, better school grades) rather than of a life process. Also, they are unevenly distributed in terms of location, age, school type and educational needs. Access to them tends to depend on the catchment area of the NGOs that execute them. In this sense, paradoxically, living in segregated neighbourhoods and attending highly segregated public schools may be favourable aspects for gaining access to targeted resources. For instance, Mariluz, in her school years had access to mainstream extracurricular activities thanks to her father's willingness to enrol her in English courses and IT classes. However, during the process of gaining access to university and afterwards, she could not find supporting organisations or programmes that could meet her needs.

This and other cases highlight the contradictions related to the allocation strategies of certain targeted services, which may remain unavailable to successful Roma students. Also it makes clear that targeted support programmes may foster individual careers, but do not tend to challenge systemic inequalities, and unjust institutional operation.

62.4.5 School Success and Sociocultural Changes

The highest dropout rate among the Roma occurs in secondary school, with the Roma girls dropping out well before the end of compulsory schooling age. The main motivations behind truancy and eventual dropping out differ by gender. Girls refer more often to "family reasons", that is, their reproductive roles, such as taking care of younger siblings or getting married at an early age; while boys prefer to leave studies to get engaged with their productive role. Family pressure is twice as strong on the girls, as on the boys (FSG and CEET 2013). Our interviewees speak about gendered expectations expressed at family and ethnic community level, manifested in a range of ways: from simple pressure to prohibition, differentiated praise and punishment for good/bad marks; uneven distribution of household tasks or different degrees of support given at post-compulsory stages. Experiences in this sense have not significantly changed between the two generations. Abajo and Carrasco (2004) identified varied family profiles with respect to the (lack of) gendered support provided to their children. Our recently collected data also suggest that girls choose post-compulsory education in worse conditions than boys. For example, Noelia chose a vocational training because her parents did not allow her to travel to a distant university campus where the desired academic course took place. Later on she was forbidden to take a degree in Tourism, as her parents did not like the idea of her travelling away from home. It was only her third attempt, choosing Law Studies at a nearby university campus that was approved by her father. Dropping out or early school leaving under gendered community-pressure may also explain why postponed studies are taken on out of one's own decision more often among women

than among men (FSG and CEET 2013, p. 68). But beyond community forces and family decisions, what is extremely relevant is how young women and men construct their life project, develop strategies to manage difficulties and forge a complex identity that we will reflect on further on in this chapter.

Length of school studies significantly vary in both studied generations, from a post-compulsory vocational course finished at the age of 18, to Master's studies finished at 32, or postponed university studies currently pursued at the age of 40. Nevertheless, we could identify some common factors shared in all trajectories. On an individual level we can observe a wide range of effects of school continuity. A higher level of *acculturation* among these young people is manifested in a critical re-examination, challenge or even redefinition of some shared traditional values of the ethnic culture, with a special emphasis on gender relations.

What I am now, is because I achieved it by breaking the mould, or being like that. Until 18, I couldn't achieve it. [Charo]

Charo did not get married at an expected age, and she got involved in mainstream forms of free-time activities: attending cinema, discotheques and pubs or smoking in public spaces. Beyond mould-breaking individual attitudes, a further important aspect was revealed in the Decade interviews, but not observed in the pre-Decade generation. Through the active discourse production by European institutions, agencies and the third sector organisations, emancipation of the Roma people became wedded to feminist discourses. It can be observed both in online platforms, in public discourses and policy documents. While Roma women already reflected a more emancipation-committed and group-oriented narrative in the pre-Decade generation, now what we can observe – in the younger generation – is men's critical acknowledgment of gender inequality and clear statements challenging women's subordination in their own families, which undoubtedly reflects a more individualistic position.

An increased *autonomy* of decision making also emerges as a process of individualisation within the family in both academic/work and social strategies: i.e. decisions on what to study and what job to take on are less negotiated with family members, as his/her expertise in the changing labour market niches is gradually acknowledged by the family. Also, a certain *flexibility* and *plurality* of the *expected social roles* can be achieved through continued studies, such as the possibility of a delayed marriage or even staying single, without negative social consequences. This latter corresponds to a process of negotiation and conflict-resolution, a gradual social and economic investment in schooling and the adjustment of the assigned social roles to that of the reference framework of the mainstream society. Of course, significant differences can be observed in this process among older and younger siblings or among different family structures that may change throughout the years. The acculturation process is recognised by interviewees to be painful. The disposition to culturally adjust oneself to his/her non-Roma environment may cause suffering because of cultural distancing, questioning one's own loyalty to his/her ethnic environment. Besides, a "bicultural network orientation" (Stanton-Salazar 1997) is an attempt to gain access to different sociocultural universes, in order that one can

maintain networks of protective agents while at the same time crossing borders to reach institutional agents necessary for social mobility.

The personal cost that it means to you... Because it is not only that everybody questions what you are doing or what you are not doing, because in the long run you can always say "well, you know", it affects you, doesn't it? But being so different from your group... it is very hard, you know [Mariluz]

It may even cause a feeling of *inbetweenness* with respect to one's own cultural origin, or solitude within one's own family and ethnic community, especially in late adolescence, when strongly committed friendships are forged.

Of course, when you chat with your cousins... just like with Roma friends, I didn't think about it. But I've always seen that my concerns or the conversations that I wanted to have about school things and things like that... and they didn't have the same concerns... and I didn't feel comfortable with myself [Sara]

Growing up within this negotiated dichotomy becomes part of the identity construction process, which in certain moments may cause confusion or a conflicting self-image. Eli describes it as finding yourself "out of place" or in an "in-between place".

For the Paya [non-Roma] I was the Roma girl, and for the Roma I was the Paya and so I didn't have... I couldn't put myself in any place, and I was always out of place. [Eli]

In the Decade generation a new element appears, due to the connectedness of several informants to events organised by international Roma organisations: a feeling of belonging to a transnational ethnic group.

I consider myself a lucky person that I could get in touch with... with these people [at a European Roma youth meeting in Budapest], and I could learn from them... or to have had access to another vision, well, another concept of the Roma culture" [Eli]

The ritualization of this common belonging as a regular practice (e.g. celebration of the international Roma day, or Facebook posting of daily news on different Roma communities in Europe, etc.) and the identification with an emancipatory discourse on rights, recognition and dignity (reproduced in social media platforms on a regular basis) contribute to the shaping of one's identity as a *contemporary* Roma woman or man with advanced studies; even if these elements still need to be negotiated with their families and local communities.

These dynamics, perceived on an individual level, have direct and indirect influence on family and community. The generalised acceptance of the continued studies and its consequences actively contribute to a process of relative acculturation. This process allows families to combine more open social practices with the use of the culturally relevant symbolic elements and practices of ethnic belonging. Another phenomenon that probably stems from a profound economic crisis is that families tend to assess in positive terms the access to new labour market opportunities through continued studies. However, messages received by Roma students are often contradictory (practices being inconsistent with discourses), which may lead to confusion. As we can also observe in Noelia's case, her family appreciated particular university studies (Law) and in particular places (campus, close to their home),

but other more liberal options were refused by them (Tourism studies, at a far-away university campus). Roma and pro-Roma associations seem to play an active role in the creation of higher labour market aspirations linked to continued studies. Pro-school rhetoric belongs to their positive image-building strategies and potential role-models are actively promoted by them in public events. Ironically they are also active in creating a particular third-sector labour market for successful Roma youth that is mainly sustained through the growing amount of available European funds targeted at Roma-related intervention projects. This phenomenon could be observed in both periods of data collection, but Roma youth taking up professional roles in NGOs have undoubtedly increased in the past decade.

Another far-reaching aspect of the effects of school continuity is interethnic marriage. We have seen that 9 out of 16 successful youth of both generations are descendants of ethnic intermarriage, and 13 of 16 are currently in a mixed relationship (formal marriage or not). Actually, in the younger generation there is only one endogamous marriage – that of Víctor – who had achieved the shortest post-compulsory studies in our sample and has worked in unrelated manual jobs ever since. It is necessary to speak about this phenomenon in terms of both the cause and consequence of school success, depending on the particular social context. Spanish Roma have historically always contracted interethnic marriages (San Román 1994) in spite of proclaimed norms, but when it comes to social sectors with strong aspirations of social mobility through schooling, ethnic intermarriage can be a predictor of school success (Abajo and Carrasco 2004, p. 182). This does not mean that the Roma ethnic belonging or cultural content has any negative effect on studies, quite the contrary. Augmenting levels of social opportunity will increase one's aspirations and will provide further instruments. Experiences of positive intercultural relations, will definitely contribute to those instruments. In other words, following the idea of *accommodation without assimilation* (Gibson 1988) minority youth tend to adopt pro-academic attitudes and other elements of the mainstream culture in order to carry out an accommodation to the basic expectations of the majority society, and at the same time avoiding discontinuities with community and family culture, especially when it may become a valuable social and cultural capital through increased national and international networks.

My mother's siblings didn't change at all in two generations. My mother did. She is the only one who has really changed things. She changed that my sister and I, well, we are not with Roma partners, we have studied and we have further aspirations in life, you know. Without losing our origin! [Gabriel]

Undoubtedly, we must recognise the construction of complex *transcultural identities* (Davidson 1996), based on dichotomies, with aspirations to modify their social role and status both in their ethnic community and in the mainstream society. Nevertheless, the trend for successful Roma youth to contract interethnic marriages may serve as a discrediting factor that may question them as role models for younger generations from a conservative, traditionalist perspective. Notwithstanding this, in practice it shows that relevance as an academic role model will depend on the strength of the actual relationships maintained with the ethnic community, rather than on purity in terms of traditional cultural norms.

62.5 Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter focuses on the academically successful Spanish Roma youth and their complex situation both within their families and ethnic communities, as well as in the wider social environment. Our empirical analysis is based on two data sets taken with a distance in time of a decade, which enabled us to gain an insight into some continuities and emerging new phenomena as far as conditions, dynamics, processes and impact are concerned. Our objective was firstly to understand how social capital is operating in the family ethnic community, in peer relations and with regards to institutional agents. Secondly, we aimed at identifying what sociocultural changes are triggered by school success. Throughout the research we aimed at conceptualising high achievement among Roma youth overcoming limited definitions anchored in the explanatory framework of failure and the compensatory intervention approach.

From a social capital perspective, the parents' and wider family's most active role must be defined as supportive or protective agents. In a context where little school-related experience and knowledge is held by older generations, psychological support, provision of a trusting atmosphere, and the transmission of coping strategies are the most important functions of the wider family. It may create a powerful source of *resistant capital* (Yosso 2005) for the Roma youth with successful trajectories, inasmuch as it may teach them how to prevent and manage different forms of frustration stemming from the mainstream vs. minority power relation (discrimination, racism, classism, low expectations, etc.), in the sense of coping strategies, rather than Ogbu's (1998) "oppositional identity". Beyond that, parents' earlier but frustrated academic aspirations and their later efforts in non-formal or informal education to achieve literacy may also act as strong references to the youth, creating a sort of *aspirational capital* (Yosso 2005). Also, some family members who earlier did "something different" (interethnic marriage or inter-class friendships, divorce, mainstream jobs or outstanding contract terms, international migration, etc.) can become long-lasting *change agents* whose influence is emphasized and appreciated by successful Roma youth. Siblings and close cousins may offer an extremely influential *intra-generational support* that can provide and facilitate access not only to institutional support agents, but also to resource-rich networks and knowledge. All the above mentioned functions and roles that family members can provide seem to have been sustained throughout the past decade. So we could not identify any major differences between the pre-Decade and the Decade generations, in this regard.

As far as relations with non-Roma peers are concerned, they are far too often mentioned as the source of discriminatory, subordinating dynamics in school. Nevertheless, they also appear in school relations as *bridging agents* that provide orientation and aspiration not only with respect to academic projection and information about how to "decode the system" but also with a meaningful, affective content. It is often non-Roma peers who transmit positive feelings about intellectual activities, not just as a necessary obligation to achieve qualifications. Affective relationships among Roma and non-Roma peers have proved to become a strong source of

emotional and moral support: in some of our cases these relationships were essential, for the development of self-esteem and academic resilience, in order to face difficulties. A related phenomenon is that Roma parents with academic aspirations often push their children towards those non-Roma peers that they perceive as academically oriented and “well-educated”: a clear strategy to provide their children with cultural capital elements unavailable at home. A new finding is that Roma peers are also mentioned as active agents in one’s intellectual and academic development, but only in those trajectories where experience sharing among Roma students constituted a purposeful objective of an intervention programme. This phenomenon had already been observed in the pre-Décade generation, but its dimensions have clearly broadened by now. Not only its dimensions but also its impacts must be recognised, as detailed further on. These systematic or one-off encounters with academically oriented Roma peers give room for the reformulation of the idea of what being Roma can be, beyond locally inherited definitions, which is closely related to what Côté (1996) delineated with the concept of *identity capital*. As opposed to the pre-Décade generation, which begun a process of self-identification in positive terms closely linked to local (Spanish, Catalan) school-related intellectual knowledge, the Décade generation has gone beyond these terms, engaging in an exchange with other non-Spanish Roma, and non-Roma minority (gender, immigrant, religious, etc.) and mainstream (youth) groups, thus engaging in the production of new types of social capital based on their global generational experience. Those programmes with a European perspective have been launched and intensified in the past decade and they provide new means of self-identification, both as Spanish and European Roma youth.

We have also learnt new aspects with respect to the institutional agents. Following Stanton-Salazar (2004) we mean by *institutional agents* those individuals or groups who have the capacity to connect one with institutional resources and opportunity structures, even if they don’t belong to those institutional structures. They may be school related experts (teachers, career advisors, mentors) through sustained support, but they may also be non-school-related resource-rich individuals such as acquaintances’ acquaintances with a one-time support.

Teachers or school mentors who maintain an affective, trusting and academically inspiring relationship with Roma students were often mentioned in the interviews. These mentors or tutors are reported to transmit high and realistic academic expectations towards Roma children, communicating it also to the parents. In secondary school, intellectually inspiring teachers can become role-models, and a source of system-related knowledge, although caring relationships are equally referred to as a relevant form of capital among youth (Valenzuela 1998). Beyond individual teachers’ effort, few but significant examples (Mariluz’s Roma-only school as well as José Eugenio’s elite high-school, to recall just two extreme examples) of school models promoting resilience among minority students (Borman and Rachuba 2001) must also be highlighted. Non-school related agents are also present in each and every successful Roma child’s trajectory. This fact highlights the importance of *weak ties* (Granovetter 1973) that may give a significant push to Roma children and youth through one-off advice or by opening up their more resource-rich networks to

allow contact with influential individuals. We identified a wide range of non-school-based institutional agents in Roma youth's life-stories that may trigger life-altering changes, especially where families lack sufficient resources and where schools do not provide children with academic career orientation in an explicit and effective way: examples vary from a trade union activist to a domestic cleaner mother's middle class employer, from an NGO mentor to a father's politically active colleagues. Both pre-Decade and Decade generation Roma youth in our study share the features identified by Crul and colleagues (2012) that create the conditions for educational success, especially the students' capacity to negotiate (directly or indirectly) institutional resources and opportunities. This negotiating capacity of the Roma students who were committed to their own extended academic trajectories was already identified in the pre-Decade generation, but in relation to their own families' acceptance or agreement. Beyond family, school and institutional agents – directly and indirectly related to them – our results suggest that targeted Roma programmes may also create conditions for Roma youth to foster their academic success. In the past decade the availability and relevance of these ethnically targeted programmes have grown due to the increasing amount of European funds available for this purpose and its emerging political relevance. We found that participation in those programmes may become important at different levels and in various ways. It may provide sustained emotional, psychological support and it helps develop healthy and realistic academic aspirations. Also, taking part in it may sensitize school agents through mediation. Furthermore, an often mentioned benefit of those programmes is that they may connect academically oriented Roma youth with similar Roma peers, which provides a relaxed, familiar, comfortable context for catching up with school requirements. But also we found that all these programmes focus far too much on (preventing) dropping out, low achievement and school conflicts while offering less to the average or high achieving Roma youth, especially if they attended integrated schools. Also, these support structures proved not to focus on trajectories but on outcomes, meaning that their main objective is to form a desired student type, rather than to sustain resource-rich support provision throughout the whole academic trajectory. Although these structures have an enormous potential, in our cases they were found to be less efficient in making help available to Roma youth in relatively favourable conditions, situated out of their catchment areas. From a comparative perspective, in some empowering programmes launched in the past decade, young Roma people can find new profiles of institutional agency: mentors, young Roma leaders embedded in resource-rich European networks, political activists, or volunteering university students. These new structures and programmes hold a strong potential to link Roma children and youth to a wide variety of networks, previously not available to them. Additionally, wide-spread access to Internet, especially social networking (facebook, Whatsapp, etc.), has intensified all the above mentioned potential as well as favoured individuals' capacity to invest in alternative, non-locally forged Roma identity formation, i.e. the increase of one's *identity capital* (Côté 1996). Another important finding related to the supporting programmes highlights the increasing role of the Roma and pro-Roma NGOs, not only

as implementers of the above mentioned projects, but also as creators of a widening labour market niche for the highly trained Roma youth.

Finally, the second main question in this research was related to the sociocultural changes triggered by school success: additive acculturation, agency, ethnic belonging and gender differences. Acculturation process is often reported by our interviewees as a painful transition through cultural distancing from one's ethnic group towards a bicultural network orientation, through feelings of *inbetweenness*. Far from underrating the acculturation struggle, we have found that in a context of an emerging pan-European Roma identity – that has been promoted in terms of empowerment and emancipation through active social participation – the Roma/non-Roma dichotomy has been gradually substituted by a more complex intersectional understanding of what it means to be a Roma young person. Accordingly, group variation is due to an intersectional reality of socialization that is conditioned by gender, social class, race (meaning here phenotypical appearance) and ethnicity, among other significant factors of inequality. Our findings show, too, that the Decade generation is, to a certain point, leaving behind bitter dilemmas grounded on a dichotomy of loyalties when engaging in uncommon social and cultural paths regarded as non-traditional in their communities of origin.

Academically successful Roma youth must also be recognized as active change-agents within their families and ethnic communities; as cultural brokers, who may exercise their influence in taking on a wide variety of roles: such as *role models* for a younger generation; as active political or public participants; as professional experts (intercultural mediator, school promoter, health mediators, Roma NGO professionals, Roma researcher, among others), to mention but some.

As we previously saw, a positive sense of Roma ethnic belonging has gradually become a more plural, and a more complex experience than before, especially through the European embeddedness of the process as well as its exposure to academic expert debates. The Internet and social networks have made it possible to connect minority experience to a wider emancipatory discourse often created by academic activists, but actively absorbed and sometimes critically contested by Roma youth activists. Roma activism discourses (and often the objectives of those European programmes) have gradually become permeated with intersectional approaches and awareness-raising by including critical feminist analysis. As a result, the successful Roma youth of the Decade generation seem to show more awareness of the structures of inequality in a global sense, than were those of the pre-Decade generation. Beyond exposure to different discourses, men and women from each generation also produced different interpretations of their lived experiences. Therefore, the key issues related to the academic success of the Roma youth can only be fully understood within an intersectional framework (Collins 1999).

The past decade explicitly devoted to the inclusion of the Roma has not fulfilled high expectations, for it has not triggered a systematic change in resolving a series of conditions conceptualised as “the Roma problem”. Nevertheless it has clearly made a difference in the way academically successful Roma youth think about themselves and their future socioeconomic possibilities, even though the question remains as to how the current access of this Decade generation of Roma youth to the

ordinary labour market will have improved at a time of higher labour market competition, a situation that may render the aspirations and efforts of these young Roma students unfortunately bittersweet.

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Chapter 63

Trans-/Locally Situated: Informal Educational Processes and the Emergence of a New Urban Civil Society in “Post-Migrant” Berlin

Jens Adam and Alik Mazukatow

“Our children shall not work as cleaners in their future” one manager of the private grammar school “Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium”¹ summarizes the objective of the pedagogical work at this institution. Located in a north-western district of Berlin, the school represents the most ambitious project of an educational initiative, which was founded by Turkish migrants to Germany or rather by their descendants. In the 1990s this initiative started to establish tutorial centres in the city, which have ever since been offering additional classes in the afternoon for pupils to improve their school performance. Later on, elementary schools, day-care-centres, a secondary school and finally the grammar school – which leads its pupils to the German university-entrance diploma “Abitur” – were established. Even though all these institutions are open for everyone, who is willing and able to pay the fees, and even though the instruction follows accurately the officially adopted curricula of the authorities of Berlin, the schools are mostly attended by students with a Turkish background.

63.1 Line of Argument

This private school, the very specific composition of its pupils, the initiative’s relations with the city as well as its position within the urban educational settings constitute the starting point of our examination. For this article, we take the Friedrichsdorf

¹ In order to secure a certain level of anonymity for their research partners the authors use a pseudonym to designate the school focused in this article.

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Gymnasium as an urban site and an ethnographic case study to combine two interconnected analytical perspectives: firstly, we will illustrate the practice and significance of *informal educational processes* taking place in this school beside the official curricula as well as characterizing the school's supporting association's activities to navigate through the socio-political fabric of the city. Building on these observations, we will secondly explore the current *transformation of the urban civil society* in a city, which is incrementally reshaped by the permanent presence, the increasingly differentiated contributions and growing claims of "migrants"² and their descendants. In other words, in this article we would like to scrutinize the shifting relations between "urban education", "migration", and the "socio-political fabric" of Berlin taking the civic engagement of one specific educational initiative as analytical and empirical starting point.

For this purpose, we will begin in the *second section* with an introduction of the school as a clearly locally situated, but transnationally connected urban site. We will argue that discriminatory effects of the public schooling system and the – often critical, sometimes supportive – media coverage have to be taken into account. As contexts of how locality is produced at Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium and as determining factors for the civic positioning of the school's founding educational initiative those aspects play a crucial role in constituting our field.

In the *third section* we will display the broader picture: We will examine the most significant shifts concerning public debates about and political approaches toward the continuous presence of "migrants" in Germany as a whole, and especially in Berlin, that took place over the last decades. In a following step we will introduce two important contributions of contemporary German "critical migration studies", which we consider as useful to illuminate our empirical case: on the one hand an analytical focus on the emergence of new urban sites and spatial practices brought into being by "migrants"; on the other hand the conceptualization of Germany as a "post-migrant society", in which everyone, and not only migrants or their descendants, is affected by the effects of migration.

In the *fourth section* we will take a closer ethnographic look on the respective school as such a new urban site and especially on different informal learning processes taking place in this social setting. Hereby we will focus mostly on two aspects: firstly, the visual dominance and practical relevance of "ideals of achieving" in the daily life and the institutional self-image of the school; secondly, the moments and constellations of an internal "everyday-ethnicization", which we will relate interpretively to the aforementioned discriminatory effects of the public educational system.

In the *fifth section* we will discuss informal educational processes emerging at the intersections between "school" and city": mostly we will analyze several "strategies of civic positioning" developed and applied by the school's supporting

²We put "migrants" in quotation marks to point out that we consider this term as a socially constructed category, which is still widely used in public discourse, for instance, to denote children and grandchildren of migrants, even though they were born in Germany and thus have not migrated personally.

association to become visible in, and to navigate through, urban contexts. Most notably we will distinguish between strategies to project futures, strategies to produce urban sites and strategies to create “webs of overlapping commonalities” (Schiffauer 2009). Hereby we hope to illustrate some of the spatial and political effects of that kind of interventions into urban education for the socio-political fabric of a “post-migrant city”.

In the concluding section we will connect our empirical observations to current debates about the formative power of migration on the very fundamentals of social life in Germany. We will discuss how dominant concepts of “education” and an “urban civil society” can be challenged by a civic engagement that on the one hand is clearly inspired by transnational references and affiliations, but on the other hand has a clearly local grounding and orientation – not least in trying to fix some of the deficiencies of official education policies.

63.2 A Locality and Its Contexts: Media Reactions, Transnational Affiliations, Discriminatory Effects, and the Promise of Socio-economic Advancement

63.2.1 *The Production of Locality*

To begin our argument we would like to introduce the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium as an urban site. To study everyday life and get the picture of how the school is constructed as a social place Arjun Appadurai’s perspective on localities has proven helpful. Appadurai distinguishes between locality “as primarily relational and contextual rather than as scalar or spatial” in contrast to neighbourhoods which „refer to actually existing social forms“ (Appadurai 1995, p. 204). Hence, locality refers to the social production of place in relation to a specific contexts, production which generates and requires contexts at the same time (see *ibid.*). Asking about what processes of social construction lay behind a locality, helps us to understand the informal educational processes taking place here.

As we will point out later the same contexts producing locality at Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium also delimit and form possibilities to act within the city for the school’s supporting association: as an urban actor, this association is constantly developing navigational capacity to cope with structural conditions and obstacles while adapting their aspirations towards modifying them. But now we will turn to the relevant contexts which we consider to be the location of the school premises, the transnational affiliations of the school and its’ supporters, the discriminatory effects of the public schooling system, and the media reaction to this founding.

63.2.2 The Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium as an Urban Site

Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium is located in one of Berlin's most western districts. Away from the residential areas next to a garage of the local bus company there is the extensive area harbouring the Gymnasium and the adjacent "Friedrichsdorf Middle School". In what used to be once premises of the British Army and later of the German custom office today 210 pupils are striving for the highest degree German school system offers. One red brick building with most classrooms facing a canteen, a gym, and a recently built house with state of the art classrooms for the science courses are the centre of school life.

The school has a lot to offer including extra coaching classes in the afternoon and educational recreational activities such as guitar lessons and creative writing for the school journal. Pupils, teachers or parents refer to the better or more convenient learning conditions to explain why they chose this school: it provides decisively smaller classes with only 12–20 pupils and more intensive, almost personal pedagogical supervision than public institutions; it has a good reputation concerning discipline among pupils and offers, not least, Turkish as a regular school subject. In spite of attempts to change this composition nearly all of the pupils are of "Turkish origin" or "German-Turks" as many would coin it. As third or fourth generation in Germany neither the media or most of the Germans who consider themselves ethnically German nor the pupils themselves are ready to call themselves outright Germans without hyphen or addition. One reason often put forward by critical media reports to explain this specific composition are the school's affiliations to a transnationally active religious movement. But an ethnographic perspective can illustrate that such religious references remain rather discreetly in the background during day-to-day life and don't seem to be the main component to explain the school's attractiveness among the city's vibrant German-Turkish community.

63.2.3 Between Religious Affiliations and the Promise of Socio-economic Advancement: The Local Grounding of a Transnational Educational Initiative

Looking at the school's supporting initiative, however, *religious affiliations and the transnational connections* are striking: The founders, which have established a supporting association as organizational framework for their activities, indicate the Turkish, but US-based Imam Fethullah Gülen as a most significant source of inspiration. Besides his recent conflict with former Turkish prime minister and today's president Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his political followers, Fethullah Gülen³ has gained a broader attention for his specific version of a at once conservative and

³ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/07/turkish-prosecutors-life-sentence-cleric-coup-plot-fethullah-gulen> (last access: 5th of February 2016).

moderate Islam, which seeks avowedly to reconcile “religion” with “modernity” and has committed itself to inter-faith-dialogue (Ebaugh 2010; Hendrick 2015). His catchy plea “build schools, not mosques” was taken up by followers all over the world – today more than 1,000 schools in a high variety of countries are attributed to belong to the transnational network of the “Gülen movement”, each of them having their specific local groundings, connections and meanings.

But these religious affiliations are just one aspect to explain the local emergence of this transnationally inspired educational initiative and the composition of its pupils: most significantly the school promises to supply the basis for successful professional careers and offers hereby an appealing alternative to a public educational system, which is regularly blamed by parents and researchers alike for its *discriminatory effects* towards certain social groups or migrant communities. Pundits most often point to the traditionally three-tiered school system in Germany, which selects children as early as in the age of 10 – allegedly according to meritocratic criteria-that has however proven to be a key factor in reproducing social structures and inequalities (Gomolla and Radtke 2002; Wellgraf 2012). Put simply, children of academics attend disproportionately often the prestigious “Gymnasiums” that qualify their graduates directly to study at universities, whereby working class children are clearly underrepresented in these institutions. Similarly the latter constitute the majority of pupils visiting the “Hauptschulen”, which were originally aimed at preparing young people to take up so-called lower qualified jobs in industry or agriculture. As an effect of labour migration to Germany since the 1950s an ethnic component was added to this selective system: the descendants of these migrants, which came as industrial workers or refugees to Germany succeed decisively less often to be accepted as pupils of a Gymnasium than their contemporaries without such a “migration background”. By implication they are significantly overrepresented in the remaining school forms, where they are often confronted already as pupils with the little options the labour market has to offer to graduates of these institutions in a meanwhile largely deindustrialised city like Berlin (Wellgraf 2012).

Despite such empirical findings and despite different educational reform projects it turned out to be socio-politically difficult to change this selective system fundamentally. Attitudes and practices of the established academic middle classes to preserve these three-tiered structures are often put forward as part of an explanation: In 2010, for instance, the electorate of Hamburg rejected in a referendum the proposal to extend elementary schools to the age of 12 and to postpone consequently the moment of division of the pupils to the three different types of school by 2 years – a result which was mostly due to the high mobilization of the mentioned stratum. And in Berlin a rather informal behaviour has been frequently discussed in local media, politics and academic articles alike: many middle-class families living in the multi-ethnic, diverse inner-city neighbourhoods make every effort to enrol their children in schools outside their own districts as they consider the high percentage of migrants as “harmful” for the education of their children (Karakayali and zur Nieden 2014; Partridge 2012).

Representatives of the supporting association, teachers or pupils of the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium refer regularly to their own experiences with a discriminatory educational system to explain the existence of the school in the first

place or their individual choice to go there. From this perspective the foundation appears as an act of civic self-empowerment of a presumably disadvantaged group to counterbalance some of the deficiencies of public schooling in Berlin. Accordingly one employee of the supporting association mentions the “ordinary people’s ambition for advancement” as the elementary driving force of such educational initiatives.

Media reports oscillate between presenting the school as an ambitious educational initiative and questioning the local legitimacy of such transnationally affiliated projects. Especially the association’s connections to the transnational Gülen network lead regularly to critical articles in the German press: Some journalists even called out for the domestic intelligence agency to investigate (*Der Tagesspiegel* 21.10.2004) because – as goes the argument – it was not clear whether islamists have taken Berlin Senate by surprise. In this article the author suggests that due to the school’s supporting association’s close connections to the – allegedly undemocratic – ideas and beliefs of Fethullah Gülen, the founding of the school should be under scrutiny. The underlying assumption is that an organization founding a school and being close to a Muslim Imam would adopt his thoughts completely and aim to transfer them unbowed to their school. No translation processes into a specific local context or negotiation processes with local educational authorities are taken into consideration.

The influential periodical *Der Spiegel* insinuates about Gülen being head of a virtual criminal network by publishing an article about his movement under the title “The Godfather” (*Der Spiegel* 32/2012). In contrast to the allusion of being the leading character of a mafia-like web Gülen knew how to present himself as a Ghandi, or so the article says. It insists on two sides of the movement: one being worldly and open and one being secretive. It states that Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium’s good reputation is one of the successes of the movement, although one does not know exactly what business lurks on the shadowy side of Gülen. It strikes again that the Gülen movement, the school and its supporting association are seen as representing one identical set of thoughts and beliefs. The local legitimacy of such educational initiatives is questioned not only by the assumption of illegal practices, but by the constant references to a faraway power centre, which attempts to realize its nontransparent objectives in a parallel world. It has to be mentioned that supportive articles can be found as well in German media. For instance weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* states that “Allah’s eager strivers” (*Die Zeit* 08/2010) can realize their ambitious objectives in these schools. The transnational affiliations are mentioned, but the description of a locally grounded educational initiative in which Gülen’s ideas do not play a big role in everyday life, constitutes the leitmotif of this article. It consequently allows a difference between Gülen’s doctrine, the activities of the local organizations of a transnational movement and the schools founded by those organizations.

A completely different picture is suggested by newspaper *Zaman Avrupa*. Part of the extensive media network affiliated to the Gülen movement the European branch of Turkey’s most popular newspaper publishes a German edition in Turkish language with extensive coverage of Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium. For instance, the school is

discussed in relation to the 50th anniversary of the binational agreements between Turkey and West Germany to send workers to support West Germany's by then boosting economy. The positive development of the school is stressed and being assessed as a success of the Turkish community in Germany. Fethullah Gülen is not mentioned once (*Zaman Avrupa* 16.06.2011).

As a way of introduction we presented the local situation and specific character of the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium, its transnational religious affiliations, discriminatory effects in the public schooling system and some exemplary media reports. We consider these aspects as relevant aspects for the relational and processual production of the school as an urban locality and conditions for different informal educational processes. Before we have a closer ethnographic look into daily school life in section III, we will turn to the broader frame of the founding of such a school and discuss some of the most important changes in the perception and handling of "migration" in Germany and Berlin.

63.3 Shifting Grounds: "Migration" as an Object of Public Debate and Critical Research

63.3.1 *Discursive Paths: Germany's Reluctant (Self-) Perceptions as a "Country of Immigration"*

It took quite a while until German society in its majority was willing to perceive Germany as a "country of immigration" (Mannitz and Schneider 2014). At least until the late 1980s public and political discussions were dominated by positions picturing labour migration as a provisional phenomenon responding to temporal economic needs. Against the backdrop of the historically established and widely naturalized self-image of the German nation as a homogenous ethno-cultural community, with precisely definable boundaries of belonging, migrants were predominantly classified as "external" or "strangers"; their continuous presence in Germany was often estimated as potentially "problematic".

Only when it became obvious that the so-called "guest workers" stayed for decades, had and raised their children in Germany, founded businesses here and left diverse traces in urban life, these established patterns of perception were set slowly in motion. Voices that pictured immigration as enriching for the country gained in importance. Questions concerning the permanence or the scale of immigration as well as the legal, societal or cultural status of migrants became matters of political contestation and heated public debate in the 1980s and 1990s. As a most relevant consequence the nationality law could be substantially modified in 2000 – still against the strong opposition of the political right. By these reforms, the traditionally dominant "jus sanguinis" as the defining factor of a German citizen was supplemented by elements of the "jus solis". Thus, since these changes children born in Germany having non-German parents with a permanent residence status could

receive German citizenship automatically and were not any longer legally categorized as “strangers”; simultaneously the hitherto protracted process of naturalization was shortened and simplified. As an effect the idea that you can become a German – and consequently that you don’t need to be born as one – has spread over the years. In other words, the construct of the nation as a “pure community of descent” has been slowly but steadily undermined from its margins.

That is not to say that the older positions and perspectives – concerning the elementary “problematization” of migration, the exclusive emphasis on demographic or economic needs to legitimate it or the evocation of an ethnically defined nation as “normal” or desirable state of affairs – have disappeared from public debate. Complaints about an allegedly missing “willingness to integrate”, to “arrive mentally”, or to learn the German language are still regularly invoked as motives in media and political discourse just as an expressed concern about the formation of so-called “parallel societies” (*Parallelgesellschaften*) of migrant communities putatively lacking sufficient connections and overlaps with the German “majority society” (*Mehrheitsgesellschaft*). Simultaneously the “new Germans” are continuously confronted with discursive or symbolic exclusions from the national community, with racializing representations and institutional discrimination in schools or public authorities. In a nutshell, in the year 2015 debates about migration turn out to take place in a dynamic field of contestation, in which different patterns of perception and political rationalities operate in parallel. But undoubtedly relevant shifts in societal patterns of perception and the legal framework can be recorded on a national level, which put the foundation of a private school by representatives of the Turkish community in Berlin in another context than some decades ago.

63.3.2 *An Urban Society Remodelled: Changing Discourses and Political Regulations Focussing Migration to/in Berlin*

Concerning the city of Berlin itself even more significant changes took place. In the following passage we will draw mostly on the work of Stefan Lanz to shed light on remarkable shifts of the dominant discursive formations and logics of governances focussing “migration to/in the city” over the twentieth century (Lanz 2007, 2011, 2013) – insights we consider as essential to understand the position of pupils with “a migrant background” in the city’s schools as well as of an educational initiative of Berlin Turks in the urban civil society.

Following Michel Foucault (1994), Lanz uses the concept of *dispositif* as his analytical frame to illustrate the successive emergence of three different structuring patterns to perceive and handle the influx of people and the presence of “otherness” in the city. The term *dispositif* denotes a “resolutely heterogeneous ensemble of discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, policy decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, moral and philosophic propositions”

(Foucault quoted in Rabinow 2003, p. 51), which are assembled to deal with demographic, economic or political developments noticed at a given time as “problematic”. Thus *dispositif* can be understood as “a device of population control and economic management composed of otherwise scattered elements (...) that coalesce in particular historical conjunctures” (Feldman 2012, p. 15). As Lanz shows, sustainable shifts or the emergence of a new *dispositif* can normally be traced back to moments of crises in which the previous, hitherto established one comes under pressure due to fundamental economic or political changes (Lanz 2011).

According to this analysis the first *dispositif of the national-homogeneous city* came into being as a consequence of the foundation of the German empire in 1871 and – generally speaking⁴ – structured public representation, political attitudes and administrative measures towards migration in Berlin until the crisis of urban governance technics of post-war welfare state in the late 1970s. It was built on the widely naturalized urban imaginary of a culturally, ethnically and nationally homogeneous population and categorized “difference” almost exclusively as “external others”. The hierarchical (racial) division of migrants into “worthy” and “unwelcomed” groups, the sole dominance of the interests of the receiving economy, the establishment of restrictive regulation measures and the articulation of worries about an upcoming societal disintegration were key elements of patterns of action and perception guided by this first *dispositif*.

Mostly due to political and economical shifts taking place since the late 1970s as well as to altered perceptions concerning the permanence and the composition of immigrant groups this first apparatus came under growing pressure. Especially since 1981/1982 – when changes towards conservative governments had taken place on the national and on the urban level alike – it was gradually overlaid by the *dispositif of a multicultural-differential metropolis*. City authorities and the urban public began to perceive cultural diversity as “enriching” and a potential for the economic development of the city. An essentialist notion of culture – as it has been common in Germany since the nineteenth century – was expanded towards migrant communities, which were henceforth conceptualized as internally homogeneous and culturally delimitable. Simultaneously forms of migrant self-organisation were increasingly supported as constructive civic engagement towards social integration in a city, which was economically fundamentally transformed by deindustrialization and growing unemployment. Another urban imaginary came into being: Berliners

⁴Due to the specific object of study and the analytical focus of this article we will not deepen at this point the examination of the manifold breaks, which characterize German history and which include war, dictatorship and genocide. For the purpose of this article we just want to record briefly the point of origin to emphasize the changes that took place since the 1970s concerning the ways how migration to/in Berlin were perceived and dealt with by urban politics and society. Nevertheless we would like to record that we follow Stefan Lanz and others in their assessment that institutional racism, bureaucratic acts of exclusion and the perception of “migrants” as racialized others were kept intact through different political systems – even though the national socialist dictatorship (1933–1945) radicalized these, like many others, features doubtlessly. Beside the mentioned contributions of Stefan Lanz the study of historian Ulrich Herbert (2001) on the history of policies on foreigners could be consulted to deepen these questions of continuity and break.

started to perceive their city as a lively metropolis, composed of different culturally defined and internally integrated communities under the umbrella of a still hegemonic and rather essentialist concept of German mainstream culture.

Roughly at the turn of the millennium a second shift to the *dispositif of the cosmopolitan-diverse metropolis* took place and can be attributed again to political and economic changes: on the one hand the already mentioned reform of the national citizenship law contributed to an altered self-perception of the German society and made the inclusion of “difference” more likely – especially as the newly elected left-wing city government was willing to campaign actively for naturalization. On the other hand new types of hybrid diversity and more flexible forms of temporary mobility became more and more visible in daily urban life. The previous leitmotiv of the city as a mosaic of delimitable, rather stable and co-existing communities proved difficult to sustain. Simultaneously – despite ongoing high unemployment and weak public finances – a modified media representation of the city as an exciting, creative, liberal and internationally connected metropolis emerged and suggested new potentials for economic dynamism in the upcoming “creative industry”. For the purpose of this article two consequences of this third *dispositif* are central: firstly, city governance was progressively guided by the new self-image of a metropolis composed of “super-diversity” (Vertovec 2007; Meissner and Vertovec 2015), which replaced gradually the hitherto concept of a bipolar opposition between an ethno-cultural majority of the “Germans” and the immigrated “others”. Secondly, neoliberal turns in social and labour market policies on national and urban level found expression in an ever stronger emphasis on self-responsibility with regard to secure one’s livelihood. Migrant communities, which are demonstrably discriminated on the labour market, have been increasingly confronted with the request to fulfil better their economic potential and to invest in their own future. “Empowerment” and “education” have become key metaphors of the new urban discourses and city policies dealing with the consequences of migration and an increasingly diverse population, which progressively breaks with the idea of an ethno-cultural majority.

Even though an impressive line of development becomes apparent, Stefan Lanz points out that the two older *dispositifs* have not completely disappeared. Especially in moments of crisis or when drastic events – like terrorist attacks – dominate the contemporary global information flow elements of the two actually overcome patterns of action and perception can reemerge in city politics or media reports – in other words: the representation of “migrants” as “problematic”, “threatening” and racialized “others”, references to bipolar patterns of perception that divide between a “German majority” and “ethnicized minorities” or the questioning of the judicial and political status of migrants remain options in the public discourse. Notwithstanding the city government’s enhanced acceptance and promotion of “diversity” or its increasing claim and support of “self-empowerment” and “education” define more favourable conditions for the civic project of a private grammar school founded by an educational initiative of migrants.

63.3.3 A “Post-Migrant Society”?: Analytical Perspectives of “Critical Migration Studies” in Germany

As a reaction to the longer established and still regularly reactivated forms of representing migrants as “problematic”, “strangers” and “temporary” a “critical migration studies” has emerged inside the Social Science and anthropological disciplines to propose new analytical perspectives on migration in/to Germany (Hess et al. 2009; Labor Migration 2014; Hess and Näser 2015; Römhild 2015). For the purpose of this article we consider two of these positions as particularly relevant:

A first line of research has aimed to present counter-images to these established modes of representations by focusing on the so far hardly perceived everyday life in cities, where the presence and the handling of “diversity” had already become a self-evident daily routine. Several researchers analyze the “*transnational spaces*” that have been emerging especially in these urban neighbourhoods in which migrant communities often outnumber citizens with a “German” origin. Regina Römhild, for instance, speaks about the formation of different “sites of opportunity”, which are co-produced by interacting young city dwellers in such different urban locations like fast food restaurants, shopping malls, in multi-ethnic school classes or youth centers (Römhild 2015). At these places chances open up to develop transnational connections, biographies and self-conceptions beyond the “integration demand” and the still powerful ethnicizing categories of German state policies and mainstream society. According to Römhild informal educational processes take place in these spaces as the interacting adolescents learn to navigate through a “super-diverse” (Vertovec 2007) urban space and simultaneously to tackle the contradictory expectations of the mainstream society in a very practical sense. Erol Yildiz’ term “*transtopia*” points in the same direction (Yildiz 2013). He denotes hereby urban “intermediary spaces”, created and used by migrants, where global interconnections merge and consolidate into new, locally grounded contexts of everyday life (Yildiz 2015). Yildiz highlights most of all the spatial practices and strategies of positioning, appropriation and transformation that take place in these contexts and that – according to his analysis – entail an innovative potential to develop critical attitudes towards dominant discourses or to bring into life new urban “self-evidences”.

A second line of research – partly inspired by postcolonial studies – proposes to conceptualize Germany as a “*post-migrant society*”, in which everyone, and not only migrants or their descendants, is affected by the effects of migration. This approach emphasizes the potentials of “mobilities” to transform radically the established institutions and fundamentals of German society. Consequently the proponents of this line of research demand that social scientists should not any longer consider “migration” as their empirical object, but as a perspective on changing societal realities – in other words: instead of producing further refined ethnographic studies about life strategies of a respective mobile group or ethnic community research should take migration as a starting point to develop new

analytical perspectives on transformations of basic societal ideas like “belonging”, the “nation” or “citizenship” (Bojadžijev and Römhild 2014; Römhild 2015).

In this article we will connect to both these lines of research: on the one hand we will use the terms “transtopia” and “site of opportunity” to shed light on the new urban space that has emerged with the foundation of the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium. We will analyze some aspects of everyday life in the school as well as civic strategies of the supporting association to position in the city. Subsequently we will discuss to which extent new and critical positions towards dominant discourses on migration are developed in this context. On the other hand we will examine which transformations of “education” and “civil society” – as two further societal key concepts – become visible when we take the formation of this school not as a limited object of study but as a point of departure for an analytical perspective on the shaping of a “cosmopolitan-diverse city”.

63.4 Informal Learning Processes: How Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium Becomes a Social Place

This part of the article sheds light on daily life and school routine. It will explore whether the school is a place where diversity and transnational connections are seen as something normal. Although being an institution intended to convey knowledge based on formalist ideas of contents of education we will argue that Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium is also, as a result of the specific mechanisms of place-making, a place where informal learning processes take place.

To explore how Friedrichstadt Gymnasium is being produced as a locality is being produced I (Alik Mazukatow) used a variety of ethnographic research methods. Between September and November 2012 I did participant observation of classes, intermissions, and extra curricular activities of the senior year’s courses. I went on an excursion with them, played badminton in physical education, tried to get to know them while eating in the canteen and not lose sight of the teachers when spending my intermissions in the staff room or attending staff meetings. In addition to participant observation I conducted narrative interviews with teachers and students, many of them structured, transcribed, and encoded. Others however could be seen as just casual talks with the curious ethnographer. However, even those kind of situations can be treated as interviews with which one can analyze an institution, the individual’s embodied experience and the workings of the institution to produce those experiences (DeVault and McCoy 2006).

When analysing the ideals of achievement, not only the statements pupils and teachers but the school decoration caught my interest for which we used visual content analysis. We consider ethnography the research method to make sense of such a corpus of diverse materials thereby linking different levels of interpretation (Binder 2004).

63.4.1 Ideals of Achievement: Performance and Effort Equals Success

In this part of the article we will describe how ideals of performance and effort are established.⁵ They can be read as a reaction to a reproachful public by playing the „ethnic card“ and provoking a correspondent strategy: stressing that the school is a place of achievement, success, and accomplishment and creating ideals of performance and achievement. Nevertheless ethnic as well as organizational factors of the school as an institution cannot be dismissed when talking about how locality is produced at Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium.

In their comparative study of the education system of four European countries Schiffauer et al. drew attention to how resources are used. According to them the arrangements and designs symbolize and reflect certain assumptions about the role of school in society (Baumann and Sunier 2002, p. 23). Resources and interior design according to this view are not randomly chosen but part of the means to achieve pedagogical goals. While rejecting the study's underlying assumption of national types of educational organization, we still think that the use of resources reflects an attempt of schools to define their task and place in broader society, reflecting expectations of the particular context the school is situated in.

Our first example will be a big poster hanging in the floors of Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium. On black background it shows a single glowing light bulb which is centred, the cap facing the lower part of the poster. Above the glass bulb the writing says “Our greatest weakness lies in giving up”. Under the cap it continues “The most certain way to succeed is always to try just one more time”. In smaller writing the author of the quote is added: The inventor of the light bulbs, Thomas Edison. Since it is attached on the floor of the classrooms for the foreign language classes, the poster is in English. It tells the observer not to give up, dismissing this possibility as a universal weakness of humankind. Who else could be addressed by the “our”? To try once more is “always” the most fail-proof way to success. Success is therefore mostly a series of failures with a strong-willed individual not ready to give up, sort of a trail-and-error. Considering that the quote is supposedly Thomas Edison's, it reflects a common opinion how inventors like him work: a bright idea put to work by countless malfunctioning prototypes. And speaking of bright ideas, the light bulb is not put in a socket with no contact to an electric circuit whatsoever. Therefore, the glowing of the bulb does not refer to electricity. The poster plays with dark and light metaphor where, dating back to enlightenment, light means brain power, ideas, and autonomy of the rational individual.

Pictures like the light bulb in Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium create evidences while concealing the means of production of that evidence. By doing that, they produce an aura of authenticity and naturalise their message. The evidence may be embedded in an evidence-dispositif (Schade and Wenk 2011). The insight of Barthes who

⁵All names of people are altered. The chosen paragraphs from my research notes are slightly altered to fit in here and had to be translated for this article.

states that the imposition of meaning does not constitute a fundamental difference between pictures and writing (see Barthes 1993, 110) will be important for the next example. As writing it still will be analyzed like the picture of the light bulb looking for evidences.

Let us turn to six colourful round boards on the walls of the school each with a diameter of approximately 30 cm, linked by arithmetic operators all neatly arranged in a row. The whole installation says:

Paying attention in class + listening to the teachers and class mates + doing homework + not distracting class mates + showing polite behaviour and respect towards the other = Success in school and in life

The first four addends are expectations concerning the proper behaviour in school. 'Proper' behaviour in this case is calibrated towards the institutional framework to ensure smooth proceedings reminding us that school creates a massive disciplinary effect upon pupils which has to be maintained. The fifth addend seems a bit different. What counts as respect and politeness is not a direct consequence of the organisational proceedings of the institution. It gives way to the expectations regarding the attitude of the pupils. Furthermore, the request is not to be polite but show politeness, therefore addressing a performative aspect the ideals of achievement.

Graphical arrangement in a row points to the logic of the installation that all of the addends lead straight to sum, namely success in school and life. The evidence of the installation is based on mathematical means of expression which gives it an air of a recipe: just add a bit of homework and polite behaviour and you will be successful in school and life. Notice the vocabulary used, which is very specific to the institution and its proceedings. One could argue that most of the student's life is school, but would a successful school career lead to success in life in general? The installation gives us a very narrow sense of success in life but at the same time very specific instructions how to get there. The nature of an equation being, of course, that depending on how much you add to one part the other side of the equality sign must change equally – a mathematical precision when it comes to earn success depending on the efforts that were taken.

One could argue that school decoration could be perceived benevolently or resentful, depending on the individual. So I was curious when I did my interviews what pupils might think of the ideals of achievement and performance.

Alik: Why is it worth it to effect performance here?

Yeter: Yeah, future. You need now a good performance to have a good NC and later a good university place. And later a good job. (NC: Threshold to be able to enrol in certain subjects at the university of one's choice, depending on your grades, A.M.)

Performing at school is for Yeter only one piece of a whole chain. According to her, a good performance leads to good grades which enable one to enter the university and study the more prestigious subjects. This translates to a good job later. Neither in this passage nor during the whole interview Yeter expressed any doubts about the for her natural order where a good education leads to a successful job. What's being said by her seems to rest on a narratives of linear succession of effort and success.

Another example is the statement of Ibrahim when thinking about whether he should do his studies in Switzerland. For him doing so would yield many advantages

as I heard, if you really study in Switzerland, this is recognized world-wide. If you have a certificate from Switzerland as a student, you can gain access everywhere. You'll be among the first ones being hired. (...) when people see my certificate they should say: Ok, wow, this guy has achieved something.

A certificate in one's hands is proof for Ibrahim of his achievements. It could guarantee job offers in the whole world. As physical proof of the efforts he made it seems like this document allows him to earn recognition world-wide. By that Ibrahim mentions a critical aspect of achievement: recognition. One could say that within the different ways to a successful life he sees a Swiss certificate as undeniable proof of success and guarantee for admission. The fact that Yeter and Ibrahim believe in the meritocratic idea behind the institution is probably one way for them to achieve a position and socio-economic status they want for their lives. If not being dismissed as naïve, their belief in the meritocratic ideal could be seen as proof of how refined their career plans are as successful, future academics with good careers based on international education.

Within the realms of an institution, monitoring their members' ideals of success and achievement clearly has a performative side to them. Notice that within the context of small numbers of pupils in one class students and staff know each other very well. As mode of working, teachers are asked to demand group work which happened very often during my observations. Those groups of three or four would usually work on a topic and present their findings afterwards. The combination of small classes and frequent work in small groups in different constellations makes sure that every pupil establishes at least a working basis with everybody else – sanctioned by the teachers and the workings of the institution by grading the outcomes of the working process. This time my field notes will be the basis for our interpretation:

In biology class of Ms. Kramer there is team work. I joined the group for chromosome mutations. Ozan, Ibrahim, Şafak, Dilek, and me are sitting around a single table. (...) Ozan takes the leadership. He suggests the course of action for the presentation and it is also him who gathers the pencils of all the other pupils to explain the complicated mutations. The pencils depicting the dna-sequences. (...) When Ibrahim tries to add something to the discussion he couldn't get a word in edgeways. Ibrahim says later to his friend Şafak: "Ozan gets on my nerves!". Subsequently both talk about tomorrow's excursion while Ozan and Dilek prepare the presentation. (...) Ibrahim and Şafak know that I will join them on the excursion and ask me about it while Ozan dictates to Dilek what she should write on the worksheet of the group. Ms. Kramer joins the group: "That means those two did the work sheet, that means you the other two will present?". It seems she realized the uneven distribution of tasks within the group. Ozan says "All of us worked on that". Ms. Kramer: "I saw mainly two people working here". Ozan: "Yes but the work sheet was only 15 minutes, the 30 minutes before that all of us gathered the information. We also have a witness." and pointing at me. I say: "I will be on the watch to take sides here. All of you worked well". Ms. Kramer (skeptically): "Really? Well...". (Fieldnotes 27.09.2012)

Wondering how institutional orders get adopted Helga Kelle investigated how a predetermined setting gets translated into lived social practice laying emphasis on

collective practices of producing a symbolic territory, discursive practices to produce a public within groups and the organisational order of the institution along age influence processes of identification and appropriation (Kelle 1997). In our example it was very clear that Ozan was the leader. Neither the pupils, nor the teacher nor the ethnographer had any doubt about that. To ensure his role Ozan almost hushed Ibrahim up by being so taken by the discussion and his own thoughts on the topic, not noticing his friend and his wish to contribute. Still Ozan is defending his group mates with all the credibility one of the smartest and most diligent pupils of his year owns. The whole group is under scrutiny of Ms. Kramer who eventually would have to grade all of them. Although not all members of the group contributed equally only half an hour of group building processes were needed to see the teacher as an outsider who questions the cohesion of the group. Being called as a witness the ethnographer does not want to take sides to enable further research with all groups and participants. In the eye of the dynamics of the situation however his poor attempt not to take sides was bound to fail. Even more interesting is that he was called as an independent observer but was made choosing sides within the institutional setting. Not being a formal member of the setting still does not save the participant observer from being subjected to the institutional classifications and how people act them out. What's more: he was literally forced to do part of the teacher's work namely to evaluate the student's performances.

63.4.2 Achievement as a Strategy Against Discrimination

From what we discussed so far one of the conclusions could be that the promise of meritocracy is all in all intact. In other parts of the educational system however these beliefs have vanished for good. In the lowest rank of schools, the Hauptschule, ethnographer Stefan Wellgraf found that structural disadvantages of the labour market get transformed into a negative self-perception of pupils (Wellgraf 2012). No matter how hard pupils work the chance of finding subsequent job training are close to zero but instead of debating the structural shortcomings of the educational system school and authorities called to the pupils to reinforce their individual efforts. It is in this setting where the myth of meritocracy and the institution as such loses its credibility and the fragility of the underlying ideology is exposed (Wellgraf 2014). Whereas our previous analysis indicates a more or less unconditional belief in efforts, accomplishments, and success we will diversify these assertions in the paragraphs that follow.

At second glance, the desire for prestigious certificates which have to be recognized by future employers and the recognition of one's efforts in order to get them might be a strategy against discrimination and racism, as Ibrahim puts it.

I think that a German businessman, a German employer somehow takes his own compatriot rather than a foreigner or a migrant. And that's why our achievement is so important, to do something. That's why, as a migrant, you should put your best effort into it, because it's really like that: In Germany you are not first choice.

The passage of the interview reveals a system difference that results in discrimination and unequal opportunities. On the one hand, there is the German employer who would choose “unquestioned Germans”⁶ over immigrants or foreigners. Achievement is one way to overcome the unjust classification. It would be one way to gain access in the field of competition in which otherwise he would not even be admitted because of ethnic prejudice. Parts of the strong narrative of achievement and success at Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium therefore could be read as a reaction to discriminatory forces from people who are aware that dominant society frequently makes them second choice. Accomplishment seems therefore a sphere stronger than ethnic prejudice: high class qualifications exceed the blemish of having a history of migration in the family.

Unfortunately it is not entirely the case that accomplishment is stronger than ethnic prejudice, as the headmistress Ms. Baumann points out:

Especially kids (...) who come here after 10th grade. They have experienced some time at other grammar schools and don't feel noticed with their achievements. Instead happenstance is being insinuated. Or 'you cheated anyway!' We had a girl here who put it very nicely: "My English teacher never appreciated that I was studying hard at home. He always said: 'Even a blind squirrel finds a nut once in a while'."

As I already discussed earlier, recognition is a key part of success and accomplishment. The discrimination Ms. Baumann describes rests upon teachers who from their institutional position of power do not recognize the effort being made. The equation we analyzed above comes to mind where the efforts put into are translating into success with mathematical precision. Discrimination disables this equation because not every effort being made equals a success in school and in life. The success of Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium in building a school from scratch may be attributed precisely to the promise that pupils will find a niche in German education system where effort will get recognized without taking ethnical factors, at least not to pupil's disadvantage, into account.

63.4.3 The Workings of Ethnicization Within School Life

As we saw in the last section, stigmatization from outside directed to being Turkish and the offering to achieve success with other pupils who in parts could not get their achievements be recognized because they are Turkish is part of everyday life for our informants. All that happening within an institution which lets pupils form groups and sanctions behaviour, the sanctioning being adapted to the needs of the institutional framework. No wonder that the pupils conceived themselves as a group, but not just any group but an ethnic distinct one. As a man with supposedly non-German look and a non-German name I frequently get asked whether I was “originally” from Germany. At Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium where among students practically

⁶Referring to Germans who by their position in hegemonic discourse are ethnically unmarked.

everyone was linked with Turkish culture by family ties, this was not different. People were quite curious to ask for my familial origins

A girl asks me for my name: „Ali? Alex? (as if in German or Turkish?). Also someone else asks about my nationality. I refused to answer right then and suggested the break because I did not want to disturb class. (Fieldnotes 17.09.2012)

One of the group asks me: “May I ask you something? Are You Turkish? Because, you resemble a Turk a bit”. (Fieldnotes 19.09.2012)

My reaction to those kind of questions is irritation because of the simplicity of ethnic categorization but I do not elaborate much about my own ethnic background. Sticking to that principle I want to – rather than live out my narcissistic side – point to the many possibilities of taking positionings into account to analyze the field. Ethnic categorizations have a huge effect on group building processes at Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium. As a tool of interpretation we suggest Herbert Kalthoff’s perspective on his own research in boarding schools. He starts his considerations by observing modes of engrossing and rejecting the ethnographer’s person in his field. While doing participant observation scientists get to know the (probably) unknown life world which subsequently they aim to represent in a scientific study. The way scientists get represented by their field should not go unnoticed (Kalthoff 1997). The modes, ways, negotiations how the field represents the fieldworker as a stranger yields useful interpretations about how people see their field and themselves. As pointed out above one common way of representing me as a stranger in the field (at least in the beginning of my research) was to ask whether I was familiar, hence Turkish. Collecting the ways of how the ethnographer is represented as stranger in his field we would like to point how ethnic factors influence group building processes at Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium.

At a time when I was already known to some staff and students, curiosity and questions about the ethnographer get transformed into a way of making assumptions about his personal background and integrating him into the institutional order:

When I was entering the classroom to have a look at the Turkish class of Mister Uzun I have been warned by a student: “But this is Turkish!”. Nevertheless, I sit down. Hatice tells me some time later: “I am not sure whether you will understand something here”. I answer: “I am sure that I will understand a little bit”. (Fieldnotes 19.09.2012)

When entering the classroom, concerns were expressed about whether or not I should do participant observation there. As frequently as I told my informants that I was not Turkish I added that I was learning the language at the time. The information that got stuck though was that I was not Turkish, therefore would not understand them. Hatice’s warning reveals a pattern of controlling spaces according to belonging. To her, Turkish class was an exclusive space for and with Turks. Her reaction shows clearly how language and belonging patterns space in Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium. Her remark may also be read as warning about the exclusive effect this space of equals could have on me as a stranger. My non-status within the organisation therefore provoked her warning but it was not the main factor ordering her perception. The non-Turkish ethnic outsider would be welcome but face exclusion based on language. And indeed, my Turkish was bad enough to be excluded by bilinguals any time. Nehir shows how it was done:

Nehir tells me in English class with Mister Nakamura that she said something in Turkish about me during her presentation in Politics class the other day. "I hope you did not understand that, back then I did not really know you". The English documentary will be watched one more time to answer more detailed questions. That is why Nehir was asked to switch out the light again. Mister Nakamura: "Nehir switches out the light". Nehir: "Always me! Her şey bize yaptırıyor!" (Fieldnotes 02.11.2012)

Nehir never told me what she said about me but the growing trust towards the ethnographer was very moving. In the same situation she told me about her excluding me from what is said about me she demonstrates how to exclude the teacher by protesting in Turkish, therefore letting the other pupils know but keeping the teacher in the dark. Her Turkish phrase translates to: "He is letting us do everything!". The choice of language makes clear who is meant by "us". The exclamation opens a forum for the Turkish-speaking students to complain without the teacher understanding. In our opinion this is a perfect example how institutional factors as the unequal distribution of power between teachers and students and ethnical factors as the heightened awareness of space and belonging come together in everyday life of which we will give one more example.

The headmistress Ms. Baumann talks about different expectations pupils might have from Turkish teachers. In a school with an unusually heterogeneous staff when it comes to nationality and origin (Germans with and without Turkish or other cultural backgrounds, foreigners from Turkey and elsewhere) I wanted to know whether ethnic belonging influences classes:

Ms. Baumann: But I think that also showing a bit more empathy is expected from Turkish colleagues. And we have different ones, when you look at the colleague who is germanized that much that he thinks in German as well. He is virtually stuck in the wrong body. With him pupils will find a lack of understanding more often than with the colleague who struggles with German language and switches sometimes to Turkish while explaining something in group work. I think there are differences among the Turkish colleagues.

Ms. Baumann claims that students would not prove very masterful in the adaption of their expectations. On the basis of (suspected) common belonging students direct expectations differently. Turkish teachers are expected to be more understanding and empathetic than others. Partly, those expectations seem to get disappointed. Ms. Baumann's quote indicates a continuum of types of Turkish teachers with least German influence which are most empathetic on the one side. On the other side there are Turkish colleagues who are so germanized that they disappoint the high expectations of the pupils. They are stuck in the wrong body because their behaviour (German) does not match their appearance (Turkish).

63.4.4 The Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium as a "transtopia"?

The findings of how locality is produced in Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium showed two salient results. Firstly, the dominance of meritocratic ideals of achievement and success that concerns school rules and official guidelines as well as attitudes and narratives of the pupils was shown. Secondly, discourses about ethnic discrimination

and processes of ethnicization, reinforced by institutional order, were found. Is Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium therefore a “site of opportunity” where educational processes of how to cope with the diversity of the “post-migrant city” and how to react to the impositions of mainstream society are set in motion (Römhild 2011)? Might it be a “transtopia” where marginalized knowledge and people get the centre of attention, by creating a different urban normality questioning norms and therefore having subversive effects (Yildiz 2015)? Both concepts point to spaces with everyday transnational references. They highlight an emerging creativity of “post-migrants” to react critically to the integration imperatives of the mainstream society. Römhild and Yıldiz demonstrate that the newly created, post-migrant normality entails a more situational and playful handling of ethnic belonging. Sites of opportunity and transtopias therefore mark spatial concepts which carry the potential to subvert hegemonic power relations.

As we saw above, Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium is indeed a space where transnational affiliations are commonplace. In contrast especially to (some) public schools achievement does not get derogated by ethnical factors. When putting up school decoration describing the ideal behaviour for successful attendance at grammar schools the seemingly universal language of mathematics beats the ethnically connoted expectations to be more empathetic in every day cooperation and routine. Having family ties to Turkey or some other country creates a space where pupils orient their perception towards belonging, create situational forums to express their protest, but at the next moment they return to their work groups and defend them as if they were as meaningful to them as ethnical links. When imagining the future, an excellent international diploma as a proof of one’s own efforts and hard work seems as a way out of discrimination in the job market.

We argue that what students at Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium learn, besides the curricula, is a twofold strategy which is neither subversive nor on the creative side. Firstly, students learn how to integrate ethnicity in their ways of perception and to make it a resource [...]. The school is created as a social place made by migrants and attended by their offsprings where ethnic affiliations are an important component of every day life, starting from Turkish cuisine in the canteen to teachers who are very aware of Muslim holidays and willing to schedule the big exam some other time and reaching as far as Turkish language classes as official part of the curricula. Secondly, they learn that emphasizing their effort, achievement and success is a widely recognized strategy that might trump the marginalizing effect ethnicity still has in dominant German society. The irrefutable proof of diplomas or other successes might work as gate opener in a society where being Turkish still might preclude equal opportunities to participate.

Applying ethnicization when needed, might point us back towards Lanz’ “dispositif of a multicultural-differential metropolis” where cultural diversity was recognized as an enriching value in itself. “Participation” rested on the essentialized notion of different and hierarchized cultures which forces people to self-identify accordingly if they want to take part in the socio-political fields of the city. Although a shift of dominant dispositifs could be recorded, tendencies towards ethnicization might be remnants of the older migratory regimes. The strategy to emphasize

achievements might point towards the newer “dispositif of the cosmopolitan-diverse metropolis” where cultural diversity within the metropolis is seen as a given and “self-empowerment” becomes more and more a requirement to get public recognition. In the super-diverse city with its allegedly mobile and flexible inhabitants participation is not any longer regulated through static concepts of belonging or “identity by birth” alone. In accordance with neoliberal concepts of self-activating citizens “achievement”, “effort” and “success” become relevant criteria to define one’s position in the socio-political fabric of the city. From this perspective, Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium does not constitute a very subversive place. But it seems to admit informal educational processes, which impart how to navigate through a multilayered, partly contradictory migratory regime. Combining strategies of achievement with strategies of self-ethnicization could be considered as perfectly suited to prepare students to fit into current requirements instead of creating critical counterpositions to mainstream society as Erol Yildiz’ notion *transtopia* would suggest. Simultaneously to activate ethnic categories in school life might be a sign that the path of participation through achievement is still fragile – or to put it differently: the older dispositifs still take their effects.

63.5 Boundary Points: Strategies of Civic Positioning and Policies of Belonging in the Intersections Between School and City

In this section we will discuss another dimension of the informal learning processes taking place in the urban sites, which open up as a consequence of the engagement of this educational initiative. We will now turn to “strategies of civic positioning”,⁷ which come into being as effects of the supporting association’s activities in the intersections between “school” and “city” – the attempts to advance its projects and simultaneously to become visible or to “gain ground” in the urban context constitute relevant starting points for our analysis. Two aspects of these strategies will hereby

⁷Fundamentally we follow hereby a praxeological understanding of “strategy” as formulated for instance by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Lamaison 1985) to which we would add an even stronger focus on the physical circumstances of urban space. Consequently in using this word we don’t think about rather isolated individuals or small groups conceiving beforehand consistent instructions on how to act in a following process of a fully projectable implementation – even though such moments of deliberate conceptualization can be important settings to evoke forms of positioning, which might turn out to be successful in a given context. Instead we consider strategies as clearly relational capacities, which emerge as effects of daily practice and interaction in specific “social plays”. They are not restricted to “knowing the rules” of a game in a rather mechanical way, but are constantly evolved, exercised, tested and adapted in the relational thicket of everyday life shaped by power structures, discourses, material circumstances etc. in a given social field – or to put it differently: the (social and physical) conditions of urban space are constitutive factors to bring these relational capacities into life. To which extent a given actor disposes of agency in these settings would be an empirical and analytical question.

come to the fore: on the one hand, their *spatial orientation* as they lead regularly to different forms of shaping, modifying or acquiring urban sites; on the other hand, their *navigational quality* as they are aimed at finding one's feet in the complex social and political fabric of the city – or to put it differently: we will interpret these strategies not primarily as bounded efforts to establish successfully private educational institutions, but rather as relational attempts to obtain social positions, to participate in or to get access to political and social configurations in contemporary Berlin – aspirations, which find their expression especially in temporary or lasting interventions in urban space.

63.5.1 *Projecting Futures or the “Capacity to Aspire”*

During one of our field visits the supporting association's chairman shows me (Jens Adam) around the compound where the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium is located. Once a military property – first used by the German imperial army and during the division of Berlin by the British Armed Forces – the area is shaped by buildings from different epochs erected for distinct purposes. We pass by several repair shops, a disused hotel in the style of a 1970s tower block, workshops run by a Christian charity organization to offer employment for mentally handicapped people and several red brick buildings constructed in the late nineteenth century. A modern and functional supermarket was established recently at one end of the area. While we are touring the chairman points to one of the brick buildings framed by old tall trees and explains that it was once used as the officers' mess. “Here we could house a university, at least in principle”, he says and shows afterwards to the empty hotel behind us: “Here most certainly not.” Although a university as such has hitherto not been planned yet, I understand his gesture as an indication of further aspirations, of a certain vision about a desirable development of the association's activities as well as of the social place the chairman wants to create for these educational initiatives and its pupils. My interlocutor hands me over a glossy brochure titled “Bildungscampus”, which illustrates such advanced ideas. It presents the projected transformation of the multifarious compound into a coherent, gradually evolved campus: Three already existing institutions – the Gymnasium, a middle school and a day-care centre – shall be extended and supplemented by a vocationally oriented upper secondary school (Fachoberschule) and a boarding house for pupils not living in Berlin. Furthermore the brochure refers to the already mentioned workshops for the handicapped, which shall be integrated into a “unique” project, “which enables new synergy effects and pedagogical forms of teaching and learning” (TÜDESB e.V. no date).

“There are these singular occasions, which you get once in your lifetime. Either you grab them or they will pass by”, remarks the chairman to explain the outlined plan to me. In this case, the exceptional occasion was the fact that the federal government's agency, which owned the compound, opened a bidding process to sell its property. The supporting association noticed the chance to consolidate its hitherto

investment and engagement into the area, took part and won the procedure against several rivals. In the course of this process it had to evolve a longer-term concept, which conveyed coherence and solidity, not only to convince a bank to allow a credit but furthermore to persuade local politicians and authorities, present and prospective tenants to cooperate. Thus, for this project the association had to integrate existing institutions, to conceive mutually advantageous models for collaboration as well as to define reasonable usages for the empty buildings on the compound. However, during our conversation it becomes apparent that the “Bildungscampus” was not made from one piece. It was not the association’s outlined objective from the beginning of its activities, but it came into being in the course of a step by step relational process, which took up sudden occasions and was furthermore shaped by the conditions of the local space, the necessity to demonstrate solid finances and the concerns of tenants, neighbours and politicians. The association’s openly uttered conviction that “education” is the “absolute precondition for equal opportunities, for societal participation and successful integration” (TÜDESB e.V. no date) can be understood as a kind of inner compass to navigate through this process, which brought together on a very practical level longer-term moral concepts with concrete experiences in building up educational initiatives and spatial options.

In his works about the urban poor in Mumbai cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai proposes to examine “*the capacity to aspire*” to gain a better understanding of what can be done to improve the living conditions and social position of slum dwellers in the Global South (Appadurai 2004). For the purpose of our argument we would like to refer to four of Appadurai’s observations: firstly, he states that “aspirations are never simply individual”, but “are always formed in interaction and in the thick of social life.” (ibid., p. 67) Secondly, aspirations should be analyzed as links between rather abstract concepts and beliefs about the world with “more densely local ideas” about forms of living and even more “specific wants and choices” (ibid., p. 68). Thirdly, he emphasizes that “the relatively rich and powerful invariably have a more developed capacity to aspire”, which is thus “not evenly distributed in any society” (ibid., p. 68). And finally, he expects the capacity to aspire of poorer and marginalized groups to grow when they start to engage in concrete fields of practice, in longer-term initiatives and alliances and in strategical interventions into urban political processes.

Even though the political framework and social position of our Berlin case might differ quite substantially from these of the examined Mumbai initiatives we consider Appadurai’s insights as inspiring, to interpret the discussed activities of the supporting association. Its engagement for the “Bildungscampus” most certainly opens up a multi-layered field of interactions, in which elementary beliefs in the strength of “education”, a vision about a prospectively improved social position of one’s own community, a willingness to intervene actively into a public school system perceived as discriminatory and the desire to transform a concrete urban compound flow together. In the course of this practical, incremental and interactive process the capacity to aspire inside a hitherto marginalized community can grow and should enable its proponents not only to “engage their own futures” (ibid., p. 63), but to participate critically and constructively in social and political processes that shape contemporary Berlin.

63.5.2 “Place-Making” or the Production of Urban Sites

It became already apparent that the association’s activities create urban sites, which enable formal as well as informal educational processes and furthermore lead to new modes of encounter or interaction within the urban context. In this section we would like to analyze such forms of explicit “place-making” as a second strategy of civic positioning, which can evoke rather *continuous* as well as *temporary* urban sites. In both cases these activities have at least two dimensions: on the one hand, they can be understood as part of the “identity work” taking place in the intersections between educational initiatives and the city; on the other hand, they can be interpreted as elements of the association’s policy of visibility.

When we talk about “identity” or “identity work” we don’t assume a somehow substantial state of being, which could be emphasized to establish an elementary difference between a given migrant community and the German mainstream. Following a meanwhile dominant stance in social research we consider “identities” as always relational, processual and socially constructed in practical encounters and political fields (Hall 1990, 1991, 1992; Baumann 1996). Along these lines social anthropologist Synnøve Bendixsen defines “identity” in her study about a Muslim youth organization in Berlin “as the mechanism through which we locate ourselves in relation to the social world” (Bendixsen 2005, p. 89; see also Bendixsen 2013). In addition, she rightly underlines that socially constructed and influential labels like “ethnicity, class, occupation, age, or sex” have to be taken into account to analyze forms of positioning of marginalized or even stigmatized migrant communities in Berlin – especially as these categories have a share in enabling or impeding senses of belonging as well as in reducing these groups’ capacity to escape to the anonymity of the city. Bendixsen goes on to examine different tactics and strategies to “create spaces of belonging”, which fulfil simultaneously *identitarian, educational and emancipatory functions* for the youth organization’s members – spaces that are clearly not meant to construct an isolated “parallel society”, but to “become a part of Berlin and, simultaneously, contribute to shape a vibrant city” (2005, p. 92; 96). We would like to connect to these observations by analyzing now the school’s supporting association’s modes and attempts of “place-making” as reactions to ascribed positions and likewise as strategies to participate or to become visible in the urban context.

As mentioned before these attempts can lead to continuous or to temporary urban sites. The founding of a school belongs obviously to the first category. Consequently we could already expose some of the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium’s identitarian, educational and emancipatory functions – just to recall a few: in this school certain cultural or religious differences from the standardized forms of self-perception of the German mainstream are perceived as “normal”; members of a socially constructed “minority” come into a context, in which they experience themselves situationally as “majority”; and pupils who are used to being discriminated against in the public school system, take part in formal and informal learning processes that should enable them to participate more successfully in economic and social fields

later on in their lives. During our fieldwork we could take notice that such long-term projects are complemented by the supporting association's regular endeavours to organize visible events in the city. We will now highlight these forms of temporary place-making as another mode of positioning in the urban field. By way of introduction, we draw on our fieldnotes of two such events:

In October 2012 the school's supporting association cooperates with "Academia" – according to the self-description "a network of successful graduates with a migration background" – to organize a "teacher's day" in a five-star hotel located in the posh Kurfürstendamm area in the western city centre. The hosts have rented one of the hotel's ballrooms equipped with big round tables and serve their guests a multi-course dinner. At the beginning representatives of the two associations as well as the headmaster of the Gymnasium deliver speeches, in which they stress the significance of the teaching profession.

Several times the source and cause for this meeting is mentioned: The UN designated one day in October to appreciate explicitly the performance and the achievements of teachers. Consequently the supporting association has invited first of all teachers and childcare workers of its own institutions as a sign of esteem. But in addition the hosts took the opportunity to address teachers and headmasters of public schools as well as representatives of the city's education authority. Obviously the event was meant to connect the association's initiatives better and – as one of our table-mates expresses – to arouse the interest of public schools' teachers to consider these private schools as a potential working place. In individual conversations with us several teachers of the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium take notice with a slight disappointment how scarcely anybody of this second group has shown up. Some of the tables remain vacant. (fieldnotes October 2012)

In May 2013 teachers of the Friedrichsdorf Gymnasium organize a "pupils' congress" under the title "you can win with your ideas!". In preparation of this event the organizers had distributed leaflets and posters to schools all over Germany, which proposed to pupils to work in small groups on one of two predefined issues: "school in 25 years" or "social justice in Germany". The results should be presented on a poster to be sent to Berlin. The authors of the better projects were invited to take part in the pupils' congress, during which a jury would choose the best results – thus "education", "achievement" and "competition" are again leitmotifs of this format.

The venue, in which the "pupils' congress" takes place, is remarkable. Through the offices of the social democratic parliamentary group the organizers got the permission to use premises of the House of Representatives of Berlin. Consequently for one day the pupils take parts of the parliamentary building in their possession: in the corridors one can find their posters on the walls and in one of the parliamentary groups' meeting rooms the discussions take place. The setting and format enable a simulation and practice of democratic processes and manners: The pupils are split into two thematic groups as the two predefined issues are discussed one after the other. The first group takes a seat along the u-shaped tables and starts with the election of a president, a moderator, a timekeeper, a minute taker and a press officer. After that the pupils are invited to present the key argument of their respective project to the plenum. They learn how to use the table microphones and the sound system. Points of views are formulated, discussed and voted on. The president and the moderator perceive requests to speak, give the floor, summarize, and interrupt when it gets too long. Results of the discussion are registered and a press release formulated, which is delivered later on to a social democratic member of the city parliament. The pupils take control of this space physically as well as symbolically; they fill it with their presence, their discussions and positions and collect experiences with each other. In this temporary urban site pupils with and without "migration background", from private and public schools, from Hanover and Bavaria, from Berlin inner city districts as well as from small towns in the hinterlands meet. (fieldnotes May 2013)

Further examples could be added. On all these occasions we could observe at least three similarities illustrating “place-making” as a second strategy of civic positioning: Firstly, all of these events were organized at prestigious sites. Reading the often critical reports in the German media about the “non-transparency” or the “desire for isolation”, which allegedly characterize the activities of organisations belonging to the “Gülen movement”, one could expect such events to take place in rather hidden and secluded places in one of Berlin’s migrant neighbourhoods. The opposite is true; the chosen places are centrally located, open for a (solvent) public, frequented by the established academic middle classes and dispose of a high reputation. It seems rather obvious to link these modes of production of temporary sites with the supporting association’s aspirations after societal recognition and higher visibility in the urban field. It looks like the organizers would hope that the prestige of the hosting institutions could “symbolically consecrate” these events and its participants – as Pierre Bourdieu once formulated concerning another context (1999, p. 129). Secondly – and closely connected to our first observation – these forms of place-making endeavour to create opportunities to interact, to participate and to improve hereby the supporting association’s access to more established educational actors, to local politicians, dignitaries as well as to an urban civil society. And thirdly the centrality of “education” or “advancement through education” as key metaphors to be mobilized in the course of such events stands out. Thus, the potentials of these concepts to bring about new relations, to open fields of encounter or to re-position social actors in the urban field come to light. Simultaneously these temporary urban sites create possibilities for a gradual semantic shift: for instance by connecting “education” with claims for justice and better advancement opportunities for migrant communities, with questions about democracy or about the role of multilingualism and cultural difference in a national context. Based on these observations the possible emancipatory functions of these temporary and continuous sites become clear: a group of migrants – or their still socially stigmatised descendants – creates actively urban settings for education, for living and development and expresses hereby not to content oneself with the social and political positions they have been often allocated to in the course of powerful societal processes and discourses over the last decades.

63.5.3 “Networking” or Creating “Webs of Overlapping Commonalities”

The third strategy is closely connected to the aforementioned ones and may even seem self-evident, but it is – from our perspective – still particularly relevant to understand the current transformations of the urban political field and civil society: In the context of its project the supporting association builds up temporary or stable links with a wide range of actors, consolidates close or loose alliances and

develops hereby a “web of overlapping commonalities” (Schiffauer 2009, p. 174). Again, we would like to illustrate this third strategy by drawing on our ethnographic observations:

- The supporting association organizes the Berlin part of the nationwide “German-Turkish Cultural Olympics”, which takes place in the renowned educational and cultural institution “Urania” in the Western city centre. During this event the moderator calls high-ranking persons on stage to announce the winners, to award prizes and to address the audience: one Member of the House of Representatives of Berlin, the ambassador of the German Foreign Office in charge of “intercultural dialogue”, the consul general of Turkey in Berlin, and the chairman of an association called “Turkish Community in Berlin”. (fieldnotes February 2013)
- During a launching event of a new book about the “educational initiatives of the Gülen movement”, taking place in Berlin’s House of Representatives, Rabbi Walter Gomolka gives the main talk. He indicates certain similarities between Jewish life in Germany before the national socialist dictatorship and the present initiatives discussed in the book: in both cases the protagonists aim(ed) at finding a contemporary reading of religion as well as for an equal participation in societal processes. He points out his knowledge of the “patchy” or “stuttering history of Germany”, which put an end to these Jewish debates and attempts, as main reason, why he takes the floor on this event – “even if you are regularly blamed for being naïve.” (fieldnotes April 2014)
- In the course of the different educational projects the supporting association approaches the local Members of the German Federal Parliament of different parties, the mayors of the district as well as of Berlin and representatives of the education authority. These persons come to visit the schools or the “Bildungscampus” and strike up working alliances with the projects’ initiators.

Two aspects of these forms of networking should be registered: Firstly, in the context of these invitations, contacts and interactions the supporting association’s members interweave themselves incrementally with civil society processes and shape hereby again their position in the urban social field – not least because the schools’ initiators are confronted with assessments and expectations of their counterparts. Thus we could observe during the “pupils’ congress” how a politician formulated his ideas about this cooperation: he asked about “transferable results” of these private schools, which could be applied for public schools; according to him the supporting association should start now “to give something back” as the public educational system needed urgently such impulses. (fieldnotes May 2013) This is not to say that the school’s initiators will take up each of such suggestions made by temporary or stable cooperation partners – but undoubtedly they have to take them into consideration not to put these indispensable relations and their hard-earned position in the social fabric of the city at risk. Secondly, these modes of networking illustrate the current emergence of new political formations (Adam and Vonderau 2014) in a post-migrant urban society. Cultural anthropologist Werner Schiffauer

speaks about the “possibility to build partial or temporary coalitions” as the rationale for a pragmatic vision of civic policies that incorporate rather established, upcoming or so far excluded actors into “a sustainable web of societal solidarity and cohesion”. As an example, during a public discussion he suggested that *the Islamic community could form a coalition with the Catholic Church to impede gay marriage while collaborating with the Green Party to enforce dual citizenship. The Social Democrats could be interesting partners with regard to social legislation and with the Christian Democrats they might share ideas concerning family policy* (Schiffauer 2009, p. 174, our translation and paraphrase). Thus, he develops the vision of political strategies that combine punctual alliances with capacities to avoid possible escalations of conflicts about contentious matters – as one might need the respective counterpart in further coalitions. Along these lines we interpret the supporting association’s various forms of networking not only as attempts to promote their own projects but as contributions to build “webs of overlapping commonalities”, which could underpin a post-migrant civic society.

63.6 Conclusion: Emerging Forms of Civil Society in a “Post-Migrant City”

In this article we aimed at developing a perspective on rather informal educational processes emerging in and around a private school in Berlin. Thus we didn’t concentrate on the official curriculum and its implementation during class. Instead we explored different navigational capacities emerging on the one hand beside the proper educational programme in the school and on the other hand at the intersections between “school” and “city”.

In the first field of analysis we examined different dimensions of “ideals of achievement”, which structure not only the self-concepts of the school and its pupils, but affect as well the shape of the school building. These ideals seem to correspond pretty well with neoliberal ideals of the “entrepreneurial self” (Bröckling 2016; Lanz 2009) and – surprisingly enough – seem to cover the discriminatory effects, which are regularly mentioned to explain the founding and the attractiveness of the school. In addition, we traced constellations of “self-ethnicization” appearing in everyday school life and evoking “otherness” in relation to the German mainstream. In these constellations practical references to a common origin, a specific cultural knowledge or a mutual position in the socio-political context are made. Recalling Stefan Lanz’ observations about consecutive “dispositifs” assembling “migration” and the “city” these results could appear inconsistent: the trust in advancement through education and achievement suits quite well with the currently operating “dispositif of the cosmopolitan-diverse metropolis”; the tendency to ethnicized positions seems rather to correspond with the older “dispositif of a multicultural-differential metropolis”. We would like to argue that our empirical

observations point to a parallelism, overlapping and entanglements of different patterns to perceive and handle diversity in the city. As a young Berliner “with a migration background” you might be regularly addressed as a “prospective contributor” to a new urban dynamism and expression of a super-diverse city; nonetheless you will constantly be confronted with discriminatory effects emerging inside public institutions or daily social constellations differentiating between “ethno-cultural groups”. From our perspective, the school can be understood as one urban site, where young city dwellers experience to navigate through the contradictory demands of the socio-political context and its migration regimes. Interestingly enough this site seems not to open opportunities to develop subversive perspectives on the public regimes of migration and diversity, which Erol Yildiz accredits to his concept of “transtopia”; the navigational capacities of the pupils seem to evolve rather between two affirmative positions.

In the second field of analysis we explored different strategies of civic positioning, which come into being as part of the school’s supporting association’s attempts to advance its educational initiatives. We emphasized two dimensions of these strategies: on the one hand their direction to create and shape – temporary or continuous – urban sites; on the other hand their navigational qualities as they are aimed at finding one’s way through the complex socio-political fabric of the city. From our perspective these “relational capacities” constitute the essence of the informal educational processes taking place at the intersections between “school” and “city”. Representatives of a still marginalized community develop successively networks and connections, they appropriate and shape urban sites and seek hereby to position themselves visibly in the urban context. Claims to entangle transnational references to a religious movement with clearly local sites, communities and educational conditions constitute a striking feature of these strategies. These claims and their transformation into concrete educational projects bring along potentials to modify the key concepts structuring urban life. In the course of this article we referred to the media coverage of the educational initiatives to point out that exactly these transnational connections are difficult to accept for parts of the German public. Even though some of the critical reports might be motivated by the indeed remarkable overlaps of economic, religious and political activities that characterize the transnational “Gülen-movement”, one can still recognize established modes of perceptions in these articles questioning the local legitimacy of such transnationally connected educational projects. Ideals of a “national-heterogeneous community”, to which “migrants” have to adapt, shine through. From our perspective, the claims of the supporting association to situate these transnational references locally and to become hereby distinctively visible in the socio-political fabric point to the incremental transformation of an urban civil society, which could correspond better with the still recently emerged “dispositif of the cosmopolitan-diverse metropolis” – an urban civil society, which simultaneously demands and admits civic engagement of its diverse members and which is built on the constant development of “webs of overlapping commonalities”. These emerging forms could prove to be the basis for

a concept of civil society, which considers “diversity” as its connecting factor. As could be shown layers of older “dispositifs” still draw the public institutions, everyday constellations and media reports in Berlin. The development of a “post-migrant city” appears to be a contested process that activates different modes of perception and political instruments – a development, which will most certainly evoke new fields and requirements for informal educational processes.

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Chapter 64

Identity and Diversity: The Educational Challenge in Urban Contexts

Paola Giorgis, Isabella Pescarmona, Rebecca Sansoé, Elisa Sartore, and Federica Setti

64.1 Introduction

From qualitative research studies carried out in the field of Anthropology of Education, the collective wom.an.ed – women’s studies in anthropology and education – here presents a contribution aimed at providing a reflection on the construction and deconstruction of the category of “difference” and “identity” within urban educational contexts. The common methodological element in our studies is the

The collective wom.an.ed is composed by Paola Giorgis, Giorgia Peano, Isabella Pescarmona, Rebecca Sansoé, Elisa Sartore and Federica Setti. The contribution here presented was written by: Isabella Pescarmona, paragraphs from 1.1 to 1.4; Rebecca Sansoé, paragraph 2; Paola Giorgis, paragraphs from 3.1 to 3.4; Federica Setti, paragraphs from 4.1 to 4.4; Elisa Sartore, paragraphs from 5.1 to 5.3. *wom.an.ed (women’s studies in anthropology and education)* is a collective created by a group of teachers, researchers and practitioners with many years of professional experience in the field of education and training. wom.an.ed’s aim is to develop and promote the anthropological approach in schools, social services, vocational education and training (VET), health care institutions and private social groups, such as charities, NGO, etc. wom.an.ed carries out projects both from a theoretical point of view (research, training and dissemination) and from a practical point of view, conducting field studies and research action on the territory, providing the management of social and cultural services, as well as the development of intercultural mediation.

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ethnographic approach that allows us to turn a critical eye on the processes of construction of such categories within different institutional and historical contexts investigated as cultural spaces.

In the theoretical-etymological debate on “diversity” and “difference”, Abdallah-Preteille says that the category of “difference” should be distinguished from that of “diversity”. Terms often used interchangeably, “difference” and “diversity” instead refer to dissimilar concepts: “difference” is defined on the basis of an expressed or implied deviation from a rule, usually set by a dominant group that has the power to define the Other, and to measure her/his distance from the norm as a deficit. By contrast, the concept of “diversity” is placed on a horizontal, non-hierarchical plan that dissolves the opposition us/them in a landscape of multiple and diversified memberships and configurations which depend on the context, the opportunities and the interactions (Abdallah-Preteille 2005, p. 11–21). In accepting this theoretical-etymological distinction, our studies investigate the dialectical relationship between the construction of “difference” as constitutive of the institution, and that of “diversity”, arising from emic visions, and designed as an opportunity for the deconstruction of the category of “difference”.

The construction of “difference” also impacts with that of “identity”, and with its possible or potential declinations – possible, as defined by dynamics of power which often frame, if not hinder, the full development of individual potential. “Identity” is multicultural by definition. It is characterised by different gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, religion, language, social class, and bodily difference. In different contexts, different cultures are expected to be differently operative: according to Goodenough (1976) “everyone develops varying degrees of multi-cultural competence in at least some micro-culture” (*id.*, p. 4). Yet, the possibility of developing different competences to participate to different contexts follow patterns which, explicitly or implicitly, (re)produce dynamics of power and privileges (*id.*). Indeed, in the history of relationships between minorities and majorities the asymmetry of power is a fundamental thematic tie also to understand the perspectives of the first: considering that the institutions “belong to the majorities” and it does often not exist a representation of the cultures, languages and experiences of the minority members within the institutions, it does not yet exist a warranty for the respect of social justice within the institutions.

As for the bound between difference and identity, it is important to consider that

on one side, the positive acknowledgement of cultural diversity (no people, no group or subgroup lacks of a distinctive vision of the nature and supernatural, of the social and affective relationships [...] neither in the most extreme and degraded conditions) leads to the

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recognition of a common humanity. On the other side, we cannot believe that we can write about communication, comprehension, exchange and about cultural relationships without considering the dimension of power. Indeed, not only cultural differences exist, but also differentials of power between one culture and the other and, clearly, between the subjects that belong to one or the other culture. (Gobbo 2000, p. 15–16)

In singular ethnographic contexts then emerge, in more or less visible way, as the “discourse on difference” manifests itself as a narrative of the Other that reveals unequal status of power. Education is at the front line to challenge the (re)production of “difference” to favour the development of identities and to recognize the value of diversity. In particular, we consider Urban Education as a meaningful conceptual site where diversity displays in daily experiences, practices and interactions in multicultural contexts: diversity between and within groups challenges reification and pre-assumptions on cultures, and it engages the discourse of the complexity of identity, thus avoiding to stereotype both the “cultural” and the “multicultural”. Therefore, as Rockwell (2010) recommends, we follow an approach that entails the “capacity of positioning” (2010, p. 40) – as ethnographers – “to unveil and denounce, not the knowledge and the secrets ‘of those who stay lower’ in the hierarchy of power, but the secrets ‘of those who stay higher’ that we can perceive from the bottom” (*id.*). We can do this trying to “tell and write about ‘what is known but not told’ from those who have the power”, without “losing the capacity of moral indignation” (*id.*).

We thus address the challenges advanced by Urban Education not as educational issues connected to minorities or immigrants, but rather as educational opportunities which assume the daily complexity, in particular that concerning the complexity of identity, as a recurring feature. Our research studies, conducted in several school and extra-school urban contexts in Italy, show how diversity is, paradoxically, the common trait of the subjects involved in the educational relation, emerging as a situated, negotiated and co-constructed process. Our educational approach values diversity as a way to enhance learning, as well as to develop an awareness on how self and others are perceived and represented.

The contribution here presented focuses on two main areas of research. The first regards the teaching/learning relation, presenting data from a study which considers the educational strategy of Complex Instruction as a way to re-apprehend the classroom as a cultural space, and from another research which examines the socio-cultural impacts on students’ expectations in vocational education. The second, presented in two case studies, observes how linguistic interactions between adolescents challenge a priori assumptions of cultural belongings, and create cross-cultural affiliations. A final reflection considers the theme of diversity from a historical perspective, showing how it is a relative and protean notion.

The aim of our research is then to investigate how diversities display in the urban context, suggesting how a much needed and critical understanding can be offered by a transformative intercultural education, able to question and impair power relations. Please note that though as *wom.an.ed* we consider our research studies as whole project, the sections of the contribution are presented with the pronoun “I” to explicit and vindicate the ethnographic principle of situated subjectivity and of the researcher’s responsibility.

64.2 Teaching and Learning in Multicultural Contexts

Educational and training contexts are cultural spaces, where implicit set of rules of behaviour, norms of interaction and mutual expectations give meaning to school life and shape individuals' choices and actions. This "culture of the school" (Hargreaves and Woods 1984; Florio-Ruane 1996; Gobbo 2000) is neither natural, nor neutral. This culture hides a system of power and privileges that may influence the participation in social and learning interaction and the access to resources (see Goodenough 1976). Although it is usually taken for granted, this may shape the way of acquiring knowledge and developing skills, which are required to be able to participate successfully in school, social and work contexts. It plays a role in the perception of self and of goals that seem appropriate and desirable to the people who learn and work in educational contexts, and maybe would improve their conditions.

The question is to what extent teachers and students are in a position to give (and obtain) access to situations that really provide them with the opportunity of teaching and learning in a more equal way. Indeed, teachers and students are both under the pressure of the same culture, but they are also individuals that try to overcome the same cultural barriers in order to reach their educational goals in our multicultural urban contexts. As Goodenough says, individual people are to be considered "as learners of culture in the context of social interaction, as they pursue their various interests and try to deal with their various problems of living-problem" that involve the necessity of choosing among conflicting goals, competing wants" (*ib.*, p. 4).

For these reasons, it could be interesting analysing, firstly, how teachers test themselves with an educational innovation in order to change some cultural school norms and give more equal opportunity of learning for all; secondly, how students who dropped out from formal education succeeded in a vocational educational course, and change their previous aspirations.

Therefore, our studies suggest that Urban Education should investigate how individuals move and take decisions in educational contexts and how the culture and organization of these contexts facilitate or hinder their access to learning resources, and may impact on their identity by changing their personal motivations, beliefs and norms of acting.

64.3 Identity Challenges in Innovating Education in Urban Contexts

Urban Education studies are often related to schools in metropolitan communities, which are characterized by an increasing number of students representing many ethnic minorities, multiple languages, and frequently a low socio-economic level. The educational debate focuses mainly on how to help teachers to meet the needs of students in urban classrooms. Thus, many teacher-training courses are designed to develop the knowledge, the skills, and the attitudes necessary to teach in multicultural contexts. Most interventions regard the students' school achievement and competence that teachers require, rarely dealing with the way in which teachers think

about the new ideas and strategies and implement these in their classrooms. Urban Education requires also considering how teachers change their usual beliefs and practice and how they develop their professional identity in order to give equal learning opportunities for all students.

A worthwhile way to examine this issue is analysing how Complex Instruction, a cooperative learning method for heterogeneous classrooms, has been learnt and implemented by a group of primary school teachers, in some schools in Bologna and its province, in Italy. Complex Instruction (CI) has been seen by these teachers as an occasion to innovate and make more inclusive their way of teaching, regardless of the students' cultural and social backgrounds. Indeed, CI is not only a set of tools for improving classroom relations and creating a welcoming space where to learn. It explicitly aims at creating an 'equitable classroom' by exploiting different cultural, linguistic and cognitive abilities of students as resources for learning, and by calling into question usual teachers' and students' expectations and habitual classroom tasks, since these can contribute to establish classroom stratification – and thus student academic and social exclusion (Cohen and Lotan 1997, 2004, 2014). I adopted an ethnographic methodology to understand how this group of teachers (after attending a cooperative learning course) created new CI teaching units and experimented these in their classrooms.¹ I employed different data collection techniques (such as interviews and participant observation, informal conversations and group discussions) during both teacher meetings and CI lessons to examine the reasons, feelings and choices of the teachers involved in this process of educational change (Pescarmona 2012). Research findings do not give an evaluation of a CI strict implementation, but rather a qualitative interpretation of the process, which sheds light on the uneven but rich way of dealing with the new educational method.

64.4 Challenging Teacher Professional Identity

Learning and implementing an educational innovation was more problematic than what may have been initially expected. These teachers were highly motivated to make students understand that there are different ways to learn, and often stated they were "fascinated" by the Cohen's sociological theory. However, they coped with CI in a complex way. Rather than simply transferring the new ideas and cooperative rules into practice, teachers discussed critical educational issues, such as how pupils learn, what and how to assess the work, how to teach. The most recurring questions² concerned creating multiple ability tasks able to stimulate

¹This contribution is a reflection on some findings from my PhD research thesis in Ethnography of Education, which was developed from 2007 to 2010 at the Doctorate School in Human Sciences, University of Turin, Italy (Pescarmona 2012).

²I called these recurring questions 'educational dilemmas'. The main ones were: (1) the tension between teacher-centred habits versus pupil-centred style; (2) the negotiation between a broader notion of intelligence versus the priority given to the language and mathematical skills (Pescarmona 2010); (3) the evaluation of product versus process; (4) the recognition of equal rights for each pupil to give his/her intellectual contribution versus the promotion of social competences for living and working together respectfully (see Pescarmona 2010).

high-order thinking, delegating authority to student groups in solving a multidimensional tasks, or evaluating them according to a broader notion of intelligence (see Gardner 1983). For instance, teachers recognized the importance of designing multiple ability group work, but argued the priority of developing linguistic skills at school and complained about the pressure caused by having to follow a vast syllabus. They also pointed out the difficulty in the relationship with colleagues in creating multidimensional tasks within a rigid school timetable. They believed that their role was aimed at promoting students' ability to make their own decisions and choices, but often reported they had to act as mediators both of students' interactions and learning activities. They constantly put into a dialectical relation the new method to their professional experience as well as to their personal value choices and goals (Pescarmona 2010, 2011a; Gobbo 2007).

The process of educational innovation entailed a great effort of negotiation and self-involvement. Sometimes this created stress and frustrations, and led teachers to implement only those CI aspects that could be more easily inserted into their habitual teaching experiences and school context. However, at the same time, this process stimulated teachers to reflect on their usual way of teaching in a more critical way and made them aware of learning and social barriers that some beliefs and habits may reinforce³ (Pescarmona 2010, 2011a, 2014b). Dealing with a new method constantly challenged what-is-taken-for-granted and called into question the pre-existent "culture of the school" (Florio-Ruane 1996; Gobbo 2000). It showed the classroom as a non-neutral space, but as a social system where some expectations and norms may create social hierarchy and inequality. Thus, these teachers tried to find new strategies⁴ to cope with usual constraints. They were encouraged to make non-routine decisions and reach new and unforeseen solutions. For example, they interpreted the syllabus in a more open and interdisciplinary way connecting pop music and illustrations with pieces of information, and re-organized the school timetable in order to devote more time to working with students and to collaborating with colleagues. Furthermore, they acknowledged that experimenting with CI gave them the occasion to rekindle and re-interpret educational goals that they strongly believed in, such as equal opportunities for all (Pescarmona 2010, 2011a, 2015). This process of innovation gave teachers back the power to change and the capacity for choice in a more equal perspective.

64.5 Reflexivity and Imagination

This process of educational innovation was accompanied by teachers' social and cultural self-questioning. It led teachers to critically reflect on their role in class. They started thinking to acquire a fruitful method to face their heterogeneous classes, but during the process they realized that they were the true subjects of change. Experimenting with CI made them "strangers" to their usual way of

³I referred to it as "fluctuation of agency" (Pescarmona 2011a).

⁴I referred to them as "coping strategies" (see Woods and Hargreaves 1984; Jeffrey 2006).

teaching and considering the educational relationship with their students (Pescarmona 2014b). Thus, they felt they had the power to think and act in a different way, by using their imagination (i.e. the capability of seeing themselves in roles, relations and contexts unexpected and different from the usual ones. See Appiah 1996). They became aware that their role was not pigeonholed in a predefined “script”, but this could be changed.

Indeed, teachers professional identity was not frozen in the previous teacher training. It was not monolithic, but multifaceted and dynamic. Teachers were active participants in the process of change and could move from the previous school cultural norms to new ones.⁵ In this sense, they developed a multicultural professional identity. Releasing themselves from a predefined identity, these teachers were able to recognize the same multiple identity to their students by developing multiple expectations and breaking the traditional classroom rules and hierarchy. Thus, they could provide students with an alternative way of learning and being evaluated, in order to realize equal opportunities for all. This insight is at the core of educational innovation.

Therefore, Urban Education is challenged also by taking into account the complex process of transforming professional identity of teachers and staff who work daily at school, and to what extent they can change the culture of the school in a more equitable way.

64.6 Changing the Perspective of Learning

In Italy, as in Europe, the concentration of foreign students in vocational education and training (VET) raises a growing concern. In effect, the choice of vocational education is interpreted as a sign of assimilation into the urban underclass, leading to poverty and downward mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1997). An anthropological approach overturns the terms of the educational discourse considering this choice from the students’ point of view. This perspective challenges the vocational training as an a priori segregating choice: the ethnographic research brings out an emic successful concept defined in relation to the subjects and their strategies (Gobbo 2000).

In the ethnographic research with a group of young immigrants enrolled in vocational education and training, the learner’s point of view is central in the analysis (Sansoé 2012a, 2014). The classroom and the relationship between teacher and students are, in fact, only some of the situations where the subjects experience the learning process, as it takes many forms and meanings that go beyond the institutional settings. In this case study, the researcher and the ethnographic narrative follow the young students’ growth in VET along 2 years and in their further choices. The different paths of the students show the complexity of the elements that enable and guide the learning processes.

The learning process is closely related to the definition of the learner’s identity. Gradually, the students define their paths according to dynamics which are in mutual

⁵This opportunity to change was also experienced by their students learning to work together and give a creative contribution to the task (Pescarmona 2011b, 2014a).

relation or opposition. The young immigrant learners orient their motivation in two symmetrical ways: some seek and find their system of reference in the figure of teachers and in the resources offered by VET, while others turn their attention outside. Students who would emerge as the excellence of the course – as Mohammed, Malik, Omar and Yankuba – are, in fact, shaped by the relation with the students who have chosen the other way – as Ahmed, Walid and Kamal.

Some students continue investing in the vocational education and then choose to carry on with their studies. The willingness to learn new cultural contents always involves a change of perspective on themselves and on others, on one's skills and ability (Sansoé 2012b). In this situation the willingness to change perspective distinguishes these students. Other students, on the contrary, turn away from the resources and the professional possibilities offered by the training courses. In this specific urban context dropping out of vocational education leads slipping into the alternate route of 'earning a lot of money by doing business'. Therefore, the willingness to learn is directed to different cultural contexts, school and work, on the one hand, and street and 'business', on the other. The greater or lesser willingness to learn the cultural contents of vocational education reflects the choice of belonging to a community rather than to the other.

The ethnographic narrative also shows the disruptive impacts of economic change on the choices and paths of this group of young immigrants. In effect, the crisis of the local industry (in Turin, a city in the northwest of Italy) makes the outcome of the training course uncertain. Students become aware that the school is not able to guarantee access to employment. The socioeconomic transformations impact on their projects, and draw a narrow space for imagining their future: this case study highlights how this context leads young immigrants to a short-term planning (Gobbo and Sansoé 2011).

The learners acquire new cultural contents, beliefs and behaviours that generate a change in their perspective: when a subject learns, the representation of himself and his role changes. However, the willingness to learn is closely linked to the perception of the obstacles, on the one hand, and the possibilities that society offers to them on the other. The future challenge is thus to investigate how the context affects the subjects' choices, and frames their openness to the transformation that the acquisition of new cultural contents implies.

64.7 Linguistic and Cultural Diversities as Metaphors of the Urban Experience

*Each language modifies the other, crossbreeds with it,
fertilizes it. Each language makes the other relative.
Like everybody, I am the sum of my languages –
the language of my family and childhood, and education
and friendship, and love, and the larger, changing world* (Eva Hoffman)

Languages shape the urban experience in many ways. They speak to us when we walk by through the dialogues in the streets, the ads on the buses, the shop-signs, the food in the markets, or the song we can hear coming from a window, in what is known as the "linguistic landscape" (Barni and Extra 2008, p. 25–28).

Photo 64.1 Hand-written sign in Porta Palazzo market, Turin, Italy (Photo by the Author)



Photo 64.2 Hand-written sign hung on a traffic lamp, Turin, Italy (Photo by the Author)



The first photo shows a hand-written sign in “Porta Palazzo”, the largest European open-air market which exhibits daily in Turin (see Sansoé, Part One, Chap. 3). The sign, which warns: “Do not touch”, is written in the three languages of the ethno-linguistic communities which live in the area⁶: Arabic, Chinese and Romanian. An older sign written in Italian, “Non toccare la merce” is only partially visible behind

⁶Another large community in Turin is the Peruvian one, but they live in a different area of the city, the San Paolo district, and they gather around another large open-air market, the “Corso Racconigi” market.

it, possibly owing to the fact that the majority of customers are non-Italian speakers. The other photograph shows a hand-written bilingual Italian-Chinese sign which was hung on the lights at a street crossing. It expresses birthday wishes, and there is a decorating balloon tied to it. The four hanzis reiterate the message written in Italian, “Buon Compleanno” (“Happy Birthday”), as they mean “life/birth”, “day”, “cheerful” and “wishes” in Contemporary Standard Chinese.⁷ What is interesting here is that the message was presumably written by an Italian person addressing either to a Chinese person, (i.e. a girl, as the balloons is pink, maybe to impress her), or to an Italian one – that being the case, the foreign language is here used as a secret code to convey a private message in a public space.

These are just a couple of examples of how languages speak to us and shape the metropolitan geography we live in. Yet, if urban landscapes are filled with languages, languages are not a simple background of the urban experience. Rather, they constitute it, as they orientate and wave the different nets of interactions we live through, and by: each of us is indeed the sum of her/his languages – of the family, education, friendship, love, and the larger changing world – and that sum is both the product and the producer of our own lives. Linguistic diversity then characterizes personal and collective experiences, but it also raises several questions. I will address two of them, examining briefly the connection of language and identity in the urban context, and devoting more attention to the educational challenge that linguistic diversity advances.

64.8 Language and Identity in the Urban Context: Monolingual Belonging and Multiple Affiliations

In October 2014 *The Guardian* online edited a chart of London’s second languages (=other than English) mapped by tube stops. The “Tube Tongues” map shows how linguistic territories are both well defined and mixing. Oliver O’ Brian, the researcher in geovisualization and web mapping at the University College of London (UCL) who made the study, gives this example: “a journey on the Bakerloo [line] passes through areas with large proportions of Gujarati, Portuguese, French and Tagalog languages speakers, as well as the varied Chinese languages spoken in Chinatown” (<http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2014/oct/30/-sp-londons-tube-languages-visualised>). Travelling on the underground means travelling through several languages, and the urban linguistic geography shows that cross-linguistic encounters coexist with monolingual enclaves.

One of my former students, a girl from Morocco, speaks four languages: Arabic and French as mother tongues, Italian as the language she had to learn when she and her family migrated to Turin, and English, the language she learnt at school. One

⁷I wish to thank Ai Murayama, Marco Losurdo and Olek Borrelli for translating the messages from Chinese, and for offering suggestions for the interpretation. The first message says: “Do not touch and do not touse”, while in the second one, since the hanzis seem imitated, it is possible that the message was written by an Italian person.

day, she told me she was learning a fifth tongue, a specific dialect from a village in Puglia, to communicate with her boyfriend's parents.⁸ They had migrated to the North of Italy in the 1970s, during one of the last waves of what is known as the "internal immigration". They had never learnt Italian: all through the years, they had tried to reduce as much as possible public contacts, offices and affairs; in case, the linguistic mediators had always been, as often happens, their children. Their younger son still translated their communications from Italian to dialect, and vice versa, both in formal (i.e. at the doctor's) and in informal conversations (i.e. with his girlfriend). Paradoxical as it may sound, such a highly defended linguistic territory does not weaken, but rather reinforces the phenomenon of linguistic diversity which characterizes the urban experience. There is no mixing there, but precisely its absence tells us about the perception, or even the fear, of a much too 'contaminated' world outside, where language mixing means language loss, and language loss means the loss of the personal and cultural identity.

This example highlights the most fundamental characteristic of language, that is its connection with individual and collective identities. Languages are primary components of identity belongings, as well as synergetic elements of affiliations and representations which shape and are shaped by new contacts:

Migration is certainly a social phenomenon in which language acts as a catalyst, shaping forms of identity and providing a focal point for the reformulation of identities. In this sense, the linguistic issue assumes a central position because it encompasses the issues surrounding learning the language of the host communities in order to survive and integrate socially and professionally; and because contact with new languages and cultures brings to the fore the individual cultural and linguistic identity of all the communities within a given area. (Barni in Barni and Extra 2008, p. 217)

The process of linguistic cross-breeding has always existed, due to the promiscuous nature of languages. What strikes now is its scale, brought forth by global migrations, and its wide spread, in particular in two environments, the urban contexts and the trans-territorial communications (i.e. the Internet). These multiple and multiplied contacts have denaturalized the essentialist link 'one person=one language=one nation' which has shaped language ideologies since the emergence of the Nation-States, showing that

The traditional idea of 'a language', then, is an ideological artefact with very considerable power – operating as a major ingredient in the apparatus of modern governmentality – it is played out in a wide variety of domains (education, immigration, high and popular culture, etc.) (...). (Blommaert and Rampton 2012, p. 10–11)

Instead,

⁸When I asked her how she felt about the situation, she smiled putting into evidence the paradox that she, a foreigner according to the Italian law, could speak fluent Italian, while her boyfriend's parents, formally Italian, could hardly speak a word of it. The episode invites us to avoid overgeneralization when speaking of 'minority' and 'majority' (the old couple, formally 'majority', are marginalized, in an evident condition of 'minority'), as well as when speaking of 'native' and 'foreigner' (indeed, who is the 'foreigner' in this situation? aren't there different levels and nuances of 'foreignness' and 'otherness'? then, who has the power to define the Other as such? and on which grounds?).

a much more differentiated account of the organization of communicative practices emerges, centring on genres, activities and relationships that are enacted in ways that are often missed by both official and common sense accounts. (*id.*, p. 11)

Research should then address the multiple ways

in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align or disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages. It has to investigate how they (try to) opt in and out of these groups, how they perform or play with linguistic signs of group belonging, and how they develop particular trajectories of group identification throughout their lives. (*id.*, p. 12)

In such conditions, where languages constantly and dynamically meet and cross-breed, and people reshape their identities according to the linguistic repertoires and resources they wish to (or can) access or adopt to signal their adherence to specific groups, what is the place, and the task, of language education, and in particular of foreign language education?

64.9 Foreign Language Education. An Intercultural Perspective

Foreign language education is the prime promoter of the foreign perspective (Claire Kramersch)

Foreign language classrooms are the ideal sites for the deconstruction of all what is the taken-for-granted of individual and collective identities, and of monocultural and nationalist frameworks. By breaking the ‘natural’ link word-world, foreign language education unveils how far it is cultural and situated, opening a new linguistic and symbolic territory: from the perspective of the new language, students-explorers can observe critically how Sameness and Otherness are constructed through linguistic practices, thus dismissing a priori assumptions about languages and cultures. Decentering one’s own perspective of the self and the other,

Learning foreign languages is (or, more exactly, should be) the place par excellence for learning alterity. While legitimately, but exclusively, focusing on the linguistic dimension of learning, we have gradually eluded the deeply humanist dimension of that learning. The primacy of the functional dimension of language to the detriment of its ontological value has generated an education primarily defined as instrumental, a technicalization of language and communication.⁹ (Abdallah-Preteuille 2008, p. 56)

The acquisition of a foreign language should then move away from the mere acquisition of instrumental-linguistic-cultural notions to become *intercultural*, as a chance to reflect on one’s own culture, to understand its own diversity and internal complexity, as well as to discover Otherness. By making the familiar foreign, Foreign Language Education induces an “experiencing [of] the boundary [and] discovering that each of these cultures is much less monolithic than was originally

⁹All translations are by the author of this contribution.

perceived (...) [as well as understanding] boundary not as an actual event but, rather, as a state of mind, as a positioning of the learner at the intersection of multiple social roles and individual choices” (Kramsch 1993, p. 234), and thus engaging her/him “in the dialectic of meaning production” (*ib.*, p. 239). A foreign language learner can thus take possession of a “third place”, according to Claire Kramsch’s poignant definition, a territory from which s/he can create new meanings: linguistic and symbolic, multiple and dynamic, with varying degrees of plurality and creativity, such a space in-between can offer “the opportunity for personal meanings, pleasures and power” (*ib.*, p. 238). New understandings can arise from the contrast between the meanings related to one’s own native language and culture and those of the new language, bringing out the symbolic and mediated nature of language, and thus favouring the problematization of meanings (and representations) that are often taken-for-granted.

Foreign language learners, teachers and researchers are then in the perfect place to observe how languages can (re)produce, or challenge, cultural meanings and discourses. The potential change brought along by foreign language education seen as the occasion of an intercultural reflection can be a field for future exploration in the educational context to observe how it can be declined within the school context and what educational opportunities it can offer: which roles are enacted, or voices silenced, through linguistic interactions; what is connected to each language in terms of values, projections, and representations of possible identities; what are the perspectives for individual and collective transformation that the use of different languages can offer. Rather than teaching languages, renewed linguistic pedagogies could teach *about* languages, eliciting students to see and meet the others’ diversity, as well as their own, stimulating their curiosity, and making them explorers of the worlds of languages.

64.10 Language Practices: Reshaping Individual and Collective Identities

In the years 2010–2012, I conducted a qualitative research study among native and non-native Italian adolescent students, aimed at investigating what happens when a non-mother tongue separates the speaker from her or his own cultural belonging and identity/ies in L1 (mother-tongue), and how this divorce impacts on the perceptions and representations of the self and the others. The language in question was English as a Foreign Language: for its prevalence as a foreign language studied in Italian schools,¹⁰ and, most of all, for its being a language *equally* foreign for both Italian

¹⁰One hundred percent at ISCED level 2 (Lower Secondary Education), and 96 % at ISCED level 3 (Upper Secondary Education, including Vocational Education). Data from *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe 2012*, EACEA P9, Eurydice and Policy Support, Brussels, pp. 75–81.

and non-Italian students. The hypothesis of the research was that the experience of a foreign language can reframe individual and collective identities from a personal and relational point of view, and that this can impact on and remodel the different roles and footings that one can assume, perform, or access, in the context of the classroom. I was particularly interested in finding out the *intercultural potential* of a language equally foreign for both Italian and non-Italian students, as is the case of English in the Italian context.

What emerged was that both in the school and in the extra-school contexts Italian and non-Italian adolescent students appropriate different languages bottom-up, and widely practice cross-linguistic interactions to create new affiliations.¹¹ Gender and ethnolinguistic descent did not emerge as to influence these linguistic practices, which rather run on several paths traced by transcultural youth products, such as: hip hop music; online blogs, games and communications; TV series; participation in the social networks; the Internet. A critical linguistic perspective could consider these linguistic practices, whether live or on the web, as ‘linguistic consumerism’, the shopping for different items from the shelves of the super-market of languages to adhere to a series of youth transnational sub-cultures: in this view, these practices are far from being critical and emancipatory, as they are rather reproducing models of transgression which are promoted by the market itself. Yet, what is relevant is not the intention, and not even the awareness or the aim of these linguistic practices, but rather their *process*: that is, what happens when two or more people communicate using different languages, how their mutual perception and representation changes through this experience, and how such a change can create not only new affiliations, but, principally, new *perspectives* on self and the others. Adolescents jump on/off languages according to different lines and patterns, where the representation of personal and collective identities, and the creation of in-groups and out-groups, are practices which depend on the context, the aim of the communication, and the people the adolescent wishes to include or exclude. The patterns and the lines of the interactions also perform different functions: young people code-switch to a *different language* to establish a *mutual recognition* within the territory of a *common interest* (music, cartoons, TV series, online blogs or games, etc.), to create a special *affective link* with someone or *to protect* their intimacy (for example to share secrets with their boy/girlfriend or best friend), as well as *to mimic/appropriate/subvert* hierarchies (for example, as a counter-act of power on adults and teachers).

In her theoretical-etymological considerations on “difference” and “diversity”, Abdallah-Preteille advances that the notion of “difference” refers to a hierarchical construct, a fixed category set by a dominant group who has the power to define the Other and label “difference” as a deviation from a norm, whereas “diversity” is a dynamic and non-hierarchical concept, as it indicates multiple and diversified memberships defined by the context, the opportunities and the interactions (Abdallah-Preteille 2005, p. 11–21). “Diversity” should then be spelt in the plural as “diversities”: within this paradigm, bottom-up appropriation of English(es) and

¹¹ I discussed the findings in previous publications (Giorgis 2013a, b).

practices of cross-linguistic interactions allow adolescents and young people to spell out their difference through the appropriation of different kinds of diversities performed through linguistic practices.

Yet, by so doing, adolescents intersect the institutional cultures of the school: the cross-culturality which young people enact, not solely but mainly through language mixing and code-switching, contrasts with the general monoculturalism (and monolingualism) of the institution. Since multiplicity is a key dimension in particular for minorities, as it allows them both to move towards new affiliations and to continue to adhere to their origins, the monoculturalism of the institutions notably impacts on cultural and linguistic minorities, such as those of Sinti and Roma.

64.11 The Trentino “Gypsy” Population: Sinti and Roma’s Family Networks

My ethnographic study (Setti 2014, 2015a, b) was carried out among the Sinti, who represent the larger “Gypsy” population in Trentino, a region in the North-east of Italy. They comprise a network of Roma families from Istria and Croatia living in northern Italy. They were already nomadic in this territory by the seventeenth century and have been settled in Trent since the nineteenth century (Piasere 2004). Non-Sinti people are called Gagi or Gage by the Sinti. The orthodox social term used for the Sinti is “Zingari” (Gypsies) and/or “Nomadi” (Nomads). Some 375 Sinti live in the Trentino Province, mostly in the capital, and are divided into different family networks: the Eftavagaria (meaning the “seven carts”), the Estraxaria (from Austria), the Gackane (from Germany), the Lombardi (from Lombardy) and finally the Istrian Roma (from Istria and Croatia). The latter arrived in the same period as the others, were put in the same campsite, and considered “Gypsy” alongside all the other families. There have been frequent mixed marriages among different Sinti families and between Sinti and Istrian Roma, as well as between Sinti men and Gage women who have learnt Sinto. This language is a variant of Romani and not everyone speaks the older language ‘Sinto stretto’ or ‘true Sinto’. About 40 % of Sinto terms derive from German (Gomes 1998; Piasere 2004; Tauber 2006). The Roma, who have lived with the Sinti for a long time, speak both Romani and Sinto. The autochthonous Sinti and Roma, though having Italian citizenship, are an extremely small percentage of the Italian population. Therefore, media-fuelled fears about the “Nomad emergency” do not reflect a real issue and rather show the discrepancy between qualitative and quantitative data in the representations set out by the popular media (see Setti 2015b).

64.12 Peer Groups

The ethnographic research carried out shows how peer groups are fundamental for the processes of cultural transmission and acquisition among young people. Furthermore, the shared peer groups are key contexts for outlining the trails of “cultural continuity” between the cultures of the young people’s family networks and the cultures present within the institutions, such as the school. Goodenough (1981) defines “micro-cultures” all the sub-cultures to which the subjects participate beyond the “macro-cultures” in which they are competent, such as those of the Sinti family network and of the Gage. Therefore, it is important to reflect on what it means to be Sinti and be Gage, and how do the cultural and social constructions elaborated along the being-Sinti-being-Gage continuum shape young people’s identities in the context of urban education.

Piasere defines the elaboration of such a continuum in the following way:

Gypsies on one side and Gage on the other side are two mutual constructions of otherness. In most cases they are constructed in a way that emphasizes a strong opposition between the two groups. [...] The Romani and Gagikani dimensions are at the two ends of a continuum, in which everyone places opposite borders, wherever it is useful for them. (Piasere 2004, p. 29–30)

Sinti teenagers play with these constructions. Positioning along this theoretical continuum assumes new forms with each generation, as relayed to me by a young married Sinti man. He said: ‘we are Sinti and we are Gage, but surely we are more Sinti than Gage!’. He refers to the fact that they do things that the Gage usually do, such as living in houses, attending school regularly, inviting Gage friends (which included me) to parties, and speaking in ‘Gagio’ (Italian). However, they always do such things *romanes* style, in a ‘Sinti way’, as the locution ‘for sure we are more Sinti than Gage!’ testifies. It seems that positioning along the continuum between Sinti and Gage is then strongly related to the experience of school. Going to school is a ‘Gage thing’, as Sinti teenagers say. This is related to the epistemology of the school, elaborated by the “minority” within the context of the “majority society” (Ogbu 2003). However, Roma and Sinti teenagers’ points of view are usually not considered in the documents that regulate the school’s organization and their pathways in it. I have observed how peer group cultures are important in shaping the daily school experience of Sinti teenagers. Peer groups also have a strong influence on their younger relatives. Sinti teenagers and young adults use their imagination and representational skills creatively in the elaboration of their identities and in the relationship with non-Sinti. Furthermore, my ethnographic study shows how the teenagers’ use of the Internet shapes their self-definition. They participate increasingly with extended peer groups of immigrant teenagers from different ethnic and national backgrounds, such as Kosovo Roma, Moroccan, Albanese, South American as well as Italian. They meet them in middle and vocational schools but also in non-educational contexts such as shopping centres, clubs and in the streets of a multicul-

tural city quarter. In their free time, they often like to use Facebook. Through this social network, they share new codes among peer groups, which also include meaningful media characters, such as those of High School Musical and celebrities such as 50 Cent, Elvis Presley and Al Pacino. Notably, their favourite characters, who they often try to emulate, come from different ethnic and national backgrounds (see Setti 2015a).

64.13 Propriospects¹²

“Every individual acquires competences in myriads of micro-cultures and in their subcultural variants” (Wolcott 2004, p. 222). Every person develops a different *propriospect* through which she/he interprets the surrounding world. Every young Sinti girl/boy, as each of their parents, relatives and teachers has then a unique and unrepeatable *propriospect* related to what she/he learns and to the interpretations on what surrounds him/her. Furthermore, everyone re-elaborates differently cultural experience and reproduces macro- and micro-cultures in ways that are always different from everyone else, at least in some aspects. Goodenough stresses that, in the same way in which everyone is competent in more than one language – considering also dialects – similarly she/he is competent in more cultures and codes.

Thus, through what I observed and reported in my field diary, I found a coherent interpretation of the young Sinti’s experience and developing of their identities in terms of Goodenough’s notion of *propriospect* (Goodenough 1981, p. 98; see also Wolcott 2004). This conceptual tool (Fig. 64.1) clearly shows us how young Sinti were enculturated simultaneously by their own families, by the different cultures of the school and by the different peer groups. Goodenough explained his use of the term in the following way:

Out of his own experience each individual develops his private, subjective view of the world and of its contents – his personal outlook. It embraces both his cognitive and his affective orderings of his experience. [...] Included in a person’s *propriospect* and, indeed, largely dominating its content are the various standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing that he attributes to other persons as a result of his experience of their actions and admonitions. [...] A person may not only attribute different systems of standards to different sets of others, he may also be competent in more than one of them – be competent, that is, in more than one culture. (Goodenough 1981, p. 98–99)

For example, Giama, a 14 year-old Sinti girl, was competent in the macro-culture of her Sinti family network and in the Sinti language, as well as in the macro-culture

¹²This term was coined by Goodenough from Latin, according to the etymology of “*proprio*” which means “related specifically to the self” and “*spectus*” which means “view, perspective” (Goodenough 1981, p. 98). The author highlights how the equivalent term in Greek would have been “*idiorama*”, but he preferred to avoid this terminological alternative, because in English the suffix “-orama” was already widely used for other neologisms.

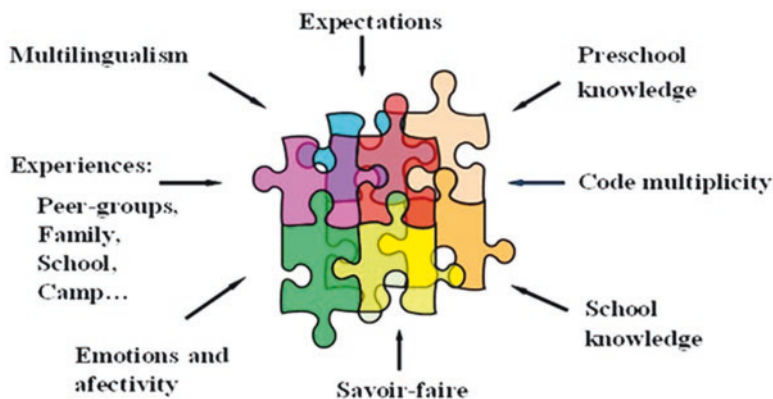


Fig. 64.1 Conceptual map of the meaning of *propriospect*

of the Gage society “reproduced” (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970) in the school. Furthermore, she was competent in the micro-cultures of her different peer groups, namely her Gage classmate girls at school, her Sinti cousins’ peer group and also a ‘media’ peer group of fiction and film’ characters, shared with real and virtual friends through social networks.

Looking at Roma and Sinti’s own *propriospects* shows how the categorization and denomination of these people and their children inside the urban institutions – such as the schools – as (before) “Gypsy” and (then) “Nomads” reproduce a stigma (Goffman 1963) created by the “majority society” and not their emic points of view, how they describe themselves and who they are. On the one hand, Italian regional and school legislation claims to be aimed at safeguarding a monolithic notion of “Nomadic” and “Gypsy” culture or a set of features thought of as Roma and Sinti culture. But, on the other hand, Sinti and Roma students and their families may receive equal rights to education and social inclusion only if they accept assimilation or when they hide their Roma and Sinti origin to avoid negative naming or labelling (see Setti 2015a). In this way, a subtle but pervasive policy of control is reproduced in national and local governments.

64.14 New Concepts for the Urban Education’s Field of Studies

From the ethnographic research¹³ – carried out according to the literature and the studies of Anthropology and Education – new concepts and interpretative keys arise, that are useful also for Urban Education. First of all, the concept of “rooted-

¹³As I was doing a part of my fieldwork in the school, I had the opportunity to meet provincial officials responsible for the new guidelines about the inclusion and integration of foreign and

ness” should replace the paradigm of marginality referred to those who are too often interpreted as weak and passive subjects in the urban areas, such as members of minorities, migrants, refugees, etc. Secondly – but not less important – the concept of “cultural intersections” (Gobbo 2004) could substitute the paradigm of “cultural discontinuity”¹⁴ (especially) between the cultures of minority families’ networks and those of the urban institutions managed by those seen as the “true natives”.

With regards to the first point, the supposed “monoculturalism” of minorities’ members is often intended and interpreted by the representatives of institutions, social workers, teachers, etc. as ‘far away’ and ‘very different’ from ‘the culture’ of the majority society. On the contrary, my research indicates how Sinti have a history deeply involved and rooted within the local territory, and how they are not only competent in their linguistic variant of the Romani language – and in Italian – but also competent in the local dialect spoken in Trent, beyond being competent in other languages (i.e. some teenagers used to speak and write daily in a quite good English). Therefore, one of the most meaningful results of my ethnography suggests that urban institutions, such as the school, would benefit from the awareness that youths – as well as adults – are multicultural and competent in more than one language and culture. Indeed, their family network has been sharing diverse socio-economic, geographical and political features with the members of the majority’s society, at least in the last century of history, as well as the same territory. However, the educational and social-care projects addressed to urban minorities such as Sinti and Roma, have often been built around the paradigm of their supposed social marginality, with regards to the majority society. This approach has contributed to the exclusion of the minorities’ students from teaching activities within schools, because the educational projects have considered them as permanently “Nomads”, ‘just arrived’ from ‘far away’ and with special educational needs (Setti 2015b). On the contrary, from the ethnographic research comes to light the rootedness of the Sinti at a historical, geographical, social, cultural, religious, linguistic and residential level. Although their history has been characterized by diverse forms and levels of interregional and international mobility and circulation, since a century they have been rooted in the Trentino region and since the 1960s they have been staying in a sedentary way. They are ‘anchored’ in the local territory also through linguistic exchanges, characterized by daily code-switching: from Sinto-romanes, to Italian, to dialect (Setti 2014). During my fieldwork at my Sinti host Janeira, for example, I

Roma students. I drew upon my ethnographic experience in a Sinti family network and in a middle school of Trent to challenge the idea of an essentialized and monolithic notion of culture and to highlight the processes of transformation in different cultures to which the students belong. Following feedback that I gave this group, the document was changed and these recommendations were reflected in a much-improved second draft (Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2012, *Inserimento e Integrazione degli Studenti Stranieri. Linee Guida per le Istituzioni Scolastiche e Formative della Provincia di Trento* [Inclusion and Integration of Foreign Students. Guide Lines for Schools of the Province of Trento]). This might be considered an example of the importance of ‘engaged anthropology’ in the contexts where fieldwork is carried out, as Herzfeld has remarked (see Herzfeld 2012).

¹⁴To deepen into the paradigm of “cultural discontinuity” see Gobbo 2000.

often heard her son Raino speaking in dialect with friends or colleagues. Therefore once I asked him: ‘you know the dialect very well, don’t you?’ and he answered me: “of course, I am ‘Trentin’¹⁵!”. My interlocutors’ affirmation of ‘being ‘Trentini’” was constant on a daily base. During the afternoons that we spent together, Janeira, her sisters, her mother, and her sisters-in-law often used to tell sayings in dialect, some of which were new for me and referred to their memories and experience lived in Trentino during their childhood, adolescence and adulthood, tracing the transformations which had characterized the same territory from those times to the present, telling how the Gage themselves have changed and how the local peasants were in the past. In the same way, by speaking with the old Sinti, I could get a wide, complex and detailed perspective of Trentino’s history, geography and of its important political events. Sinti people with whom I used to live during fieldwork – both young and less young – never defined themselves only as Sinti, but always also as ‘Trentini’, highlighting the dialects and traditions, which distinguished them from the other Roma family networks living in the adjacent regions.

With regards to the second concept, the theoretical approaches that show to be the most appropriate for the orientation of the future urban educational and social-care projects – addressed to minority members – detach themselves from the paradigm of cultural discontinuity. On the contrary, they consider the diverse forms of the geographical, historical and linguistic presence of the minority members in the respective territories of residence. My ethnographic research shows that the paradigm of cultural discontinuity cannot anymore be considered exhaustive to interpret the educative processes, to which the youths of minorities participate. On the contrary, the elements of what can be described as “cultural continuity” (Setti, *in press*) – between macro- and micro-cultures shared within family networks, school and peer groups – arise from my study. For instance, writing certainly represents a form of ‘continuity’ because it is considered to be fundamental by Sinti parents, by teachers, as well as broadly by youths, who daily delight writing when at home, at the “Nomads” camp and at school. Similarly, I noticed what can be described as cultural continuity with regards to the use of computers and Internet technologies (videos, multimedia devices, etc.) by Sinti youths, because they were accustomed to use them already in their own families, before than at school. There are also some school subjects which potentially are an important means of connection between the cultures to which Sinti students participate, inside and outside of school. Most of the Sinti students were interested in the teaching of religion, a central feature with regards to their own family network, crossed by diverse families who decide to convert themselves to the Pentecostal evangelism of the Evangelic Gypsy Mission (MEZ). For this reason, the young Sinti were interested in deepening their knowledge about the Holy Scriptures. Furthermore, the young Sinti were particularly interested to foreign languages and science. Sinti girls were constantly inquiring about topics related to the human body, to the feminine reproductive apparatus and connected themes. Indeed, they would have not talked about these topics with their

¹⁵The word ‘Trentin’ is in the local dialect and means ‘a person who come from and raises in Trento’.

mothers, for reasons of respect and decency, but they shared them within their peer groups of young friends and relatives, representing an occasion of cultural continuity.

Therefore, today it is not correct anymore to interpret education and school processes of minorities' members – such as Sinti and Roma youths – by using the paradigm of cultural discontinuity, because they are competent in the non-Sinti macro-culture and in many micro-cultures, also shared with some Gage peers, even before attending school. The youths rather try to intersect (Gobbo 2004) their own worlds with those of the non-Sinti, an aspect that the school institution does not seem to catch, yet.

The concept of cultural intersections not only permits to show the cultural spaces that are created in the relationships between Sinti and Gage and the new 'cultural creations' shared in mixed peer groups, but also the difficulties and sufferings that those processes can hide. Indeed "to become a multiculturally competent person, is a process that has not to be underestimated and that it is not always easy" (Gobbo 2004, p. 638), considering how, at times, it can unbalance "the equilibrium between different and sometimes opposite cultural heritages" (*ibid*). Considering the life history of a young Roma cultural mediator, Gobbo observes that the Latin root of the term "secare", from which derives the word 'intersection', reminds how often the turning points in the lives of people can be described and comprised through the metaphor of a – more or less sharp – cut that individuals make at a symbolic and affective level in the transition from one culture to the other. However, these "cuts" are not made once and forever, and they can be "resewn" again, as the young Sinti teach us, crossing daily from one cultural code to the other, using different languages and dialects in a competent way.

64.15 Finding Our History in the Stories of the Other

How can we discuss not only the worthiness, but also the urgency of considering the construction of differences and identities from a historical perspective? It is a historically blind assumption defining diversity – romanticised or problematised – as external and alien to us. It hides the lack of a systematic reflection on the historical dimension of the encounter between diverse groups of people. Italy, like Europe, was not overwhelmed by the encounter with the Other in the last two decades. Italian history tells us about Visigoths, Ostrogoth, Longobards, then Saracens, Normans, Hungarians, followed by France, Spain, and the German Empire. If we look back at our history, we realise that the question of the *different-from-us* has always been present. Every society, every dominant group has always sought to provide political and social responses to questions, challenges and problems that arose when they came into contact with the Other: Exclusion, Segregation, Assimilation, Integration are not unknown models in Italian history. During every period of time – now as then, societies have made attempts to categorise and define

the Us and the Other. During every period of time we can draw dominant narratives on the others.

We come from and we built our sense of identity and belonging on our own narratives. As anthropologists what is more important is to understand how narratives play a part in our description of us and of others, how they influenced our way to see (and divide) the world. When anthropological and educational research refers to history, it is not to fill out an inventory of ideas and facts (such a list would in any case be inevitably partial), nor to describe the truthful narrative of history. Thus, we go back to history to put our knowledge into critical perspective. Italian historian of education Remo Fornaca says that

in the study of any educational or anthropological questions, we need to give space and vitality to the study of history, and the memory of the past has to have a purposeful and critical character, and not merely be descriptive. It can lend colour to a current story, a problem, a concept or an event. We go back to history to get a new understanding, a view – partial but equally compelling – around a question. (Fornaca 1999, p. 8)

We go back to history to understand “how” the question of the *different-from-us* has been addressed, if a representation of the Other was set up, and what effects it has had on others and on us. Furthermore we go back to history in order to be able to detect legacies of that history in our current reality. Looking at history as an opportunity to get a critical and proactive understanding of some current questions describes what I called *historical consciousness* (Sartore 2014a). If we consider the following points concerning *historical consciousness*: a ceaseless interrogation of meanings; the consciousness of the underlying unity which must link past, present and future; an open-ended question about the roots of our knowledge, we can see them echoed in an educational approach that wants to be a theoretical and practical stance against intellectual, cultural and historical reductionism. Not being familiar with some historical moments in which an Us-Other relationship has been established not only restricts the ability to argue about our own national history, but also limits the possibility to discover where our beliefs are founded. In regards to national history, for example, examining the approach to the *different-from-us* could tell us whom we have defined as “other”, which characteristics we have attributed to them, and which social, political or ideological assumptions have justified our actions. In regards to our academic discipline, a careful analysis of the many forms of the Us-Other encounter would play a crucial role for a better and consistent articulation of the discourse on diversity, as it calls into question interpretations, categories (such as identity, diversity, sense of belonging), theoretical constructs, and conceptual frameworks (what belongs to the sphere of us and what belongs to the others’ sphere). What results is a critical review of our knowledge, because putting our knowledge to the test of history reveals its cultural debts. Italian anthropologist Roberto Beneduce writes that speaking about the other “inevitably means talking about us, our own knowledge and history, and how many things we are used to considering natural or implicit” (Beneduce 1998, p. 13). Nothing is natural. Everything is *culturally situated*.

With these assumptions, a strong historical consciousness and a serious historical research will allow us, on the one hand, to order historical and cultural facts in a wider and more meaningful parabola and, on the other hand, to make theoretical and epistemological reflections, breaks, shifts and openings. Historical consciousness and critical thinking seem linked in a generative spiral, oriented toward the development of our knowledge on diversity.

64.16 Dominant Narratives and Life Stories: Fragments of a Historically Sensitive Ethnography

Thinking about the construction of differences and national identities in terms of narratives or discourses implies a dense interpretive tour that aims to understand reasons, functions and effects that characterize a particular approach to address the issue of the *different-from-us*. A discourse, in its multifaceted nature between the subject and the object, between the linguistic and the cultural, between the social and the political, is able to (a) hold together and put in relation identity and otherness, (b) take into account the specific cultural, social and historical context, and (c) bring to the surface processes of construction of difference. Analysing texts (such as legislation, press, news, didactic material, etc.) in their double-layered form of specificity, both political and cultural/historical means emphasizing the context in which a *natural* system of meaning reveals its *arbitrary* essence. At a deeper level, the discourse can be defined as a symbolic act intent on explaining and justifying beliefs, ideas and actions. Without going into the details of Foucault's theory (even if my recourse to the concept of "discourse" manifests a theoretical debt to it), we can assume that a dominant "discourse" is a place – historically determined – in which a connection between power and knowledge takes place. It is a set of statements, signs, symbols and practices, which, in different ways, organizes a system of values, and draws the fine line between identity and otherness. What is important is understanding that through the interpretation of the approach to the difference in terms of "dominant discourse on the other" we have easier access to the sphere of us rather than to a real knowledge of the object of the discourse. More precisely, we can understand: the position that "us" assumes in relation to the otherness; the set of characteristic attributes to the Other; the anthropological premises that justify the rules of inclusion or exclusion from the dominant identity and establish the hierarchies among the differences. Categorisations, descriptive terms, styles, and recurring imagery contribute to forming and modelling different and plural representations of "us" and "other".

The need to hold together the dominant narratives with the minor and subjective ones in order to penetrate more deeply into the reality is not a new anthropological notion. As suggested by Morwenna Griffiths (1995), the subject is not a simple reflection of the social or of the cultural, on the contrary, every subject endorses them, filtering, reinventing, translating and sometimes rejecting dominant models.

Griffiths goes beyond the belief that considers individual stories a pale reflection of the facts, and asserts the idea that these stories are, instead, the real face of knowledge about the world. These stories situate history in a human, historical, relational, and dialogical context, revealing the systematic incompleteness of totalitarian positions. Therefore, listening to the others is a way to enrich our knowledge of history, assuming as a prerequisite that each person is accorded his *agency*, his ability to conceptualise interpretations and actions. Thus the collection of the life stories of those who are traditionally considered “minor characters” becomes a worthwhile opportunity to examine not only the interpretations of the others about themselves, but also to listen to new historical narratives on national identities, diversity and belonging.

My ethnographic research among the Somali-Italians (Sartore 2014a) finds in these assumptions its epistemological and theoretical setting. The often forgotten Somali-Italian minority can be considered as a living legacy of Italian colonialism and postcolonialism. This is made up of Italian citizens who mostly share a similar background: they were born in Somalia in the decade from 1950 to 1960 of mixed parentage (usually an Italian father and a Somali mother); they spent their infancy and first years of school in Catholic missions in Somalia, and arrived in Italy beginning the late-1960s. What is remarkable about Somali-Italians is that they inform us about a fairly unknown historical period. If the Italian colonial past does not give us a new story but a story that Western modernity is not used to telling about itself (Chambers 1994), the life stories of the Somali-Italians bring to the surface the often left in the shadows postcolonial Italian parenthesis.¹⁶

In these life stories, the relationship between Italy and Somalia is defined, first of all, as a long time relationship that seamlessly spans the dimensions of past, present, and future. As V describes it,

In order to understand the identity of Somali-Italians you need to understand that it's a history embracing several time periods: the colonial period, post-colonial, Italy in the 70s and the present in which we are living. None can be ignored. Our history, the story of the Somali-Italian minority starts during colonialism.

The colonial period, the decade of Italian Administration, life in Italy and the possible return to Somalia simply mark the segments of a *continuum*. The colonial past, about which the storytellers do not have direct experience, emerges as the origin of their minority group story. The decade of Italian Administration is situated in perfect continuity with Italian colonialism (1885–1941). The Italian Administration is described as a short-sighted, disorganised and rough power that substantially enacts the racist colonial legislation and reinforces the racist attitude.

¹⁶The Italian presence in Somalia during the decade 1950–1960 is of interest to only a handful of Italian researchers. In 1950, after the colonial era ended, Italy returned to Somalia with a UN mandate that established the Italian Trusteeship Administration of Somalia. Italy's new mission was to guide Somalia (the former colony!) to independence over a 10-year period. The agreement required the new administration to develop the colony's political institutions, expand the educational system, improve the economic infrastructure, and to give the indigenous people freedom of the press and the right to dissent.

What does it mean to be a Somali-Italian? It must seem an insignificant question to most people [...]. It is not. There are many categories in which we have been immersed: half-caste, half-breed, contaminated, different, shameful, sinful. All generated by colonialism and its racist narrative on the others. (G)

The life stories describe the Italian approach to the young Somali-Italians as a systematic organisation of identities and otherness aimed to hide or remove what was in the middle, between Italians and Somalis. Somali-Italians children were separated from their Somali mothers and the Somali social environment. They grew up in Catholic missions where they were compulsorily baptised and assigned of new names. They were educated in Italian schools. School and society were ambiguous and alienating sources of knowledge. On the one hand, Italian language, literature, history and geography represented the only cultural reference points and created a strong attachment to the Italian community. On the other, life outside the mission made clear the reality of a not-belonging (either to the Italian or to the Somali community).

It's difficult to spend your whole life in the middle with no chance of joining a group. There is always going to be someone to remind you that you aren't this... or that you are that. (G)

We speak Italian, speak it very well, while on the other hand we don't speak the language of our other self. I was whiter than the people around me in my day-to-day life, so I was automatically an outsider but, at the same time and especially in Italy, I was darker and once again was out of place. (L)

I grew up in Mogadishu, Somalia, in the 50s. My dad was white from Italy, and my mom was black from Somalia. Even the idea of us as a family was challenging to most people. But nature had its wicked way, and brown babies were born. But from about the age of five, I was aware that I didn't fit. I was the black kid with Muslim origins in the Catholic school run by nuns. I was an anomaly, and my self was rooting around for definition and trying to plug in. Because the self likes to fit, to belong. And it is important. It has an extremely important function. Without it, we literally can't interface with others. But my skin color wasn't right. My hair wasn't right. My history wasn't right. My self became defined by otherness, which meant that, in that social world, I didn't really exist. And I was "other" before being anything else – even before being a girl. I was a noticeable nobody. (A)

However, the process of enculturation does not preclude the development of a self-definition. The need to define oneself appears in every life story as a statement of belonging, but also a complex representation of the self that embraces history, memories, languages, cultures, physical and emotional places. The life stories are the place in which storytellers describe their personal feeling of being "different Italians" (R), and explain their otherness as a multiplicity of identities. There is someone who draws for himself a new concept of "Italian"; who defines himself as a "bicultural and cosmopolitan" person; who claims for herself a historical and collective Somali-Italian identity ((A) says "I am, we are Somali-Italians, that is a specific historical identity"); who, not finding any possible synthesis, presents herself as "an Italian with Somali origins, born in Somalia... but also 'meticcias'" (L).

We can discover that within those we usually consider *different-from-us* there are "different Italians", perfect native informants, capable of presenting the experience of the outsider with the language of the insider, and vice versa. They choose to

address their complex origin, identity, and language emphasizing issues of resistance and in-betweenness, testifying to and embracing the poetics of relations, multiplicity, ambivalence, and subversion of a dominant narrative. New forms of belonging can emerge with force from the life stories raising new questions about the usual understanding in regard to identity and otherness. Diversity between and within groups challenges reification and pre-assumptions, and it engages the discourse of the complexity of identity. New self-definitions force us to re-chart concepts of identity and otherness, moving from a geographically based criterion to melt definitions: where otherness can also find a place within us. The so-called “hyphenated identity” (Ponzanesi 2004) is not a simple duality, is not a link created by the migration to a new country. Making sense of past colonial legacies is important when this process is linked to the recent debate on Italian identity. The Somali-Italians bring to the surface the paradoxes that are implicit in the common notion of what a foreigner or a citizen should be. They force us to rethink the national identity as a composite one – before and beyond any monolithic national identity.

Minor stories, or stories of minorities, write new paragraphs on our national narratives on “us”. They also reveal the special relationship that a country builds with its past, what fits and what remains excluded in the construction of a national history.

64.17 From Difference to Diversities: A Dialogical and Transformative Path

A Brazilian educator and philosopher, a leading advocate of the critical pedagogy movement, Paulo Freire is best known for his influential work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968), which may be best read as an extension of, or reply to, Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). Freire began to embrace a non-orthodox form of what could be considered adult education speaking about the development of a critical consciousness, a process by which men and women would deal critically with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. I see in Freire’s process of consciousness an inspiration, a sort of direction for our disciplines. Using an ethnographic approach to diversity as a reflexive and critical movement allows us to understand limits and possible openings of what we already know or we think we know. The recognition of the social, cultural, and political context in which we are immersed is just the first step. “Consciousness” implies a critical movement, a process of transformation of a reality, a belief (Freire 1971). The goal is to gain a critical and dialogical consciousness able to unveil, demythologise or de-naturalise beliefs taken-for-granted. As Freire would have said: freedom from any form of oppression.

The contributions here presented draw a landscape in which ethnographic research allows access to a critical and transformative knowledge for our disciplines. It enriches our vocabulary on identity, and recognises and intensifies our engagement in the universe of diversity. It is not only the irruption of the Other that

represents one of the greatest invitations to review our knowledge. It is the discovery of how we act in relation to that Other that can put in motion reflective processes that enrich that knowledge.

In her TED Talk the writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie explains what she calls “the danger of the single story”.

Start the story with the arrows of the Native Americans, and not with the arrival of the British, and you have an entirely different story. Start the story with the failure of the African state, and not with the colonial creation of the African state, and you have an entirely different story.

The single story creates stereotypical narratives, and the problem with stereotypical narratives is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. The consequence of the single story is that it makes one story become the only story. One knowledge becomes the only knowledge. Freire (1971) wrote that the dialogue between narratives is the fundamental condition for the real humanization of knowledge. Any ‘non dialogical’ knowledge leads to different forms of construction of the otherness. And when knowledge becomes ‘anti-dialogical’ it legitimates the reification, the conquest and the domination of the Other. Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to humanize and to write a dialogical history. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity. Stories demystify. Some stories are a counter-history. Some stories are simply an attempt to bring out the heterogeneity where we usually see homogeneity (Sartore 2014b).

The ethnographic research here presented is guided by and proposes an educational approach that raises objections to the categories we use to describe the world. In other words, we can define this transformative process as an exercise of decentralization, through which we move out from our cultural, historical and scientific beliefs and the first result (or maybe one of the first) is to broaden the understanding of the general concept of culture, identity and difference (Gobbo 2008).

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Chapter 65

Bringing Up the Babies: Men Educators in the Municipal Nursery Schools of an Italian Town

Francesca Gobbo

To Aylan and to all the children who lost their life while trying to have a life.

65.1 Introduction

When, some years ago, I was invited to write a chapter for the first edition of the *International Handbook of Urban Education* (Gobbo 2007), I introduced my ethnographic research among the Veneto (Italy) travelling attractionists with the insightful reflections of one of them. Her words about her occupational group's relation to local towns led me to balance the denotative meaning of "urban" (that which pertains to the spatial layout of a town or city, from the Latin *urbs*, cfr. Onions 1966; Devoto 1968) with the connotatives "urbane" and "urbanity" (*idem*), that well interpreted how those people constructed their occupational identity and developed interactions with their sedentary co-citizens (Gobbo 2007), though such social know-how of theirs hardly produced any effective intervention on their children's right to education (Gobbo 2015, 2017, forthcoming). My decision did not question that urban education, as a field of study, is characterized by concern for and engagement with social problems, since research among immigrants and minorities such as the Roma that I encouraged and supported (Gobbo 2012), had confirmed how urban schools often exclude on the basis of a "public policy" and/or of a culture that "make it difficult for students to use education to alter their life chances" (Noblit and 2007: xi), or even complete their schooling, as in the case of the attractionists. On the contrary, in studying attractionist families and the schooling vicissitudes of

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their children I aimed to connect the concern for social justice and inclusion that in the last 25 years has particularly regarded school careers and prospects of immigrants' children and youth (Gobbo 2000; Galloni and Ricucci 2010; Gobbo and Ricucci 2010; Gobbo et al. 2009). With their cyclically interrupted school attendance and the lack of ad hoc educational provisions, the limited learning of mobile pupils and students could certainly be defined as one of the "multiple forms of urban education" (Noblit and Pink 2007, p. xix), though I have always problematized it as a meaningful case of/for intercultural education. Furthermore, the fieldwork findings allowed me to supplement the "localizing endeavor placing education into a specific geographic context" by underlining the *participation* – albeit largely unrecognized – of mobile families to the urban culture and the "mirror image" of cities (Noblit and Pink 2007, p. xv) that resulted from non formal learning processes they had by necessity undergone. In being both a central democratic value and an important socio-political goal pursued by democratic societies, I suggest that *participation* underlines a different, yet strictly intertwined, element of the urban dimension, namely that of *civitas*: "the condition, the collectivity of city/town dwellers" (Onions 1966; Devoto 1968).¹

From this point of view, my research focus on the institution of the nursery school, and particularly on the men educators² of Hilltown³ nursery schools, aims, on the one hand, to highlight *civillcivic* value and meaning of an institution a child accesses because he/she is considered not only as a member of a family, but "as a citizen belonging to a society, entitled to rights that neither descend from his/her parents nor from their position in the labour market. Access to certain services should be considered one of those 'rights', and among such services there is one that

¹In this sense, urban education deals with what (poverty, prejudice, racism, social exclusion, among others) prevents people from being full members of a collectivity and what (active initiatives, ad hoc policies and project, etc.) will instead reinstate their membership by recognizing and realizing their rights. Since *civitas* cannot but evoke its connection with civilization, I hasten to declare my awareness of how civilizations have too often been built on violence on, and subjugation of people.

²In Italian departments of education, those who will be responsible for educational and care work that is not carried out in classrooms and does not imply formal teaching are defined as educators (for a critical and well documented approach to this educational figure within Continental Europe and the Anglophone world's relative unfamiliarity with it, see Cameron and Moss 2011). I need to add that the Italian literature on nursery school I consulted has two ways of presenting nursery school educators: because in Italian language nouns can (with some exceptions) be differentiated by gender, any time an author writes of "educators" in general terms (for instance, when presenting an educational perspective or theory), the masculine is used (*l'educatore, gli educatori*) according to the understanding that the choice of the masculine does not refer to actual men, but is rather characterized by a neutral or abstract undertone. It is in fact rare to read *l'educatrice* when the discourse does not concern a specific case or context (the exception I found is Catarsi 2008). On the contrary, when an author writes about a certain nursery school (or a number of them) and what takes place there in terms of educational practices, problems, initiatives, debates, we read of *l'educatrice, le educatrici*, because the linguistic (unavoidable) choice respects the fact that in those cases most educators are women.

³Hilltown is a fictional name that I chose to protect the privacy of those working in its educational institutions.

I would define as ‘institution for early childhood’” (Moss 2004, p. 8).⁴ On the other hand, it explores an aspect relevant to the concept and enactment of democratic participation, namely men’s potential for the care and education of very young children and the different ways and occasions it was realized by the (not surprisingly) limited number of men in Hilltown nursery schools.⁵

An in-service training seminar on cultural diversities and intercultural education, that had been organized by Hilltown educational services, provided me with the serendipitous opportunity to explore and hopefully understand the lived experience of gender diversity in those contexts, by learning from each man’s narrative how he had chosen (or had come across the possibility) to work with babies and toddlers, and how each of them had constructed a recognizable personal and professional identity in interaction with their social life and choices, and the specific working environment, whose socio-political and cultural specificities must firstly be concisely introduced.

65.2 The Nursery School as “Public Service”

It was 1971 when, 3 years after legislating on the *scuola materna* (now *scuola dell’infanzia*, childhood school), the Italian Parliament voted a law that, while reformulating the aims of, and the responsibilities for early childhood education, underlined how the path towards a future meaningful civic participation requires the recognition of families’ and children’s rights, as well as the rights of those in charge of childcare (cfr. Mantovani, 1976). Law 1044/1971⁶ thus intersected a new concern for families and children with the political relevance that the social and gendered dimension had gained after 1968⁷: with regard to this aspect, it acknowledged the

⁴Peter Moss’ stance is in accord with international law that considers a child as an autonomous individual person. However, doing ethnographic research in Padua (Italy) nursery schools, I could appreciate how the rights of children were seen by educators and policymakers (not to speak of cooks, since I was specifically focusing on meal time) in balance with the rights of parents to educate their sons and daughters according to the family philosophical or religious beliefs. With regard to the latter, see Council of Europe (2014), *Signposts – policy and practice for teaching about religions and non religious world views in intercultural education*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, with particular regard to ch. 8, pp. 77–86. See also the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* <http://www.ohchr.org>. The Italian Constitution distinguishes between “juridical capacity” (*capacità giuridica*) and “acting capacity” (*capacità di agire*): the latter refers to those who, like minors, are not able to exercise their rights and require others – such as parents for the children – who do so in their name. Cfr. Ambrosini 2004.

⁵The personal and professional trajectories of nursery school men educators will be illustrated and interpreted through the narratives I collected from them between 2014 and 2015, and from the informal observations of the nursery schools where they work.

⁶See http://www.edscuola.it/archivio/norme/leggi/11044_71.html.

⁷I am old enough to remember when, in 1970, in the United States, a new front was opened up by the women’s movement, after the students’ and minorities’ movements of the end of the 1960s had succeeded in their demand that ethnic diversity be recognized and valorized, as well as that

right of women to a job and career opportunities, on the one hand, and, on the other, that of men to challenge the prejudice that assigned, if not assimilated, childcare to mother's care, by choosing to work as nursery school educators.⁸

Law 1044/1971 stated that municipal nursery schools would be established *with the support of the State* and that "assistance to children up to 3 years of age within the framework of family politics is a social service of public interest".⁹ In other words, those nursery schools would provide "temporary" custody and care of children "so as to ensure an adequate assistance to families and *facilitate women's access to work within a framework of an overall system of social security*".¹⁰ To achieve those goals, between 1972 and 1976 the State was to assign "special funds" to the Italian Regions,¹¹ that in turn would transfer such contributions to municipalities and their local governments in order for them to build new nursery schools or restore existing childcare institutions.¹²

American society be acknowledged as multicultural. Not unlike the minority citizens, women electrified the social and political debate by demanding recognition of gender cultural specificity and arguing vigorously against what they defined as the outdated goal of female emancipation. Such cultural and political stance did not take long to cross the Atlantic ocean and come to Europe and to Italy.

⁸Ragazzini (2011, p. 86, my emphasis) indicts the "social conditioning" of professional roles and identities as "the main barrier" to "the *emancipation* of men in contexts where women have a dominant role", where the word "emancipation" produces an unexpected second-wave feminist effect (cfr. Van Laere et al. 2014; emphasis mine) that is partially counterbalanced by the consideration that immediately follows, namely "the same is also valid for the *integration* of women in contexts where men have always occupied position of prestige" (*idem*, emphasis mine).

⁹The emphasis is mine.

¹⁰The emphasis is mine.

¹¹The law further stated that Regions had to

- "establish the general criteria for construction, management and supervision of the nursery schools", through their own legislative acts, and see that nursery schools would
- "respond to the needs of families concerning [nursery schools'] location and functioning",
- "be managed with the participation of families and representatives of recognized local social organizations",
- "have enough qualified personnel, able to guarantee health and socio-educational assistance to children", and finally
- "implement technical, construction and organizational requirements for attaining the harmonious development of the children".

¹²For a long time, the Italian State had delegated childhood care and assistance to philanthropists who understandably gave help to the poorest children. The first public intervention – O.N.M.I., the acronym of the *Opera Nazionale Maternità e Infanzia* (National Charity for Maternity and Childhood) – took place in 1925 (3 years after Mussolini took power) and aimed to promote and support both families and the birth rate according to the then prevailing "mystique of motherhood". To this purpose, the Fascist ideology depicted women's destiny as delimited by the boundaries of the home. Needy and deserted mothers benefitted from the services of O.N.M.I. nursery schools, but child care was also organized in factories with more than 50 women as employees. The O.N.M.I. nursery schools had the task of providing children with assistance and health care more than with educational activities (Catarsi 2008). In 1971, most of the non-religious child care institutions still belonged to O.N.M.I..

The educational and social relevance of that legislative step was certainly related to the improved economic condition of Italian families (the consequence of the so called post-war “Italian miracle”), the transformation of the family structure from patriarchal to nuclear,¹³ and the increasing job opportunities for women,¹⁴ all of which fueled the demand for a different approach to childhood care and education that the women’s movement strongly supported (Catarsi 2008; Catarsi and Fortunati 2004).

Though the limits of law 1044/1971 with regard to the *educational* commitment of the institution “nursery school” were soon pointed out (see for instance Frabboni 1985; Bondioli and Mantovani 1987), it was (and still is) considered innovative because “it recognizes the value of motherhood and therefore the right of *all mothers – whether they worked or not* – to benefit from nursery schools. It further establishes that the State has the duty to intervene and organize social service of public interest” (Catarsi 2008, p. 8, my emphasis). In fact, State intervention means that municipalities are held responsible for the establishment, organization and management of nursery schools so that, from the beginning, the *local* social contexts as well as the *locally* enacted educational approaches took on a primary relevance. From a perspective that valorizes the social dimension, parent’s and political forces’ participation and involvement in the life of nursery and childhood schools – the so called “social management”¹⁵ – are interpreted as an effective and positive contribution to the wider process of decentralization and democratization of the State. Nevertheless, the emphasis on “democratic control”, but especially the still prevailing concerns for “assistance” and “custody” of children over education, made researchers and educators aware that the “educational potential” of the nursery school could be “jeopardized” (Catarsi 2004a, p. 25), and prodded them to firmly engage in transforming those traditional concerns in an educational discourse and practice that had *children*, with their unforeseen¹⁶ psychological and social potentials, at the center of

¹³At the beginning of the 1970s, there was the last massive migration from Southern Italy and countryside areas to the regions of the so called “industrial triangle” (the Northern regions of Piedmont, Lombardy, Liguria). People moved seeking better life conditions or in consequence of the 1968 earthquake that had ravaged vast areas of Sicily. The rise of urban population in the Northern cities and towns inevitably entailed greater needs for, and demand of social services.

¹⁴The 1970s, as Catarsi (2004a) points out, had been a decade of great social changes, when the Italian parliament legislated on divorce (1970), protection of motherhood and paid maternity leave (1971), family rights and spouses’ equality (1975), work equality and women’s access to jobs up to that time reserved for men (1977), abortion (1978). Three years earlier, as I mentioned, childhood schools for children between 3 and 6 years of age had been instituted by the Italian Parliament with law 444/1968.

¹⁵On this point see Zaninelli 2010; Catarsi 2004b, among others.

¹⁶The effort of Italian researchers and educators to combine forms of educational planning with the unpredictability of children’s potentials and uncertainty of pedagogical practices seem to anticipate the debate on the education and care “divide” (Van Laere et al. 2012), where a holistic viewpoint is argued and supported against the drive for “schoolification” of early childhood education and care (ECEC). In referring other researchers’ critical stance, these three authors stress how “working and dialoguing with children, families and local communities from diverse backgrounds are uncertain, value-bound practices which go beyond applying prescribed teaching methods”, and

both academic investigation and of nursery school personnel's pedagogy¹⁷ (cfr. Mantovani and Musatti 1983; Bondioli and Mantovani 1987; Mantovani and Calidoni 2008; Mantovani et al. 2003, among others). If, with time, it became clear that the nursery school as "public service" had been instituted "without an educational tradition to refer to, and heavily conditioned by ideological prejudices both by those opposing it and by those supporting it", as well as by the "current inability to make knowledge and practice dialectically interact" (Bondioli and Mantovani 1987 p. 7), such critical remarks were convincingly mitigated by the acknowledgement that since 1971 "a culture of early childhood has grown" (ibidem), and that a "strong connection ... between childhood education services and the elaboration and dissemination of a thoughtful perspective on children's competencies and potentials" had been successfully promoted, as it was later underlined (Fortunati 2004, p. 47). Furthermore, the recognition that the personnel's *educational* formation was urgently required in order to provide educators with effective professional competence and identity, found a first, effective answer in the *localized* character of the nursery school: the latter gave educators the opportunity to take, and test, educational initiatives, learn about projects carried out in nursery schools other than their own, and share and compare participatory experiences and pedagogy. Such institutional condition might produce what was defined as "empirical eclecticism" – favored by the diffusion of a neo-liberal orientation in economy, politics and society (Frabboni 1985)¹⁸ -, but it also engendered the *Gruppo nazionale di lavoro e studio sugli asili nido* (National group for work and research in nursery schools) that in 1980 was founded by Loris Malaguzzi in Reggio Emilia. Thanks to his leadership and to the many creative educators who disseminated their educational work and goals through the journal *Bambini* (Children), and at the *Gruppo's* annual meetings, both became important opportunities to present and exchange experiences and research findings, and to further elaborate a specific educational perspective for early childhood institutions whose educational quality has become nationally and internationally known.

As it was pointed out (Bondioli and Mantovani 1987), the fact that nursery schools began to be viewed as places where care interacts with education prodded researchers and educators to start new investigation paths and learn about children's everyday life and development, envisage trajectories of professional competence, and critically reflect on the quality of education and service offered. Furthermore, the recognition that, in being cared for, babies and toddlers experience learning and communicative processes – provided by educators and by an appropriately orga-

propose a normative conceptualization based "on a *broad and integrated understanding of care, well-being, learning and pedagogy which values reciprocal relationship and an element of not-knowing*" (Van Laere et al. 2012, p. 528; emphasis in the original).

¹⁷ Here and in other passages I use the term pedagogy according to its English use and meaning. In Italian the word would be education, as pedagogy (*pedagogia*) indicates the theoretical elaboration of the educational action.

¹⁸ For further documentation and critical reflections on different questions, problems, solutions concerning the contemporary institution of the nursery school see Zaninelli (2010) and (Catarsi 2004b).

nized environment – suggests a fruitful reinterpretation of their role and goals: she/he is seen as a “mediator” who ensures that children have “time and room to explore and learn” (Catarsi 2008, p. 21), is aware of how learning and caring are “deeply intertwined with one another” (idem, p. 25) and gives so young children the indispensable emotional, cultural and learning continuity they need through an educational planning that respects – indeed is responsible for the realization of – the positively “unpredictable”¹⁹ potentials of children (cfr. Mantovani and Musatti 1983; Bondioli and Mantovani 1987; Mantovani and Calidoni 2008; Catarsi and Fortunati 2004; Mantovani et al. 2003, among others). Furthermore – argued those in favor of planning – the latter would highlight the educational responsibilities of educators alongside caring, and establish parents as interlocutors and collaborators with whom to discuss expectations and goals, and make choices.

65.3 Gender and Professionalism in Childhood Care and Education

The relationship between nursery schools and the children’s families is not only central to the institution’s approaches and practices, but it also differently underlines the relevance of local contexts and cultures: the “relational pedagogy” enacted by nursery school educators promotes the “combined engagement between children and their carers” as well as the “mutual exchange between the different contexts in which children grow up” (Fortunati 2004, p. 55). As Catarsi notices, nursery school educators “gradually understood how parents’ participation could improve [the educators’] relationship with children” (2008, p. 17), and although mothers remain the privileged interlocutors of nursery school personnel – especially during the process of babies’ integration in the nursery school²⁰ – various occasions have regularly been promoted to also involve fathers in care work, as well as to invite both parents (and women educators as well, see Gallerani et al. 2014) to critically consider the assumption that women are the “natural” providers of care and assistance, and whose competencies are supported by their gender.

In *Bambini*, gender and men working as childhood educators are treated in a limited way and, perhaps not surprisingly, mostly by European researchers (Moss 2004; Peeters 2005; Ndjapou 2009),²¹ while the other authoritative journal – *Infanzia* (Childhood) – has published a number of articles especially on the theme of gender

¹⁹ See footnote 16.

²⁰ Depending on the municipal regulations, babies as young as 3 months can be “integrated” (*inseriti*) in a nursery school and during what is informally called “time for integration” (*periodo di inserimento*) the mother is at the side of her son or daughter until he/she feels at home and trusts the educator. In Hilltown such process is defined as “setting-in” (informally, *periodo di ambientamento*).

²¹ With regard to this issue, see Peeters (2007), Vandenbroeck and Peeters (2008), Van Laere et al. (2012, 2014), and Peeters et al. (2015).

education. In 2010, Malavasi recognized that “the theme of the male figure in childhood services is a question that has interrogated us for years both with regard to the specificity, the meaning and the opportunities such presence has in education, and because – until today, at least – the issue of the blue quotas²² remains of absolutely minimal relevance, in terms of numbers, if it is compared with what takes place in other European countries” (2010, p. 11). Furthermore, the author had also to acknowledge the lack of a serious, in depth debate about the role of men in childhood education, as well as the failure of the services to produce a “pluralistic” educational perspective. In an effort to understand the reasons for such lack of attention, Malavasi asked five men educators²³ why they chose to work in nursery schools. As was perhaps expected, each man gave different explanations for his “choice” that had in fact been more the consequence of an unplanned opportunity than of a reflective decision. And even when the latter had been spurred by an interest for teaching or social work, this would not have necessarily been in the field of childhood education. However, all the educators testified how such option had proved to be a satisfactory one, since it afforded the opportunity to find one’s own way to relate to children and the institution of the nursery school, or to enact one’s “professional creativity” (*posso metterci del mio*, I can contribute with something of my own), or to affirm one’s own professional identity, and to construct specific competencies. In conclusion – Malavasi recognizes – “there is a long way to go”, because the assumed “naturalness” of women’s care “paralyzed” interventions about men’s role and function in the nursery school,²⁴ and therefore it is most urgent “to deconstruct stereotypes and pre-established imagery as a strategy to modify how [both women and men educators] realize a professional style and participation to educational processes” (idem, p. 12). The deconstruction of the myths of the man as the “breadwinner” and of the woman as the “natural carer”²⁵ is also dealt with by another article, whose subtitle – “a missing professional figure” – underlines the limited attraction that nursery school care work has for men (Ragazzini 2011), and the role stereotyped expectations have in deterring their potential “to complete and enrich the care work done by women in so many years” (idem, p. 88),²⁶ as well as to valorize fathers’ presence and involvement in the nursery school. In exploring why fathers

²²The expression “blue quotas” obviously refers to men through the color (blue) traditionally assigned to baby boys. Baby girls have traditionally been assigned the color pink, therefore in Italy we speak of “pink quotas” when new, or more openings for women in social, economic and political positions are debated and demanded.

²³They work in nursery schools coordinated and managed by the cooperative association Malavasi is a member of.

²⁴Burgess (2012) also shares Malavasi’s concern and interpretation.

²⁵According to Catarsi (2008), the limited attention to the nursery school educators’ formation and specific competencies could depend on the fact that for a long time they have been likened – if not assimilated – to the mother’s figure.

²⁶A critical reflection about the increase of men in German educational services questions whether a greater involvement of men in those contexts might not paradoxically result in bringing back the issue of gender “to the so called ‘natural differences’ and impose a more stereotyped behavior of men and women, boy and girls?” (Rohrmann 2012, p. 11).

and men educators are still marginalized, and why gender stereotypes still prevail,²⁷ the answers Ragazzini received from women and men educators are interesting, though they seem to confirm a still essentialized view of gender.²⁸ Thus, for example, a woman educator worried that “the absence of a male model might produce a form of [figurative] flattening, of homogenization of the educational style that is increasingly closer to the maternal role” (idem, p. 92), while a man educator concluded how “we [women and men] balance each other, we men are better at stimulating and promoting [children’s] playing activities, but this does not mean that we must do only that”, and another underlined how children like men educators because they can “perceive the richness of diversity; they enjoy the possibility of dealing with someone who breaks the female homogenisation in the services” (ibidem). As for men in care work, they “have yet to prove they can do it better than women”, a point confirmed by a man colleague who remembered how, at the beginning, “the time for a baby’s change was simply taboo. I could not do it! My strong personality and self-assurance [eventually] broke the spell; the third day I explicitly asked ‘Would you at last let me clean the baby!?’” (idem, p. 93). Not unlike women accessing men’s careers, in the nursery school (the few) men educators must show that they are up to the task, and that they succeeded in constructing a work identity that rests on a solid professionalism (ibidem).

At the European level the debate on early childhood care and education started in the 1980s, thus testifying of an early Europeanization of the issue and concern for social justice. Peeters (2007) retraces the history of men’s involvement in early childhood education since the mid-1980s, when “the European Union started the first Gender Equality programme in order to give women equal opportunities on the labour market. Inside the EU Gender Equality Program, the European Commission set up a Network on Childcare and other measures to reconcile Employment and Family Responsibilities in 1986” (idem, p. 1). If those early provisions were meant to answer women’s right to work and childcare (just as law 1044/1971 had aimed to do for Italian women and families), soon the relevance of male figures in childcare was taken in due consideration, and in 1993 the Council of Ministers of the European Community issued recommendations for increased participation of men in childcare. At the beginning, the goal of promoting participation of men as carers addressed fathers, but Peeters reminds his readers how it was soon realized that the

²⁷ Interestingly, articles on gender education acknowledge the changes obtaining in society and the family with regard to gender roles and responsibilities, but at the same time they underline how current ideas of masculinity and femininity too often follow traditional or stereotyped categorizations, on the one hand, and on the other they point out the prevailing belief, in the family and in school, that education should be “neutral”. Thus, “gender education is mainly carried out through forms of unthinking practice” (Trufarelli 2013, p. 341) and gender “neutrality” acts as a “veil” that hides the persisting gender hierarchy (idem). See also Ghighi 2009a, b; Rossi 2009. A comprehensive presentation of the topic is in Gamberi, Di Maio, Selmi, *Educare al genere*, Carocci, Roma, 2003.

²⁸ It seems to me that Malavasi’s argument also succumbs to essentialization when she stresses the need for “many more male teachers as ‘ambassadors’ of a further, new, possible, educational model” (2010, p. 13).

recommendations would have little effect unless in nursery schools and kindergartens men were employed as childcare workers so that they could be role models for the children, while childcare centers, in turn, “could play an important role as places where a new culture of childcare could be created: a culture in which there is a place for men” (idem, p. 2), that could benefit children’s development and gender socialization.²⁹

Since in the early 1990s only few men worked in the childcare sector, at the European level the decision was taken to “drastically” increase their number: ad hoc campaigns were launched, projects funded, and researchers argued that childcare quality was related to the presence of men educators in childhood institutions. However if the total number of men in childcare increased (especially in Denmark and in the Nordic countries, underlines Peeters³⁰), proportionally their number did not rise and the target (20 % of childcare workforce for 2006) was not reached. The repeatedly asked question was, and is, why so few men get involved in childcare and education, while women continue to be overrepresented. A first answer focused on pay and working conditions, as well as on perceptions of status and masculinity in childcare, though a higher level of professionalism and salaries did not seem to attract more men to childcare. A second answer emphasized how the latter is consistently interpreted, and presented, as “women’s work” that tends to reproduce itself, making the maternal model hardly meaningful to men and their male identity. An educational perspective founded on “gender identity” would favor seeing childcare centers as based on multiple identity of the carers, whereby “each separate identity must continually be called into question and be made visible through dialogue and debate” (idem, p. 4). As men behave differently than women, their presence and educational manners question the traditional culture of care in childcare centers where the risk is (especially when there is only one man educator) that he be seen “as representing ‘men’ as a category” and expected “simultaneously to represent and challenge traditional masculinity” (idem, p. 5). Thus, in Peeters’ view, childcare – as a “gender segregated profession” – needs effective policy actions, mostly in the area of training, qualification and pay, as well as greater attention to career education and guidance, to avoid that care be a second-chance work choice, as researchers often observe.

The issue of “gender segregation” in caring professions – believed to be linked to low status profession – is critically examined with regard to the investment in professionalism by European policymakers and institutions, in order to understand why it has not succeeded in attracting more men to childcare and education (Vandenbroeck and Peeters 2008). Such lack of success not only deprives fathers and children of role models other than the maternal one, but cannot answer the growing demand in the caring professions “if recruitment is limited to women only” (idem, p. 704). The two authors suggest that the “bourgeois, patriarchal model of the family” historically favored the recruitment of lower class women for the care of children, whose role was modeled after the stereotype of the “ideal mother”. The

²⁹On this point, see Rubio’s presentation of the special issue of *Bambini in Europa*, 2012.

³⁰For an update on the Nordic countries, and Norway in particular, see Askland 2012.

latter persisted not only thanks to the popularity of post World War II “attachment psychology”, but also, and paradoxically, to “the feminist movement of the 1970s [that] intensified the image of child care as a female issue” (idem, p. 705). When the mother represents the ideal, the result cannot but be gender segregation, reproduction of the female workforce, and prevention of men in joining the caring profession. Quoting relevant research, Vandebroek and Peeters point out how there are fewer men “seeking” to work as carers than “finders” and “settlers”, namely those who come to work in a traditional female job after having tried other sectors. And while the authors report the number of different initiatives, projects and policies aimed to promote a greater participation of men to childcare through the realization of “a gender-neutral concept of professionalism”, they also underline the need for more research on how “the gendered culture of the profession is transmitted through overt and covert curricula and how this may affect [the students]” (idem, p. 707). The authors’ own study of textbooks in childcare and of secondary school and adult education students report how boys and men asserted their different approach to children from that of the women colleagues, on the one hand, and, on the other, complained about the gender-specific content of curricula, the gender stereotypes and the “sexist hidden curriculum” conveyed by textbooks, all contributing “to the general feeling that care is a female work” (idem, p. 710). On their part, men pointed out how, at work, they were treated differently, and were “assigned different and stereotypical tasks ... such as outdoor play, construction play and creative activities” (ibidem). Vandebroek and Peeters conclude that notwithstanding the public emphasis and investment on professionalism, men continue to keep themselves at distance from care work and that – with specific regard to the Flanders – “there is an urgent need to revisit the curriculum and introduce variations, including music and sports” as well as to screen and revise the current textbooks, where “an overt and covert hegemonic femininity of the profession” persists (idem, p. 713). Citing the successful initiatives carried out in other European nation states, the authors stress how “persistent, long-term strategies are needed” (idem, p. 713) that should aim not only at men and boys in caring work, but also at “women in the care workforce, teachers in early childhood education, school advisory offices and labour offices” (ibidem). Thus, when childhood care and education is dealt with from the perspective of gender, the latter questions not only the stereotyped views of professional practice, but especially a narrow notion of education whereby early schoolification is supported at the expense of care. On their part, those researchers who are in favor of a holistic approach to childhood care and education underline how the pursuit of “learning [of babies and toddlers] requires a caring attitude”, as they argue that care “goes beyond a physical dimension and encompasses an emotional, societal and political dimension. In this context, *it [care] is seen as an important element of both democratic practice and citizenship*” (Van Laere et al. 2012, pp. 537, 536; emphasis mine). In my view, this educational *and* political stance leads these researchers to articulate the discourses on gender and care in terms of “gender inequalities” and “gender equality”, and to aim at challenging the “gender order” in childhood care and education (cfr. Van Laere et al. 2014), on the one hand, and, on the other, at developing “a gender-conscious understanding of professionalism that goes beyond

traditional gendered notions” (Peeters et al. 2015, p. 9) as well as the awareness that “care, referring to love, tactility and bodily emissions, takes us back to forgotten issues of *children who are being and becoming citizens*” (idem, p. 8; emphasis mine).

65.4 Hilltown Nursery Schools’ Men Educators and Their Narratives³¹

As a researcher in intercultural education and particularly interested in how encounters with diversity contribute to the construction of identities, between 2014 and 2015 I decided to ask the men educators in Hilltown nursery schools to narrate how they achieved that position, how they lived such working and cultural experience, and how it connected with their personal prior and present life choices and their identity construction. The methodology was that of the narrative language: as in previous occasions, I chose to explore and interpret the stories through the “narrative language” (Scheffler 1991), namely by addressing “the activities and feelings of people” and gaining “access to the way those people understand themselves” (idem: 121), by listening to them as they speak in their own voice (cfr. Gobbo 2004, 2010, 2014). Therefore I asked Riccardo, Edoardo, Francesco, Renato, Matteo and Paolo³² if they could step into the role of narrators and tell me about their choices and experiences in “the form of a story told in the first person” that is “not only narrated in a chronological sequence but also – and particularly – ... is structured by the narrator’s intention”. Such methodological choice is qualified by the recognition that “it is the narrator’s view of things that governs the story’s development, the narrator’s beliefs, desires, obstacles, and lacks that frame its dramatic movement, and the narrator’s vocabulary that shapes the episodes recounted and defines the current problem to be faced” (Scheffler: 121–122). For the purpose of this presentation, only the narratives’ passages concerning diversities, specificities and commonalities in these men’s professional careers and life experience will be pointed out, though I hasten to say that my decision does not aim to draw a homogeneous picture of this group of Italian men educators, as their stories will clearly indicate.³³

How did these men narrate their decision to become nursery school educators? Riccardo (64 at the time of the narrative, and retired since 2012) had *chosen* to successfully participate in the municipal competition for nursery school educators that had been held – as he recollected – in 1979. He described himself as a young man seriously involved in the non violence movement and an admirer of Gandhi and

³¹ I am deeply grateful to the educators for their generous availability and I wish to thank them for the time they devoted to narrate their life and work experiences to me.

³² Their names are fictional to protect their privacy.

³³ As will be learned from the men’s narratives, the specificity of those educators’ personal and professional trajectories cannot be exclusively attributed to their gender, since I am sure that similarly rich and vivid narratives could be collected from women educators.

Martin Luther King, among others. He had refused to do the military service and chosen instead to join the civil service, confiding that he could thus contribute to a new model of cultural and political development (“*it was the time – he recollected – when we wanted to change the world*”). Earlier on he had worked with deaf mute children and youth, for whose education and care he had attained a degree. Paolo (35 year old and the youngest of the group) had also long since decided to work in a nursery school, but he had to begin as a substitute educator and only later he achieved a tenured position. Edoardo (57 year old when I collected his narrative) in 1998 had entered two different municipal competitions: one for a position in the town social services (for the handicapped, psychiatric patients, etc.) and the other in the public nursery schools. He has been successful in both, but the office for early childhood education had summoned him first. Though happy for the call, he had been hesitant because his prior working experience had been in other kinds of social services: “*I knew nothing about babies and toddlers, but for the nursery school competition I figured I could use what I had learned in working with people cared by the social services*”. Francesco (49 year old at the time of the narrative) started to work in a nursery school because his girlfriend of the time had applied in his name for a position as “substitute educator”; later he suggested to Renato (46 year old last year) – his roommate – to do the same, and thus the latter soon started to work as a substitute educator in various nursery schools. Matteo (40 year old when I met him) had worked in a nursery school run by a local cooperative (upon the suggestion of his girlfriend). Later he participated in a municipal competition, and though unsuccessful, he subsequently received a phone call from the office for childhood education and was summoned to start working in one of the municipal nursery schools.

Among these Italian men, those who “*had given a try*” (as Matteo said) to work as nursery school educators underlined how their professional learning had largely taken place “in the field”, or “by doing it”, namely by either watching how the more experienced women educators went about with the children, or by asking directly how to care for the children’s needs. This aspect has interesting *intercultural* implications, since for instance Riccardo and Francesco had established a dialogue with the older women assistants who until then were expected to assist children (according to the culture of *Opera Nazionale Maternità e Infanzia*, see footnote 12) rather than promote occasions for creative educational initiatives. Such dialogue was not always smooth, as Riccardo remembers: the older colleagues had imposed their “*institutional order*” to the nursery school and the children, and thus “*the toys were on the shelves, the children were given just a toy once a day. So what did I do? I took all the toys from the shelves and placed them on the floor. The other educator became very agitated since my initiative meant that later on all those toys had to be picked up and put back again on the shelves!*”. Riccardo did not stop there: he encouraged the older children to climb on the garden slide and slide down, while he would stand at the side ready to grab anyone who might fall off. Then, together with a younger woman educator, he gave way to “*the so called dirtying activities, that children are very fond of, because just give a child some soil, water, sand and you make him/her happy!*”. On the contrary, Francesco (who upon being summoned had

wondered “*what are nursery schools?*” and had had his training “*in the field*”) recognized he had learned “*very very much*” from the older women assistants since “*they knew a lot about children, what and how to clean a child, how to recognize if he/she was ill*”.

The differences in educational knowledge and practice seem to be characterized more by intergenerational and training diversity than by gender; at the beginning, the narrators did not mention it as an issue, though it soon appeared in all their narratives. First of all, regardless of the different circumstances that brought each of these men to become a nursery school educator, they all evoked the surprise their arrival raised: Riccardo remembered being perceived as “*the outsider, the man*” and as the one who would relate to children in a different way (as in fact happened), and he also added that at the beginning of every school year parents would seldom spontaneously entrust their children to him, unlike what happened to his women colleagues. He had interpreted such caution “*as if in order to trust me – [the man] educator – parents needed time to verify the relation I had established with their child*”. On his part, Edoardo recalled how parents had instead accepted his presence and how some of them had even appreciated that “*at last there are [educational] positions for men in nursery schools*”. According to him, a man educator reassures mothers because they do not perceive him as a rival or a competitor for the child’s affection. Francesco underlined how he raised “*curiosity*” (“*look, how strange, a man, a male!*”) and positive expectations such as “*at last a man! At last a young man!*”. Renato, a tall man who at the time of the narrative was (and I am sure he still is) sporting a pair of remarkable moustache, impressive sideburns and earring, did not elaborate on the impact his different outlook must have made on the nursery school world, but specified how “*I realize that mothers feel more confirmed in their role by me than by the other women educators who can be very critical of them*”. As for Matteo, he recollected how “*at the beginning, the fact that I was a man produced a few waves and surprise*”. However he made me notice that men in nursery schools are *not* few, but they are *not* noticed by researchers, probably because they occupy the position of “operators” (those who keep the classrooms and the nursery schools clean and in order). He wondered why there are so many of the latter, and so few men educators. Paolo too had been “*a good surprise for everyone there [at the nursery school]. ... The parents like that I work in this nursery school. And when we meet there is always someone who says ‘good, there is a man here!’ And one can see that the children like a man educator, so maybe we also need a male figure in the nursery schools*”.

Yet, in their narratives, all these men, *as educators*, seemed to assign little relevance to gender as a socio-political construct. Instead they all stressed professionalism, on the one hand, and, on the other, how working with babies and toddlers had made them aware of their physical and emotional differences. Thus Riccardo remembered that “*when I took one of them in my arms I realized how the way I did was different from that of a woman. When a woman holds a child in her arms, he/she feels ... enveloped in the softness of her breast. Instead when a man holds a child in his arms and hugs her/him, the child feels the pectoral muscle, sees a beard (as in my case), the smell of smoke if one smokes (I don’t – he hastened to specify) ... in*

other words, from the point of view of the body, of physicality, it is an experience of diversity that the child cannot but feel, cannot but go through”, and that is at the same time undergone by the man. In Edoardo’s view, “men are stronger than women and so even if they have reached middle age they can still sit on the floor with the children, or hold one in their arms”. Francesco, who had been a sports instructor, pointed out how “I always tried to find my own way, to pay lot of attention to my body language”. Later, the issue of the male body once more returned in Francesco’s narrative, when he spoke of the way he cares for the children and how he learned which were the best things to do: “I owe it a lot to the sports coaches I met at training courses. I learned a lot about the human body, and I realized that I always have to be aware of my strength, my voice, my body when I am in contact with a child. I pay absolute attention to how I get hold of a child, to her/his joints especially if she/he is a disabled child I have learned all this thanks to my sports experience and to the everyday practice in nursery schools. Children are minds but they are also bodies, and their body will tell you everything. [I wish to repeat how] my colleague and I pay a lot of attention to the language of the body, to what you researchers call metacommunication”. For Renato it was educationally important to learn “to be at their level, to play with them and relate to them at their level. ... If I stand here and the child is over there, he will see me in another dimension, but if I sit on the floor with him, if we look into each other’s eyes ... [then it is different!]”. Matteo, clad in his Latin American grab and looking ready to join a street demonstration, wondered: “I am not sure that gender is so important Are we men more physical? But so are some women colleagues. And then men are also different from each other”.

As for professionalism, everyone underlined that, regardless of the curiosity and enthusiasm a man-in-the-nursery school raises, they were there to do educational work: unquestionably, for Riccardo, “those working in nursery schools must be educators with specific roles and functions, rather than ‘playing mother’ to those children”, a view shared by Renato who pointed out how “children need to be independent, I am not their mother but their educator”. He further acknowledged that “at this early age the most important relation is with the mother”, consequently “an educator can be close to a child, but not more than that. I provide them with continuity and thus they trust me”. Matteo, who had been raised by a single mother and said he “always lived in the midst of women”, wondered if “maybe I chose this work to be a fatherly figure for the children”, but firmly concluded that “in the end, however, this is work, regardless of gender, and it is a demanding work as well”. Actually – he continued – “ours, mine, is a type of work where what counts is how an educator is, and what is his/her intellectual personal formation”, a point he made again by stressing that “men and women educators are professionals first of all. What is important is the educational approach. Let’s leave behind us any talk of gender differences and how they were solved”. In fact his narrative ended with him reaffirming that there are no differences between women and men: instead, “it is a matter of professionalism”. Paolo, in concluding his narrative, recognized the dynamic dimension of professionalism: “I have changed a lot, I am able to plan all there is to do, and if there is something that has to be done, I’ll do it”.

In their narratives, these educators offered their own *interpretation* of the professional role by highlighting the different multiple educational aims each of them pursues within the overall care and educational project of the public institution. Riccardo narrated himself as the professional person who “*accompanies*” the child along her/his development, and “*supports*” her/him when she/he must say good bye to her/his mother. He alleviated the pain of a child’s separation from mother by confirming “*morning after morning, week after week, month after month that mother will return*”. If very young children were a totally new experience to him at the beginning of his work (“*I felt like Gulliver in the land of Lilliput! All those tiny tables, tiny chairs, tiny beds!*”), he soon realized that not only the memories of his own childhood would come back to him when he saw a child cry at his/her mother’s leaving, but those memories helped him “*to put myself in the child’s shoes ... and reassure him/her that mother or father would come back in the afternoon*”. When his retirement was near, he wrote a few pages about his nursery school work experience, pointing out that whenever he had involved children in playing activities (such as painting, reading, masquerading, etc.) “*I had always listened to the emotions those activities elicited in my inner self*”; in caring for the children and their personal hygiene he had always made sure “*to be in eye contact with the baby, to ‘handle’ his/her body with respect and a delicate touch, to show attention and consideration for his/her physicality*”, an attitude he also maintained at lunch and break times, “*aware [as I was] that acceptance or refusal of food indicates the child’s will that has to be respected*”.³⁴ On his part, Edoardo stressed how “*our main goal is to make children – especially the three year olds – increasingly independent, for instance by involving them in the ‘educational lunch’, when they set and clean the tables, help themselves with the dishes, bring the water to the tables*”. In relation to his vision of the educators’ responsibility, he added that “*the main educational objectives are the same as when one works with adults: what is important is the relation one establishes with the persons, the effort to promote and support change*”. And “*with children [than with adults] there are more joyful moments and opportunities, there is real change, you see them grow!*”. Francesco pointed out that an educator “*must create a type of environment where the children can experience moving freely around, independently and safely*”. And then, in reminiscing his own childhood, he described the park near which his family lived, as “*the most beautiful place where a child can grow up, because my friends and I were always playing outside, in the open air, doing daring things ... I believe I learned to confront specific situations [in the nursery school] with a great peace of mind [owing to those past experiences]. ... Here one of our most important tasks is to prevent accidents from happening to the children, but when they do happen it’s better to keep cool so as not to alarm the child. An educator must remain clear headed ... [and my attitude] certainly owes a lot to my experience in sports*”. For Renato, who like others learned his role “*in the field*” and went on learning while working, “*to do a good job, an educator must feel empathy for the children, and be not too anxious*”. He held a very firm conviction: “*if an educator doesn’t like children, or is full of anxiety, better find*

³⁴On this particular point see also Gobbo, (2016).

another type of work ... [Because] if one stands aloof from the children, they will stay away from him, if one is too protective, he is not doing his job. ... When a child falls, what do you do? You try to understand what and how it happened, and make him understand why he fell. Often children cry more because of our worried reaction than because they are really hurt". Matteo pointed out that he introduced new ways of working with the toddlers, encouraging them to "experiment. They must be free to experiment with colors, for instance, what is important is the process, not just the product. I am not saying that rules are not necessary but freedom to experiment is very very important!". And Paolo emphasized how the educator's professional dimension implies "establishing a climate of trust from the very beginning. We are careful not to 'play mother' or 'father', because parents are one thing and educators another. Of course many of us are anxious about the well being of the children and we pay lots of attention that they don't hurt themselves".

One aspect related to caring for children's physical needs was brought up by Francesco whose narrative was the first one I collected, and became a question I asked all the others. As can be imagined, it had to do with how and what they felt while changing and cleaning babies and toddlers, in particular after poo. Francesco brought it up when, after having stressed how educators – be they women or men – must earn the children's trust, he pointed out to me how the latter is also achieved by the way one takes care of a child's body and needs: "I always tried to find my own way, to control my reaction to feces and bad smells. ... We educators [regardless of gender] are constantly focused on the child". Such focus had an unexpected consequence on him: "what happened as consequence of working in a nursery school was that my senses of taste and smell became increasingly finer. You might not believe it, but this is exactly what happened. They [the senses of taste and smell] are among my 'working tools', because I can detect if one of our children is not well from her/his smell, I even know it before the child makes you understand that she/he feels sick. It's thanks to the smell she/he has". He recognized that people feel embarrassed by unpleasant body odors, though – especially with babies – they are unvoidable events. On his part, Edoardo remembered that upon beginning his nursery school work he was helped by the fact that he had taken care of his baby son, and also that, "caring for the elderly is not very different than caring for babies". On the contrary, Renato admitted that "at the beginning it was difficult for me to touch a child, and it is not a matter of the educator's gender! It would be difficult for a woman educator as well. Then, whether you like it or not, you have to reckon with these tasks ... As for the smell, and cleaning a child, with time it becomes a natural thing to do, unless you must do it right after lunch. The child should not feel that I am keeping him/her, and his poo, at distance. I don't have to 'play mother' while I clean it, but I shouldn't either keep him/her at distance because of his/her bad smell. In fact one can even play at a 'what a stink!' game. Because we aim at the child's independence, we will urge him/her to sit on the potty. And after all, to change a child is not a particularly intimate moment, on the contrary it is more like a factory chain, I mean an educator changes between 10 and 20 diapers a day, our sense of smell familiarizes with certain odors. I have no taboos, I feel in synphony with the children also at the body level". When I asked him about his reaction to babies'

odors, Matteo laughed and specified that “*one has to move quickly when he detects the signal*” (as in fact I saw him doing). But he made me notice that besides unpleasant smells there are also the pleasant ones: some babies and toddlers are washed and “perfumed” more than others, and “*one recognizes children also from their nice smell. But in a nursery school smells are pervasive: both the unpleasant and the nice ones. Think of the good smell of food that is cooking! But we don’t talk much about it among colleagues. And then there is also the smell of tears, of fear ... when a child is afraid, or is not well, I recognize it not only from the facial expression but also from her/his different smell*”. Paolo did not dwell on this aspect in details, but instead underlined how “*cleaning and washing the children is indispensable, the children enjoy feeling clean and well cared for. I never had any problems nor the children had. I could say that we are all at ease*”. However he mentioned an educational project on the sense of smell he was quite proud of: “*children enjoyed smelling the different aromas we had placed in small glasses covered with a piece of paper where we had punched small holes. They were invited to smell, to look at, to touch what was inside the glasses*”.

In the end, how did these men elaborate their being men and educators, how did they connect their professional dimension with their prior different life experiences that none of them wished to play down or set aside, and to which they in fact gave due relevance in their narratives? Riccardo pointed out that though his main interest is (and was, when he was still a nursery school educator) in his private practice, unlike other colleagues who moved to primary or secondary schools as soon as a post was available, he instead “*had wanted to stay working in the nursery school*” of which he appreciated the fact that babies and toddlers “*if they like you, they like you. No mediation in the nursery school !*”. Edoardo, who had worked for 15 years with the elderly, the handicapped, the psychiatric patients, recognized that accepting to work as a nursery school educator “*was the right choice to make, I got along well and didn’t have any problem*” in switching to take care of children and in such different environments. The change took place smoothly: “*I was lucky, the first year I chose to work in a structure where parents took their children and stayed with them there for the afternoon. Because there were adults there, I felt their participation provided [me with] a sort of bridge between my previous working experience and the future one. I felt really at home and worked with the adults as well*”. Francesco,³⁵ notwithstanding his deep “*involvement*” in the humanities in which he graduated, soon came to realize that he liked working with little children, regardless of his initial ignorance about nursery schools, and though he “*could not always transfer the educational theories studied [for the competition] into the everyday nursery school practice, such ability came with time*”. In any case, he stressed he is proud of being an educator, which is “*a joy because of the children. Sure there have been problems, but there has been a considerable institutional evolution since the mid-1990s*”. He introduced to me his woman colleague with whom he shares the educational responsibility of a group of children and stressed that “*it is not a matter of being a man or a woman, it’s a matter of the experiences one underwent. My*

³⁵ Riccardo and Edoardo also hold university degrees. Renato is working on his thesis.

colleague and I see things in a very similar way precisely because we were both into sports. We speak the same language, and we pay a lot of attention that children move around safely, yet we don't prevent them from exploring new games, and let them play them. We teach them not to hurt themselves, we teach them how to play safely". In my view, the good relation Francesco established with his colleague seems to be based not only on sharing a past in sports, but also on his family education ("my mother brought me up in a 'modern' way regarding gender equality ... [because] she sympathized for the feminist movement, which I then critically reflected on") and his experience with militant feminism. As he recollected, the few men educators don't have any specific influence on the way childcare is carried out, because it is heavily "feminized". He added that, in his view, generation, more than gender, was important: he was referring to the 1970s/1980s feminist generation, that he saw as "very ideologized", "very anti-male", while the younger women have a different attitude, as they no longer stand separate and together. Instead, in that decade, a man was portrayed and perceived by feminists as "other than themselves", and he remembered to have heard how "we are made in a way and men in another". He stressed how he had supported the women's protest though in some cases he was asked to leave the demonstration because he was a man. He said that "many a times I feel discriminated against, because I am categorized as a man regardless of the kind of person/man I am". He also thought as questionable the somewhat prevailing maternalistic attitudes that can produce recommendations such as either "you're a man, leave it to us", or "you're the man, you take care of this, go ahead, they [the parents] will listen to you". And thus Francesco learned to be authoritative, though "I pay lots of attention not to be authoritarian. [Because] first of all it is a matter of authority!". Renato remembered how being a substitute educator was different from being in the tenured position he achieved in 2007: "a substitute is under less pressure from a bureaucratic point of view and from the parents, because everyone knows he won't stay long in this or that nursery school. And then, one has no time to develop a real synergy with the children, there is little educational continuity. Thus it was important for me to learn and remember the names of the children, I tried to learn them as quickly as possible in order to become a 'member' of the nursery school as quickly as possible. I must admit that I liked to go from one nursery school to the other, some of the substitutions were for a year and in so called 'frontier' nursery schools, those for the Roma for example. I remember those times with satisfaction because if one is able to go beyond the institutional dimension, then one can be friends with the Roma. That I liked what I was doing was appreciated by most parents, in fact some of them even asked me if I could babysit for their children at home!". He interpreted mothers' exclusive relation to their children as the consequence of the missing intergenerational transmission of "know how" about children (a condition he and his partner experienced), on the one hand, and on the other as the result of stereotypical beliefs (such as 'leave it to me, I'll take care of it, I'll do it'). Instead "this is educational work and it is right for men to participate in it". Renato's curriculum vitae is quite interesting: born in a region of the deep Italian South, in a family of limited economic means, he attended teachers high school, but had a personal revolutionary project nourished by the literary works of Stirner,

Sartre, and Camus. He first ran away from home at 16, then again at 18 when he settled in a Northern Italian town, ready to move again if he ever heard of an interesting suggestion. In those times he saw himself as an anarchist and/or an existentialist. He judged the 1980s, when he was growing up, as the “*meaningless decade of consumerism*”, though, in a way, he would have liked to share in that consumption, go with the flow, “*homogenize*” socially and maybe achieve some social mobility. However, he was deeply aware that those were questionable bourgeois aspirations and that he had to refuse them. In fact he had always worked: at the beginning in the building trade – building stands for concerts, fairs or other popular events. Then he worked in a call center, afterwards – having enrolled at the university for a degree in education – he worked as a waiter in restaurants and hotels. As he pointed out, “*I’ve always worked, I’ve always supported myself*”. As for Matteo, he had studied to become an accountant, but once he realized he did not like that kind of work he adapted to a considerable number of different jobs, because he had not yet found what he liked to do: a conscientious objector, he worked in summer camps, then with disabled persons for 2 years, and during winter time he helped disadvantaged children. Later he worked in a farm, and afterwards in a factory where caravans were constructed. All along he was active “in the movement”, as we say in Italy, and had been in Genova in 2001 for the G8 Summit. At one point he wondered what he wanted to do with his life, and because his girlfriend of that time was organizing a cooperative to manage a local nursery school, he was asked if he wanted to participate in it. Working as a postman at the time, he decided “*to give it a try*”. He took an educational course and then enrolled in a vocational school for community services’ managers. He worked at the nursery school as assistant-educator: all his colleagues had educational degrees and he said he learned a lot from watching how they took care of the children. At night he would drive to a nearby town to attend the vocational school. Since he found he liked his new position, he enrolled at the university, for a degree in education. His political militancy could still be felt when he talked about children: “*children are all the same, even though they are not treated all alike. For instance, there is the class A child and the class B one. You should see the cars parents drive their children to school with! While some parents don’t even have a small car. In any case this educational service provided by the municipality is quite expensive. Education should be free!*”. Paolo had started working as substitute educator in 2004, at the age of 25, precisely in the nursery school where I collected his narrative about 10 years later. In 2009 he became a tenured educator owing to the many years of work as substitute educator. He had studied at a vocational secondary school, where students are prepared to work in the social services, including nursery schools. Possibly, the fact that his mother is one of the few women nursery school “operators”, made some difference: from his point of view, this family/nursery school connection was important because he became familiar with that particular environment very early, and very early he came to like it.

As the life experiences and trajectories of these men are different, it was interesting to learn how they saw their own professional future and that of the nursery school: Riccardo, in his written reflections, had questioned the assumption that nursery schools are “for women only”; instead, believing that men have a relevant

role to play in early childhood education, he regretted that meager public funding now favors the new family-based nursery schools, once more centred on the mother figure and role. Educators like him had had a pedagogical training, even though he recognized that in the early years educators had to make the best out of their own intellectual resources and investment, since the municipal educational coordination started only in the 1990s.³⁶ It is thus understandable that he should stress (just like his former colleagues) that an educator should not act “*as a ‘mother’ to the child entrusted to him/her*”, because early childhood care and education are not a matter of gender “naturalness”, but of specific knowledge, practice and reflexivity. Edoardo – not unlike what the other men educators had remarked in their narratives – pointed out that nursery school work is stressful both physically and mentally because “*children require, and absorb, lots of energy and enthusiasm [from the educators] that however tend to decrease with age. ... [In other words] it is a mental condition, we are not as ‘fresh’ as we used to*”. He made me notice that the nursery school workforce has grown old: most of them are in their 50s, having started to work in their 20s. He further claimed that bureaucracy has grown larger and larger, and tends to monopolize the minds of educators: “*these are the things that make one older!*”. He was not against educational planning for the good of the children, but he felt that it is somewhat characterized by a “top down” approach that “*frames*” educators and “*conditions*” them too much. And while he agreed that the work of the educators – all of them – should be assessed by evaluating how they implement the planned educational activities, he worried that in the end these procedures would burn off much of the educators’ creativity and freedom. He admitted that bureaucracy annoys him and wondered if such reaction was more typical of men, since he noticed that in group work he is always more impatient than his women colleagues. Paradoxically, either because of his impatience or because he is the only man in the group, he usually ends up playing the role of the mediator! Because of his mother’s work, Paolo knew about the changes obtaining in nursery schools: he remembered how “*nursery schools were at the beginning a social issue that later on became educational. Enrollment grew precisely because of its educational quality, but now it is down, there are fewer educators, and fewer funds. We make every effort to maintain the quality level of before, notwithstanding the scarce resources, it is more demanding for us, but we still work in small groups as few as we are*”. As for Renato, he shared with me how “*I am very happy to come here every morning, to come to my children, but not because they are mine, but because I like them. I don’t share this educational top down approach by the Educational Coordination. Earlier on there was room for innovation, now every one must plan and do the same activities. No more unconventional educators like in the 1970s. And there are more and more externalizations, fewer or no more municipal nursery schools because they are too expensive, the private sector or the cooperatives are taking hold*”. It was a feeling Matteo agreed with: “*basically – he stressed – I feel happy, this work is almost a a sort of enjoyment, it is right for me. Unlike my previous jobs, even my health has gotten better. It is a work that makes me feel all right, I really like to be with children,*

³⁶ About the Educational Coordination Office, see Catarsi (2010).

it improves my good humour". Nevertheless, he was aware of the contradictions existing at the educational level: "each of us strive to affirm certain values, knowing very well that children are not alike. Children do not all live on same economic and social level, there are those who have more, and those who have nothing, and besides we educators do not yet know if every child will have the same opportunity than others". With regard to the work itself Matteo was convinced that "this is a job that questions yourself as a person, as you are, it is based on relation, and if one is sick helshe must make any effort to go on with the show. The way I act as an educator is to push into the background any feeling of uneasiness, I try to achieve and maintain the right distance, I try to infuse my work with myself, and at the same time I am careful that such infusion might not be too much".

65.5 Conclusions

In voicing his critical position towards giving "gender" a focal place in discourses of early childhood education and care, Matteo had pointed out that if men educators are "more physical" (i.e., ready to engage in outdoor play and projects,³⁷ and to encourage children to move around even when they are inside, etc.), so are many women colleagues, and that, in the end, "men are also different from each other". In fact the narratives I collected (and that are only partially presented here) precisely testify how personal histories and interests, as well as social concerns and engagement, make each of these educators different from his other men colleagues, though the commitment of every one to build a trustworthy and educationally positive relationship with children and "accompany" or "support" the latter's emotional and learning trajectories allows seeing all six as a collective, characterized by a shared process of constructing a professional identity not exclusively based on the gendered distinction. Such identity had not very firm foundations at the beginning, owing either to the lack of familiarity with the nursery school environment (as expressed in Riccardo's surprise for "those tiny tables, chairs, beds!", or Francesco's wondering about what kind of educational place nursery schools were), or to the limited formation in care work that was progressively built "in the field" or "by doing it [i.e., care work]", especially in the case of the four of them who had seized working in a nursery school, when such opportunity presented itself.³⁸ However, even those as Riccardo, Francesco and Edoardo, who had studied education or social work, had to consider how much of their training and/or experience was

³⁷ Some nursery schools have a small vegetable garden in their backyards that children are invited to tend, and in one of them (that will be the object of a different text) berry shrubs and hedges of aromatics were planted by the man educator so that children could develop their senses of smell and taste.

³⁸ The foursome seems to validate the European research findings, according to which most men who enter careers traditionally hegemonized by women and defined as gender-specific, such as childcare, have "retought careers" (Vandenbroeck and Peeters 2008).

immediately useful in caring for babies and toddlers. In a critical appraisal of nursery school educators' formation,³⁹ it is pointed out how the local administrations' decision to establish nursery schools had to reckon with "the lack of a psycho-educational culture concerned with children between 0 and 6 years of age, as well as of a national formative blueprint" (Cocever 2014, p. 175), that was initially answered by annual or semester courses at the local level, rather than at the university's. If this diagnosis recalls Frabboni's criticism (1985) that was crucial in promoting the notion and practice of educational planning, the process of *learning nursery school care work while caring for the babies* narrated by these educators can suggest a different interpretation, namely one that sees the co-construction of a professional identity and practice in terms of *situated learning* (cfr. Lave and Wenger 1991): in fact, these educators more or less explicitly describe themselves as apprentices to more experienced colleagues⁴⁰ whom from a metaphorical margin they observed providing to the needs of children, before they were in turn able to step in and take care of children's well being and emotions (and do so in one's own way, as Riccardo narrated), and testify of their own agency and unforeseen potentials.⁴¹ As they succeeded in being engaged with the children, their apprenticeship ramified to include *learning from the children's responses* to their caring and educational activities ("I provide them with continuity and they trust me"; "from the point of view of the body it is an experience of diversity that the child cannot but feel"; "if they like you, they like you") as well as *from their own feelings and memories*. Thus, a baby's pain and fear at seeing his/her mother leave made Riccardo remember his own childhood, while, in playing with, or cleaning one of them, he would "listen to the emotions ... in my inner self ... be in eye contact with him/her ... show attention for his/her physicality". Francesco highlights the relevance of his past experience in sports when taking care of the children's bodies and of his own body language, and revives the memory of how much he enjoyed playing with his friends in a park to explain that an educator must create the conditions for the children to move around "freely, independently and safely". The gratification Edoardo feels in witnessing the babies and toddlers grow and change is related, and compared, to his previous experience with the elderly, Matteo hypothesizes that in choosing to become a nursery school educator he might have aimed "to be a fatherly figure for the children" (having always been surrounded by women in his early years) and Paolo highlighted the connection between his work and his prior "familiarity" with nursery schools. As was seen, the body – that of the children as well as that of the men – came to the foreground in many points of the narratives as a constitutive, and touching, aspect

³⁹ Acknowledging the persisting feminization of care work and education, Cocever (2014) writes "educators" in the feminine (*educatrici*).

⁴⁰ The more experienced women colleagues had set the rules that had become almost "naturally" institutionalized. To go counter those rules – as Riccardo did – meant not so much affirming a gendered point of view but placing the children – their needs and potentials – at the center of caring and educational action.

⁴¹ Scheffler's elaboration on human potential could provide a fruitful, open-ended interpretation of the personal and professional realization these men attained in nursery school work (see Scheffler 1985).

of the educators' learning process: when, for instance, they underlined how they understand that, through their smell, children communicate pain or fear, or a family's special attention, or when they sit on the floor to read a story and interact on an equal basis and more freely with the toddlers. In their narratives, these men educators could not but recognize that their presence "*made waves*",⁴² that it was, and is, appreciated by most families⁴³ and, according to Edoardo and Renato, reassures mothers that they will not be their competitors. Yet, they all shied away from representing their work and professional identity in terms of a gendered perspective and repeatedly stressed their status as educators, and that "*what counts is how an educator is, and what his/her personal formation is. (...) [Because] this is a job that question yourself as a person*". In other words, the *diversity* they, as men, introduce to balance gender inequality is once more interpreted – an interpretation they all shared – as the persons' diversified experiences that nourish a professional identity, and is in turn nourished by the latter. The regret they all expressed about some loss of pedagogic creativity owing to a top down educational planning, and the difficulty in maintaining today the quality standards of Hilltown nursery schools (because of growing costs and scarce resources), suggest that the debate about (gender) equality must be complemented by the concern for the social diversity of children that translates in diversity (i.e., inequality) of opportunities and future participation because "*each of us strive to affirm certain values ... [but we know that] children do not all live on the same economic and social level, there are those who have more, and those who have nothing, and besides we educators do not yet know if every child will have the same opportunities than others*".

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⁴²The surprise and the "waves" these men educators made in the nursery school environments evoke the unpredictable man educator who is the main character of director Marco Ferreri's movie *Chiedo asilo* (Seeking asylum) (1979). The word *asilo* in Italian indicates both the shelter and the nursery school, conveying the historical notion that the places where needy children were hosted had protection as their major goal. Ferreri obviously played with the double meaning of the word.

⁴³Though aware of the issue of pedophilia, families never raised it. On the contrary see Peeters (2012).

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Chapter 66

School Choice, School Markets and Children's Urban Socialization

Clément Rivière and Sonja Kosunen

66.1 Introduction

Schools in cities are places for children's socialization. This chapter aims to extend and enrich the understanding of urban education by highlighting the relation between children's schooling experiences and their *urban socialization*, defined as the social process that shapes their representations and action in urban space. The interaction between the school and children's urban "careers" (Becker 1963) has indeed rarely been studied, despite of their porosity: the journey to school, for instance, is generally the first experience of children's autonomous mobility across European countries (Vercesi 2008). More broadly, the urban socialization is often an overlooked dimension in the study of "primary socialization", as defined by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on the urban outcomes of the schooling experiences, such as the acquisition of mobility skills and other socializing effects, and have a closer look at the phenomenon in terms of social class. We specifically concentrate on the journey to school and the transition to lower secondary education, as that shift within the comprehensive education seems somehow to change the child's relationship with the surrounding neighbourhood and public transportation.

Recent studies concerning lower-class pupils (Méndez 2013) and students (Pasquali 2014) entering elite institutions located in well-off areas offer several avenues for research. First, the journeys to school give children information about their own social identity and the identity of other groups, through a better

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consciousness of the social structure of the city. Second, social ties and networks develop (or do not develop) around these practices of mobility. Third, the child's self-esteem arises in relation to the ability to travel alone across the city. All these processes take place in relation to children's social backgrounds. Therefore, sociological research has highlighted the social differentiation of socialization processes, a result that invites to tackle inequalities and their production among children.

This chapter draws on in-depth interviews conducted with parents living in two socially mixed areas of Paris (France) and Milan (Italy), which allows to investigate the role played by political and socio-cultural contexts in shaping children's urban socialization. In particular, the role of school choice policies, which influence the journeys the children make to school and that have "important implications for children's development of local social capital" (Weller and Bruegel 2009), will be discussed.

After a short presentation of the methodology and the local contexts of this study, in the first empirical section of this article, we describe the school journeys and related experiences and the embedded processes of urban socialization. Second, we discuss the role of the families' school choices, and schools as producers of urban inequalities among children. The final section focuses on results concerning the school markets as structural contexts for urban socialization processes.

66.2 Methodology

The empirical material used in this chapter was gathered for a study focusing on parental supervision of children's mobility and outdoor play practices (Rivière 2014). Between March 2009 and April 2012, 78 in-depth interviews were conducted with 88 parents (51 mothers, 17 fathers and 10 couples) in the cities of Paris and Milan. Forty three interviews were conducted in Italian in Milan, and 35 in French in Paris, all of them transcribed in the original language and later on subjected to qualitative content analysis. The choice of conducting interviews with parents of at least one child aged from 8 to 14 (123 children, 171 overall – see Table 66.1) was based on the interest on studying more accurately the changes in parental supervision in relation to the children's entry to lower-secondary school.

The interest for studying this transition follows the tradition of previous urban studies in urban education (e.g. Weller and Bruegel 2009), which have highlighted the fact that this transition is a shift concerning children's mobility practices. In addition, the usual age for accessing lower-secondary school is the same in France and in Italy (11 years of age – see Table 66.2), and thereby the idea was to define a symmetrical setting: from 3 years before entering lower-secondary school (8 years old) to 3 years after (14 years old).

The structure of the semi-structured thematic interview was divided into three parts: the first one concerned the life in the neighbourhood and the residential trajec-

Table 66.1 Age of interviewees' children

Age	Milan	Paris	Total
18 and more	3	5	8
15–17	7	4	11
14	7	6	13 (10.6%)
13	4	7	11 (8.9%)
12	12	9	21 (17.1%)
11	8	7	15 (12.2%)
10	6	10	16 (13%)
9	19	10	29 (23.6%)
8	10	8	18 (14.6%)
5–7	9	9	18
4 and less	3	8	11
Total	88	83	171
Total 8–14	66	57	123 (100%)

Table 66.2 Usual ages at primary and lower-secondary school in France and Italy

School level	Usual age	France	Italy
Primary	6–7	Cours préparatoire	Prima elementare
–	7–8	Cours élémentaire 1	Seconda elementare
–	8–9	<i>Cours élémentaire 2</i>	<i>Terza elementare</i>
–	9–10	<i>Cours moyen 1</i>	<i>Quarta elementare</i>
–	10–11	<i>Cours moyen 2</i>	<i>Quinta elementare</i>
<i>Lower secondary</i>	11–12	<i>Sixième</i>	<i>Prima media</i>
–	12–13	<i>Cinquième</i>	<i>Seconda media</i>
–	13–14	<i>Quatrième</i>	<i>Terza media</i>
–	14–15	Troisième (lower secondary school)	Scuole superiori (high school)

tory of the interviewee; second, the children's usage of public space (with their parents and without them); and the third the parents' perceptions of urban life and social control over their children in public space. The interviews lasted between 30 and 165 min, with an average length of 73 min. As highlighted in Table 66.3, interviewees were contacted by various means, such as local associations, but also directly in public spaces and via snowball-sampling.

Social class is considered an important factor constituting the educational practices of families and educational trajectories of their children (e.g. Lareau 2003; van Zanten 2009). It is defined here as a combination of the parents education level and position in the labour market. The relative proportion of families from lower social backgrounds is slightly higher in Milan (12 working class parents out of 51) than in Paris (7 out of 37), but middle-class parents constitute the majority in our material in both contexts (62 parents out of 88, about 70%) (Table 66.4).

Table 66.3 Means used to contact interviewees

	Milan	Paris	Total
In public or semi-public spaces	19	8	27 (34.6%)
Through local associations	12	5	17 (21.8%)
Through school parents associations	2	12	14 (17.9%)
Through previous interviewees	7	4	11 (14.1%)
Through common acquaintances	2	6	8 (10.3%)
Other	1	–	1 (1.3%)
Total	43	35	78 (100%)

Table 66.4 Social class of the interviewed parents (N = 88)

Social class	Milan	Paris
Upper class	3	4
Middle class	36	26
Working class	12	7
Total	51	37

As similar as possible areas have been selected in order to enforce the comparability of this study. More specifically, these neighbourhoods in the two cities share similar features concerning the social and cultural heterogeneity of their population, their morphology, their (north-eastern) location in the city and their historical trajectories.

The area investigated in Milan (Monza-Padova) counted 76,427 inhabitants in 2008. Around one quarter (23.7%) of them were immigrants (a share ten times higher than 20 years before), which reflects the long history of internal and later on international migration towards this first farming and then small-industry area. The neighbourhood is well connected by road and public transportation to the centre of Milan, and its population has progressively changed in relation to the de-industrialisation process, as highlighted by gentrification trends in some delimited sectors of the area.

The area investigated in Paris (Villette-Belleville, 125,393 inhabitants in 2008) is located in the 19th district of Paris, which is on the territory of the former independent municipalities of La Villette and Belleville. It has several features in common with Monza-Padova, in particular its initially rural and then industrial history. The 19th district is a socially and ethnically mixed area (15.7% of foreigners in 2008) with a lower quality provision of both public and private secondary education, if compared with more central districts of Paris.

66.3 Schooling Experience and Urban Experience

What could be constantly derived from the interviews was the fact that children's practices of mobility are significantly shaped by their school "career" (Becker 1963). In both cities, the primary school in particular appeared as a springboard

towards children's urban autonomy. They travelled more often to secondary schools without adult supervision. Simultaneously studies show that in several Western countries, also in France, access to secondary school is one of the two most dangerous periods for children in terms of fatal traffic accidents (Granié 2010).

The age of the first autonomous journey to (and/or from) school varies accordingly to a set of environmental characteristics. First, the possibility for the child to go to school without adult supervision, but along with other children, has a positive impact on the level of autonomy reached at identical steps of the school path. Those children can be neighbours, schoolmates or sons of parent's friends or acquaintances living in the neighbourhood. In such a perspective, around home the presence of other children who are attending the same school is a precious resource for autonomy.

When she entered primary school, we could not go and pick up her anymore, so I asked two sisters living in our building if they would accept to take my daughter with them every morning. This is the way she began going to school without us. And also at the end of the school day, as they were leaving at the same hour. Then, progressively, she did it by herself, in a natural way so to say. (Father, Employee in an employment agency, two daughters aged 25 and 12, Paris)

However, what parents take into account in their decision is mostly the levels of complexity and perceived danger associated to the journey. As outlined in previous research, living close by the school tends to encourage parents into letting their child travel the journey to school without adults (Lewis and Torres 2010). Beyond the mere physical distance, journeys perceived as more complex (e.g. including heavily trafficked streets to cross, narrow sidewalks and/or deserted spaces) make parents significantly more reluctant to concede autonomy to their children on their way to school, an increasingly frequent request as they grow up.

He has been asking me recently if he could go to school alone, or come back from school alone. It's not so close from here, around twenty minutes walking. He has a large street to cross... And then there is a crossroad with no traffic light, which is quite dangerous. It is true that I don't feel so relaxed when I imagine him walking alone over there. (...) I know that he has a good friend who goes alone to school, but he has only five minutes to walk, and that is not comparable. (Mother, Engineer in a public research centre, one son aged 9, Paris)

As discussed in previous research (see e.g. Vercesi 2008; Weller and Bruegel 2009; Lehman-Frisch et al. 2012a), the access to secondary education profoundly shapes the autonomization process of children's mobility practices. The first year of lower-secondary school (*sixième* in Paris, *prima media* in Milan – with children around 11 years old) means in most cases the start of autonomous journeys to school, as they are not accompanied anymore. The reasons for this change are multiple, as will be shown in the following analyses. The shift towards autonomous mobility within the city frequently occurs during the first days or weeks following the beginning of school year. Table 66.5 describes this phenomenon for the Parisian case: the share of children accompanied by their parents for the journey to school declines along the years and reaches zero when the children reach the age of 11,

Table 66.5 The journey to school (Paris)

Age	Children accompanied by an adult	By an older member of the brotherhood	Mixed forms of accompaniment	Alone or with schoolmates
8	5 (62.5%)	2 (25%)	1 (12.5%)	–
9	5 (50%)	–	4 (40%)	1 (10%)
10	4 (40%)	–	3 (30%)	3 (30%)
11	–	1 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)	5 (71.4%)
12	–	–	–	9 (100%)
13	–	–	–	7 (100%)
14	–	–	–	6 (100%)

whereas the share of children making the journey alone or with school-mates quickly increases as they get older.

As a matter of fact, in Milan, a significant number of primary schools do not let pupils go home alone after school, which sheds another light on the role played by school as an institution in shaping the urban autonomy of children. In this case the school provides limitations.

My son goes and comes back to school with one of us, because the head of the school ask parents to do so. Until the last year of primary school. They say they have to be sure the children enter the school, they have to be given to teachers by parents themselves. (Mother, Educator, one son aged 8, Milan)

At primary school they don't let children go out alone. Someone they know has to come and pick them up. (Mother, Civil servant, one son aged 10, Milan)

In both cities, interviewees' discourses allow to analytically distinguish four explicative factors for the significant effect of access to secondary school on children's autonomy during the journey to school. First, lower-secondary school, with its irregular hours, make it more difficult for parents to accompany the child. Second, as for cultural, play and clothing practices (Pasquier 2005; Mardon 2010), also peer group pressure among children increases significantly, and is a strong disincentive in relation to be escorted to school by a parent. Third, the parents who are the most reluctant to let their children go alone observe that most pupils do the journey without adults, which further reassures them.¹ Last but not least, and in relation to the previous arguments, lower-secondary school does not serve adults' social relations as much as primary school does, that is to say that the parents are more involved in the activities of primary schools and thereby know the other parents better. Beyond the mere journey to school, this progressive gain of autonomy reverberates on daily mobility practices and outdoor play in the neighbourhood.

You don't walk anymore to school with your child. My daughter from the beginning told us... I mean, I did not really consider to accompany her anyway, but she told us: "I warn

¹The observed autonomy of other children can also be used by less autonomous children when they negotiate more freedom with their parents.

you, you will not go with me, not even for part of the journey, nothing, you let me go by myself". (...) During the last year at primary school, I was the one saying: "Now you could go alone to school", but she was not interested, she wanted us to go with us. But as soon as she entered lower-secondary school...

So, she associated lower-secondary school and going there by herself?

She did, yes. From the beginning. Even before, she talked about this during summer holidays: "You won't walk with me to lower-secondary school, no way". (Mother, Project officer, one daughter aged 11, Paris)

At the beginning I was accompanying my elder daughter, and then I saw that most of them go back alone from there. So that I felt more relaxed to let her go alone. (Mother, Housewife, two daughters aged 12 and 5, one son aged 9, Milan)

The last year of primary school was frequently considered as a training year for the practices of urban autonomy for the children, before they enrolled to lower-secondary school. This preparation does not only deal with exploring the new itinerary that the child will have to travel. Indeed, it can imply developing mobility skills such as taking public transportation alone (bus and/or underground) or facing new responsibilities such as holding home keys.

I have to say that during the summer between the end of primary school and the beginning of lower-secondary school, I tried to prepare him, to make him more ready by letting him close the door, sometimes I let him go alone to meet friends, so that he could be more used to these kind of things. So that now when he goes out alone I feel relaxed. (Mother, Housewife, one son aged 12, Milan)

During the last year of primary school, progressively... While going to school, I was walking behind him in order to make him get used walking alone. (...) I wanted him to be ready for his first year at lower-secondary school. (Mother, Primary school teacher, one son aged 11 and one daughter aged 5, Milan)

We train him to what he will have to face next year, because he will pass from primary to lower-secondary school and will have to go there alone, with the bus. (...) For instance, we have been trying to send him buy bread or similar easy things in the area. (Father, Sales representative, one son aged 10, Milan)

Attending lower-secondary level in school strongly shapes the representations of what the children can autonomously do in the city. As observed also for many other domains of children's lives (Chamboredon 1991), their position in the school path has consequences on the way they are perceived by adults. In short, the peer group's social pressure attached to attending the lower secondary school made the children willing to make their school journeys unaccompanied. Simultaneously the stage of schooling and the age of the children were considered by the parents in order to let them make the journey alone or with their friends. The changes in the everyday schooling from primary to lower secondary education seemed to shape what was considered desirable and what was embarrassing behaviour in terms of making the way to the school. This role played by the school as an institution in shaping children's urban socialization process gets all the more emphasised in the socially differentiated outcomes of school choices, which will be discussed in the following section.

66.4 School Choice and Urban Space: Changing Practices

School choices, in particular when children do not attend the local school, contribute to shaping the children's urban experience as the choice has several consequences on their practices of mobility, but also on their relationship with their own neighbourhood.

Schooling outside the neighbourhood fosters children's independent mobility, by confronting them with new experiences such as a regular use of public transportation. Sometimes the distance between home and school is long, due to the choice of a private school or a specific track, for example. As a consequence the pupils travel to school by bus, tram or subway, as described in the following two examples. Because of their choice of a specific track (courses both in French and German in the first case, intensive music education in the second one), these two children had to go to lower-secondary school quite far from home, and had to use the subway autonomously in order to reach the school.

At the beginning of the first year he was taking the bus together with a friend of his. Then he decided to take the subway, a journey with two changes but which is shorter in terms of time. Besides, he did not like the way so much, as he had to walk to reach the bus station, and it's very dark in wintertime. So that he begun to take the subway, and along his way he meets his schoolmates. He got used to the subway very quickly. (Mother, Part-time sales advisor, three sons aged 13, 11 and 7, Paris)

Before she used to go walking to school, as the journey was only five minutes long. Now she has to walk to the metro station, and has to change line. The journey in subway lasts around 15 minutes, she could not do that walking. So during the first days at her new lower-secondary school, she went together with her mother. And we found out that she has two schoolmates living in the neighbourhood, and now they often go together. In most cases they wait for each other and go to the station together. (Father, University teacher, one daughter aged 12, one son aged 8, Paris)

As highlighted by these two quotes, the children who are used to take the public transportation to go to school often meet other pupils along their way. Conversely, their access to local social networks tends to be significantly less extensive than in the case of children who go to the local school. Indeed, most of their schoolmates live in other neighbourhoods, and they have less possibilities to spend time with local kids. In such a perspective, school choices to other than the local school amplify the porosity between children's school experience and urban experience, as their social life is largely shaped by the networks they (and their parents) build at school (Weller and Bruegel 2009). This is a reason why an active decision in choosing the local school can be related to a fear of the child otherwise feeling socially isolated in the neighbourhood.

As her secondary school is not located in the neighbourhood, she has friends living... Not everywhere in Paris but further from here, so that to visit her she has to take the subway. She has to leave the neighbourhood. Social relations take her away from here. (Mother, Certified public accountant, two daughters aged 13 and 10, one son aged 7, Paris)

What I think is that if you go to a school outside your neighbourhood, and all the more if the school is far away, it is much more difficult to make friends and develop networks of friends. You cannot play with your mates after school for example. [...] I don't want her to live a life in which she feels isolated. I really don't. I think it's important to fully live the neighbourhood experience. (Mother, Project officer, one daughter aged 11, Paris)

The choice of another school than the local one has thus several urban outcomes for the children, as they get earlier used to an autonomous use of public transportation, and also as their social networks are embedded within their school experience. However, it is well-known that families school choices are shaped by their economic, cultural and social resources (see e.g. van Zanten 2009). This sheds a new light on the fact that middle-class and upper-middle class children, who more frequently go to school outside the neighbourhood in our sample, tend to take public transportation earlier than lower-class children. Especially, parents' efforts to progressively train their children to travel in bus or subway alone appear to be related with a desire to anticipate such constraints produced by schooling experience. School choices thus shape the urban socialization of middle-class children in a direct (when they go to school outside the neighbourhood) but also in an indirect way (as their parents anticipate this possibility in their training practices).

Anyway, within the five next years, he will have to... He is gonna do it [go to school in another neighbourhood]. So, without necessarily sending him alone in the subway, we try to teach him how to read a map, how to change between different lines, all kind of things that appear obvious when you are an adult, but are not so obvious for a child to whom they have not been explained. We try to raise his curiosity for this kind of things. (Father, Finance manager, two sons aged 10 and 3, Paris)

This year she will be dancing ballet, which I am not really keen on. However, the idea was to allow her to do what she wants, but also, as the journey to go there is quite long... It's not a test, but let say that if it's working there, it's gonna work also to go to lower-secondary school I don't know where. (Mother, Free-lance journalist, one daughter aged 9, one son aged 3, Paris)

Conversely, lower-class parents in our data rarely discussed future journeys to school as a reason for anticipating the transmission of mobility skills. School choices tend to contain lower-class children in their neighbourhood, whereas they favour the building of more diffuse social networks in the city for middle-class and upper-middle class children. This combination of a differentiated socialization to public transportation and of a differentiated construction of social networks certainly contributes to reproducing socially contrasted uses and representations of urban space. In particular, children's local social capital, defined as the resources deriving from access to social networks (Bourdieu 1980), mobility skills, ability and interest to navigate different kinds of neighbourhoods, appear to be partly shaped by the school choices families make. Upper-class and middle-class families have the means to conduct more sophisticated choices than their lower-class counterparts. This is related also to the practices of intentionally teaching the children how to behave and take their place in urban space, the instruction of how to use the public transportation being a concrete example of that. In other words, such choices contribute to producing a more or less "dominant" or "dominated" relationship with the

city, as these practices potentially have several outcomes on urban autonomy (e.g. being able to navigate an unknown area alone, to ask the way to strangers, to face unforeseen interactions...) and social networks. Such socializing and segregating effects should definitely be considered in terms of “transmission of differential advantages to children” (Lareau 2003), that is to say in terms of social inequalities. However, the comparison of the interviews collected in Paris and Milan highlight that school markets play a role in shaping these social contrasts.

66.5 School Markets and Children’s Urban Socialization

The choices of schools at different levels of education appear to shape more profoundly children’s urban socialization in the Parisian case (Villette-Belleville) than in the Milanese one (Monza-Padova).

As a matter of fact, school success tends to be a more important stake in the French context, where the transition to the next stage of education is tracked via performance measurements, and where it is eventually perceived as determining the social destiny of children (Oberti 2007). Whereas school degrees still protect from downward social mobility (Peugny 2009), school choice are conducted in a tense context in which youth is perceived as a “life investment” (Van de Velde 2008). As Agnès van Zanten (2009) states, school choices are not just any choices, but particularly important ones, as they include affective elements (such as choosing social networks for children via school) and have long-terms consequences on the child’s educational and even occupational career.

The modalities of school choice differ in Paris and Milan, as the school markets fundamentally differ on the basis of urban space. Parents’ strategies have frequently a spatial component in the Parisian case, where the allocation to public schools takes place by local school allocation policies within catchment areas. This is related to an unequal distribution of the educational offer in urban space (Oberti 2005), meaning, different provision of schools by amounts and quality across neighbourhoods, and with a legitimation of competition between schools over their pupils (first order competition, see Delvaux and van Zanten 2006) by recent policies (Oberti et al. 2012). As a consequence, the possibility of school choice often implies that there are differences across schools so that choosing has a rationale (Seppänen 2006), and sending the children to a school located outside the neighbourhood might seem attractive. The choices in Paris were conducted across neighbourhoods, as the school markets logic of action and unequal distribution of educational provision within and across areas emerged.

In Milan, however, school choices were more frequently about choosing between the local public school and the local private, catholic school located in the area. The local school market was less hierarchical by its symbolic structure and it was organised relatively more locally in order to serve better the every-day family life in Milan, more so than in Paris. In other words, school choices tended to produce less

social differentiation in terms of urban socialization in the Milanese case study than in Paris, where public schooling was sometimes considered as an eviction factor from the neighbourhood for middle-class children (in particular for the children whose parents considered school performance as a priority). Parisian parents were all the more conscious of symbolic hierarchies in school markets as prestigious public schools were quite easily reachable by public transportation, sharpening their perception of an unequal school offer.

Schools are a real problem. Probably in all kind of neighbourhoods, but some areas are advantaged, they have a really good public schooling offer, so to say an excellent public offer... Obviously, it is not difficult to send your children to the local school when it is among the best in the whole country. (Mother, Certified public accountant, two daughters aged 13 and 10, one son aged 7, Paris)

Discourses pointing out the necessity to go out of the neighbourhood to benefit from a quality education are a by-product of the high social and cultural diversity of the local population combined with the relative proximity of more prestigious public and private schools, sharpening parents' temptation to educate their children outside the neighbourhood. In fact, many upper-middle but also middle-class children ended up leaving the neighbourhood for more central and "better" schools, the timing of their flight varying accordingly to the profile of their parents (income, degree, profession, etc.). Such eviction of local space impacts the social mix at school, but also outside school as children's social networks are largely embedded with their everyday schooling. As a consequence, the provision of schools together with the school choices in the local school market could be considered as producing social segregation in Vilette-Belleville, illustrating at the local level the fact that school segregation in lower secondary schools is stronger than residential segregation at the metropolitan level (Oberti et al. 2012). At the same time, this hierarchized and tense market fosters the urban autonomy of the children who go to school outside their own neighbourhood, that is to say middle-class children.

Spatial and symbolic hierarchies of schools were much less central in the interviews conducted in Milan, where the schooling was strongly related to family care and was organised in a more locally-oriented way. Italy is a State whose welfare policies largely rely on families compared to other Western countries (Oberti 2009). Family members are thus of a great help in daily life organization, all the more as the amount of hours spent at school per day is shorter than in Paris. In particular, grand-parents play a "crucial" (Ghezzi 2012) role in children daily care in Milan: in interviews they are often described as indispensable resources for child-caring, restraining residential choices but also influencing the school choices.

A lot of people live in this neighbourhood because their own parents live here, so they stay living close by them.

Is it because they are helpful to take care of the children?

Yes. Definitely. I observed it myself very quickly because as soon as my son was born my mother helped me. She cannot drive so it was not possible for us to go too far because she was helping us, and we also could help her if necessary. The mother of my husband also lives in the area. (Mother, Primary school teacher, one son aged 11 and one daughter aged 5, Milan)

Mother: If the grand-parents were not living here...

They take care of your son from time to time?

Father: They go and pick him up after school every day, and accompany him to the swimming pool. (Father and Mother, Sales representative/Employee in a private company, one son aged 10, Milan)

Indeed, attending a school outside the neighbourhood would make it more difficult for the parents to benefit from the local familial help and would create additional costs in terms of time or money. Therefore the important role of the help received from the family members in Milan potentially slows down educational choosing strategies, which would lead to exiting the neighbourhood. This constraint combines with a lesser pressure on parents' shoulder than in Paris concerning school performance, as degrees have a relatively less decisive impact on social trajectories in the Italian context (Cousin 2009). As a consequence, parents' preferably choose a local Catholic school when they do not want their child to attend the local public school. The impact of such a choice on urban socialization is then obviously not the same than when the school chosen is far from home. In Milan the children of the neighbourhood seemed to use the local educational provision (both public and private) within the neighbourhood, whereas in Paris the experienced and applied school market extended to further areas also expanding the urban space of the children who were attending these schools.

The analysis of the interviews in the two contexts highlights the importance of the impact of the locality of the school markets on urban socialization. As a matter of fact, the local school appears as an institution (concerning its quality) evicting the local upper-middle-class children to further areas of the city in the Parisian case study, which contributes in producing and reproducing social segregation on the one-hand, socially contrasted urban socialization experiences on the other hand. The more family-oriented child-caring regime in the Italian context (Oberti 2000) highlights by contrast the more decisive role played by school in differentiating children's experiences in Paris.

66.6 Discussion

Considering school trajectories as "careers" allows to observe the role played by school as an institution in shaping children's ways of discovering the city, as the level reached in schooling appears to be more meaningful for urban socialization than biological age. More specifically, children acquire (or do not acquire) mobility skills along their school experience, build social networks inside and/or outside their neighbourhood, navigate different kind of urban environments according to the location of the schools. This chapter has touched upon the relations across families' school choices in Paris and Milan, the diversified and differently locally organized educational provision and their consequences both on school segregation as well as on the different capacities of children from different social backgrounds to use the public space and transportation efficiently.

The socializing effects of the school experience are thus not only related to the institution itself, its agents and users, but also to its location within urban space. Therefore, it is not enough to state that school is an agent in the urban socialization process. As a matter of fact, this agent produces socially contrasted outcomes for children in terms of urban skills acquisition (in particular regarding the autonomous use of public transportation), social mix, building of social networks and proximity/distance to the neighbourhood. It does not only produces school inequalities but also *spatial inequalities*, notably in relation with school choices, whose urban outcomes for children have rarely been taken into account by research. Most probably, it also produces social differentiation in the urban experience of parents, whose local social capital largely relies on their children's friendship ties (Weller and Bruegel 2009).

Whereas relatively few comparative research has been carried on children's mobility in urban space (see e.g. Lehman-Frisch et al. 2012b), the comparative perspective sheds light on the role played by school markets in shaping in a specific way the social differentiation of urban socialization. It appears in particular necessary to take into account local welfare configurations, i.e. the way families, the State and the market interact. In Paris, an "elitist state" organizes a very tense competition between schools and pupils, producing strong social and spatial hierarchies, which is a threat for local schools in socially mixed areas as it increases the likelihood of school segregation. In Milan, a "delegating state" relies more on families and the church as pillars of children's care, which makes the local schools -both public and private - the easiest way to cope with the organization of daily life. The spatial dimension of parental educational strategies appears to be weaker in Milan, whereas a very competitive and spatially hierarchized school market reinforces social differentiation in children's urban socialization in Paris.

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Chapter 67

Urban Education in Austria: ‘Repression’ of the Topic and a ‘Reversed’ Political Agenda

Lorenz Lassnigg

67.1 Introduction

The concept of urban education is not familiar in the Austrian and the wider German speaking discourse either. This can be shown by literature search, which is hampered by the fact that not even an expression in the German/Austrian language exists for this concept.¹ We find two exceptional occasions when the concept was highlighted: at a 2000 conference in Vienna carrying this name (Achs 2001), and at the 2011 European Conference for Educational Research in Berlin (EERA 2011) with the same general conference topic. A recent OECD publication gives a specific position of Austria in the urbanisation trend, as the displayed indicators show a tendency of below average achievement in urban contexts, whereas in most countries these areas rather show overall advantages, often also related to polarised structures within the urban contexts (OECD 2014, p. 3).

Whereas urban education gained prominence in the 1960s and 1970s in the English speaking discourse, the urban-rural polarity is rather reversed in Austria.

¹Literature searches using the terms ‘urban education’ and ‘rural education’ in titles and all text were run in the EBSCOHOST Education Research Complete database, also using ‘Austria’ as additional term. The searches found primarily items from the US, with some predominance of urban over rural education since the 1960s (without a disappearance of the latter); specific Austrian contributions to the international discourse were not found. Searches in the German PEDOCS database found very few contributions that focus on regional aspects; wider reviews and analyses about education research mostly do not take the rural-urban dimension as a specific topic, if they consider it, the proportions are very low (e.g., among 800 key words over four periods between 2000–2009, 200 per period, only one incidence of ‘regional’ and ‘Bundesland’ was found by Dees 2014; among 8.600 educational research projects the topic ‘regional planning’ counted 0,2% in Weishaupt and Rittberger 2012).

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The rural schools (*Landschule*) were a central topic of Austrian education policy in the 1950s (Göttlicher 2016); however, the concept of urban schools (*Stadtschule*) is mainly a historical term, used for the emergence of specific schools in the cities of earlier historical times up to the nineteenth century. Accordingly searching ‘urban education’ and ‘rural education’ in the ECER webpages² finds only references to some recent/current research projects dealing with rural schools. Two phenomena stand out with this polarity, first the discourse models the urban school as the (average) reference unit without naming it explicitly as such, and the rural as the exception which should be treated in some special ambiguous way (either supported or ‘normalised’); related to this, the broader issues of urbanisation are more or less neglected, and regional policies have focused towards the support of the non-urban regions. The second phenomenon demonstrates a kind of conceptual ‘repression’ in the old Freudian manner, as the main topics addressed in the international discourse about urban education related to disadvantage, stigmatisation, conflict, etc., are not tackled as serious and legitimate issues to be resolved, but rather marginalised and de-legitimised as incompetent malfunctions of Austrian schools and those responsible for them.

Whereas urban education is not emphasised as a deliberate topic, regional issues are heavily contested and politicised in Austria. Main messages by the policy makers and the researchers at the mentioned ‘Urban Education’-Conference 2000 clearly indicate this situation. Leaders from the Viennese board of education defend better urban opportunities by the more diverse and more complete supply against unsubstantiated and unjustified political critique based on rhetoric of a healthy and idyllic world in the countryside that in fact would restrict opportunities because of the missing education supply. They also point to fights about resources between the concentrated urban contexts and the strongly regionally dispersed and thus more expensive rural structures.

The researchers focus on the equity and efficiency issues related to the uneven regional opportunity structures and on the question of better/worse social background conditions in different regional aggregates. Austria has an early tracked school structure at the lower secondary level with a separation of a common (*Hauptschule*-HS) and a selective upper level academic school (*Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule*-AHS) starting at age 10 after 4 years of primary school (*Volksschule*). The composition of this lower secondary structure in compulsory schooling, and related to this the role and composition of the schools of the two tracks, differ fundamentally between urban and rural contexts, and these structural differences are related to the density of the regional supply of school types. The academic schools are concentrated in urban regions and the common schools are more widely dispersed in rural regions, thus the academic participation is much higher in towns and cities. This unequal regional participation is reflected in a regionally different composition of common schools. The rural ones include a wider spectrum of students, whereas the urban common schools concentrate on disadvantaged youth, who were

²See for the general search: <http://www.eera-ecer.de/search/>; and for ECER Berlin about ‘urban education’ http://www.eera-ecer.de/ecer2011/?no_cache=1

selected out from further educational careers. The big political contest concerns the attitudes towards these differences, one camp around the more rurally oriented Christian-Democrats favouring a more selective academic school and a strengthening of the common track, whereas the other around the more urban Social Democrats criticise the restricted opportunities in rural regions and advocate a reform of the tracked structure towards a (more) comprehensive school. Empirically the distribution of opportunities is contested because of a lack of data and information.³ The opportunities related to the two tracks are to some degree less unequal than the structure suggests, because the common school also provides a route towards upward mobility mainly through a track of upper secondary vocational colleges (*Berufsbildende Höhere Schulen-BHS*) that provide credentials at the same level as the academic track (AHS), and effective access to higher education. The contributions of the researchers at the 'Urban Education' conference have pointed to the problems resulting from the tracked structure, and the polarised ideological convictions related to them, which hinder progression towards a solution of the problems in either direction. Empirical analyses indicate on the one hand that the distribution of abilities in the rural common school is much broader than that of the urban academic schools, with much overlap in the upper range; thus, if the academic school provides more elaborate opportunities for learning and progression, the more able students of rural common schools are denied part of their potential opportunities (Eder 2001, 2009). On the other hand, the meritocratic pull towards the academic track in the urban regions drives the common school towards a high degree of concentration of disadvantage that deprives the participants in this track from part of their potential opportunities because of the related aggregation effects (Schrodt 2014).

Overall, the rural-urban polarity appears flawed in some fundamental ways in the Austrian perceptions and discourses about educational challenges. On the one hand the discourse is focused on an aggregate perspective of the national formal structure of education, driven by the tracked vs. comprehensive polarity; on the other hand the various stakeholders involved in the actors constellations of education policy and practice are in different ways embedded in different kinds of national, regional and local communities, thus perceiving the educational structure from different angles. Because of the regionally biased structure, very different evaluations of the status-quo arise, implicitly addressing rather four categories of schools than the formal two ones academic and common, i.e. urban academic schools, rural common schools, rural academic schools, and urban common schools; more or less neglected is the complex area in between, in the regions around the bigger cities, which we might call a sub-urban one. The protagonists at the poles of the tracked-comprehensive polarity argue on a basis of different images of the school structure,

³The Austrian education statistics do not include data and information about the social background of students, thus it was the gradually increased participation in the International Assessments (TIMSS, PISA, PIRLS) that has provided this kind of information, and a more recently started big endeavor of the periodical recording of educational standards at grades 4 and 8 provides also punctual social background information.

somehow both neglecting the topics of urban education: the advocates of the tracked structure have the generalisation of the rural types of a selective academic school and a diverse common school in mind both of which were never common, as will be shown below, whereas the protagonists of the comprehensive structure rather argue from the perspective of the urban structure of diverse (common) academic schools and marginalised common schools, which do not reflect the challenges of the rural structure. A political focus on a change of the average formal system structure will not be appropriate to both sides of the rural-urban polarity. As a general consequence, there is no common ground in the political discourses, and a common strategy of finding solutions cannot be found, partly because of these different 'languages'.

This overall interpretation will be deconstructed in the chapter at some levels of analysis, in order to show the complexity of forces behind the polarised discourses, trying to tackle the tensions between ideologically founded perceptions and – also to some extent ideologically biased – 'realities' that create a kind of confusion. Institutionalism in a loose version is used as a theoretical and methodological lens of looking at the rural-urban polarity by assuming that the various institutional frameworks (political actors and structures, schools and their administration, administrative structures, etc.) involved in the double sense of organisational and normative structures are representing and at the same time influencing the meaning of the regional spaces, and are interrelated in complex ways (intersectionality). In this perspective the regional divisions are part of the actors and their practices in the various interrelated societal fields. The following interrelated dimensions are considered:

- First, the phenomenology of the urban/rural structures as an aggregating-distributing mechanism of the population and the societal environments including the distribution of educational institutions is analysed in greater detail. In the Austrian discourses the shape and development of urbanisation is more or less taken as a given that is not further questioned as a reality shaping phenomenon.
- Second, the historical legacies of the political conflict related to the educational structure are conceptually embedded into the also historically evolved broader political structures that reflect the regional divisions and the social actors attached to them (centralist-federalist state structure, agriculture-industry-services, political organisations, religious attachments to these elements, etc.). In this perspective the urban-rural division of schools cannot be conceived as a separate functional issue, but is part of a complex wider structure.
- Third the current issues in urban education are related to the political (in)capacities to cope with the problems (ideological, normative and structural constraints, distributional issues in financing, etc.). At this level the federalist governance structures are of concern, which include the rural-urban polarity because the capital of Vienna as the biggest urban entity is one of nine political and administrative units in the Austrian federalism, whereas the majority of other federalist units only include none or much smaller urban agglomerations.

- Since the late 1960s (im)migration has emerged as a specific topic concerning urban education, which was repressed as an explicit issue for a long time. However, the topic has increasingly received attention because of the emerging diversity among students, and different effects on rural and urban schools (demographic dynamic, language policy, cultures, etc.); since the 1990s these issues have also become politicised in a polarised way, thus hampering functional solutions.

The intersection of these dimensions turns the urban-rural polarity into such a complex phenomenon that is neither easy to understand nor to tackle in a reasonable and functional way. In the following these dimensions are discussed and analysed more deeply.

67.2 Urban/Rural Structures and the Educational Institutions

The discourse about urban education is strongly driven by images of big metropolitan agglomerations, in the diction of the OECD by the emergence of megacities. In the regional, economic, and innovation related fields that deal with 'competitiveness' on a global scale the urban regions have been distinguished as a separate level of discussion beyond the national level. The metropolitan or city regions are devised to compete among each other on a global scale, and in parallel also to cooperate with each other (e.g., the Eurocities project). In this sense, the bigger city agglomerations are to some degree conceptually disembedded from their national contexts (Florida 1999), and at the same time pushed into a new action structure that includes multiple comparisons among each other (e.g., various city rankings). A key discourse concerns innovation (e.g., regional innovation systems) and the contribution of higher education institutions (which have also become object of various global rankings).

The universities are deemed to have undergone waves of 'academic revolutions' (Etzkowitz 2004), the most recent one under the auspices of 'academic capitalism' (Rhoades and Slaughter 2004). Within the discourses of the knowledge economy and society, and more recently the 'knowledge triangle' of research, education and innovation the (urban) educational structures and institutions are tightly involved as a feeding device into higher education which in turn is expected to be globally competitive. Higher education institutions should at the same time also be more strongly embedded into the local environment by developing multiple interactions and relationships with the surrounding economy and society through the 'third mission'.

In relation to the national urban-rural dynamic in the frameworks of education, these discourses point towards a pooling of resources, and also towards regional concentration, thus changing the previous regional policy paradigm of more even distribution of resources among different aggregates towards the global competitiveness of the urban agglomerations. This change poses questions about conse-

quences for the urban-rural relationships at a national or regional level: does it promote the agglomeration tendencies, and the flow of resources towards them? How is higher education distributed among the agglomerations of different space and concentration? How are the rural regions affected by a (cyclical) dynamic of pull-effects from the agglomerations vs. investments into being a better feeder for them? Overall, in the polarity of the assets (strengths) and challenges (weaknesses) of urban education, this discourse increases the demand for improvement, and at least in short sight also might pose decisions about where to distribute (additional) resources with the highest effects. These questions seem more pressing for small countries, as the investment potential into big centres of research and innovation is substantially smaller simply because of the scale of the available resources.⁴

Looking at the regional structures in Austria, some observations can be made on a comparative⁵ and on a national level. Vienna as the Austrian capital city hosts the biggest share of the national population compared to the other main Western capitals; however, the overall urbanisation of Austria stagnates on a low level, whereas it is increasing in most other regions and countries. This signifies an overall comparatively small degree of urbanisation, and a big difference between the capital metropole of Vienna and the other Austrian agglomerations. The national data support this picture (see annex Tables 67.1 and 67.2). Figures 67.1 and 67.2 show the structure, based on a distinction between the administrative town/city regions, the (functional) agglomerations in which they are embedded, and the 'pure' rural regions, which are also functionally separate from urban environments. A striking point is that the administrative urban entities (enclosing 38% of the Austrian population) give an underestimating picture of urbanisation, as the greater urban regions which are functionally surrounding the towns and cities are adding further 28% living in de facto but not administrative urbanised regions (Fig. 67.2). The small towns being not linked to bigger agglomerations, which are to some degree an influential paradigm of living environment in the public discourses and perception enclose only a small proportion of the population (3% in the administrative town regions plus 5% in their immediate surroundings), whereas the hidden urban agglomerations around Vienna and the other bigger towns/cities (a kind of suburbia) enclose one fourth of the population (762 T around Vienna and 1.3 M around the other towns/cities within agglomerations); this kind of quasi-urban-metropolitan environments is treated as a mixture of towns and more rural environments in

⁴This point can be illustrated, if we look at the scale of the big global research universities in the US in relation to a 'normal' university in a small state (already times ago the budget of the University of California alone was similar to the whole Austrian higher education budget); looking at the global rankings, there are only few institutions in small countries that can fairly compete with the big US elite institutions (e.g. ETH Zurich), and Finland tries to step into this path with the development of the Aalto University (the success of which, however, cannot be reasonably predicted at this point).

⁵Comparisons of urbanisation are to some degree hampered by the fact that the demarcations of the cities from their greater environment might differ, consequently not the same units are compared if national definitions are the basis of the data (which is often the case; the European NUTS-Definition is a standardized one but restricted to EU member states).



Fig. 67.1 Stylised geography of urban regions in Austria (Source: author's own picture based on analysis of Austria Statistics data. Legend: *thick circles* with city/town names = big agglomerations; *thin circles* = smaller agglomerations; town names *outside circles* = small towns, linked to each other (by —) or stand alone)

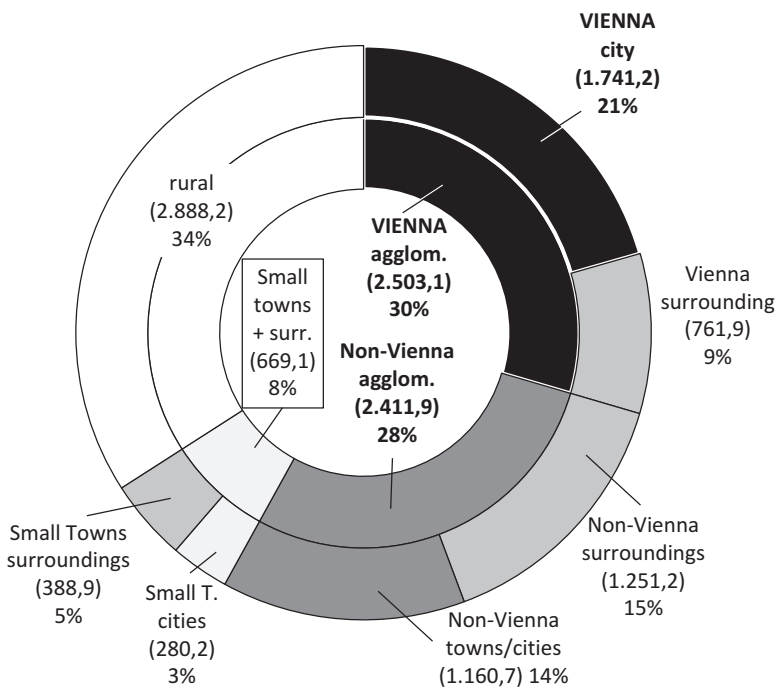


Fig. 67.2 Population by urban and rural regions (Source: author's own figure based on own analysis of Austria Statistics data)

administrative-political practices as well as in the public perception. However, if the agglomerations are taken into account, the greater regions of Graz and Linz enclose 550 T resp. 650 T populations that are substantially more urbanised than the city areas alone (260 T resp. 200 T), and also change ranks, as the Linz-surroundings are much more densely populated than the Graz surroundings.

As these agglomerations are hidden from the attention, the social circumstances are not known, in particular, how the duality in urban environments between the more wealthy on the one side, and the more disadvantaged and problematic parts on the other are distributed in those hidden urbanised regions. In the discourse mostly the wealthy side is considered, as on average these regions are relatively richer in terms of regional GDP.

Two kinds of consequences for the educational structures follow from this hidden urbanisation process: First, the issue of 'economies of scale' differs between urbanised and non-urbanised regions, as the focus on financing is laid only within the communes, without considering the neighbouring ones, and also competing with neighbouring ones for status and resources; thus a degree of waste of resources might emerge; as the transport flows and structures within these regions are heavily biased towards the agglomeration centre, the opportunities of the middle class might be biased or violated to some degree because the school supply is overall less broad and diverse than in the cities. Second, because of the superficially more wealthy status, the 'dark sides' connected with urbanisation might be relatively even more marginalised in these areas than in the city regions, because the attention (and prejudice) is driven away from these problems, normally attached to urban youth. Because of the overall 'repression' of urban education the latter problems are quite unexplored by research.

The structure of the supply of schools is originally explored in Figs. 67.3 and 67.4, displaying the distribution of participation in different versions of regional typologies.

The hidden urbanisation by the regional agglomerations around the urban centres can be broken down by the population density. Thus the regional units that look rural by population density alone are located within the wider environment allowing a comparison of the less or lowly urbanised regions with the densely urbanised centres. Figure 67.3a shows how the school types are distributed across the regions, as compared to the rough distribution of the population.⁶ We see a clear divide between the mass compulsory schools on the one hand, which are even more widely

⁶The distribution of categories in the sum of all schools is always more similar to the compulsory schools because their overall number is much higher (all schools N=6.015, primary N=3.066; lower secondary mass schools N=1.104; lower secondary academic N=268; upper secondary academic N=345; total upper secondary N=1.710; because of an ongoing structural reform in lower secondary mass schools the number of schools must have been estimated; the academic school sites as organizational units mostly comprise lower and upper secondary levels, thus the number of physical academic school sites is similar to the number of upper secondary schools; the total number of upper secondary schools includes the academic and vocational schools, also the part-time compulsory schools related to apprenticeship and the institutionally separate schools for health occupations.

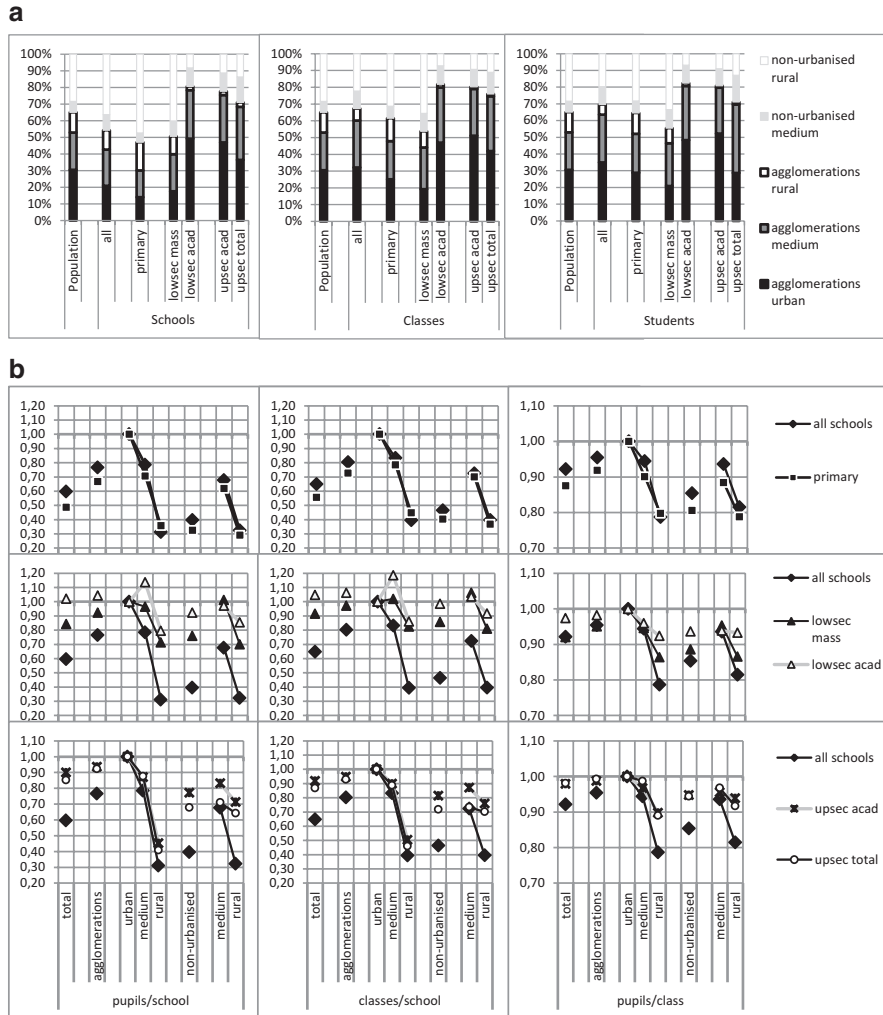


Fig. 67.3 Participation variables by regional type of agglomeration and population density. (a) Distribution of schools, classes and pupils by type of agglomeration and population density. (b) School size and pupils per class by type of agglomeration and population density (Source: authors own figure based on own analysis of Austria Statistics data)

distributed towards the rural regions than the population, and the selective academic and upper secondary school, which are strongly concentrated in the urban centres on the other hand. Eighty percent of the academic schools are situated within the urbanised parts of the agglomerations, whereas around half of the primary and mass lower secondary schools are distributed towards the non-urbanised regions where only one third of the population lives. In addition we find almost one fifth of primary schools (and 10% of mass lower secondary schools) in the less densely populated

areas within agglomerations. The academic school is also much more concentrated (half in the core urban centres) than the overall upper secondary schools that include also the large part of vocational education, the latter being more widely distributed outside the agglomerations and also towards the less urbanised regions within the agglomerations. In particular the primary schools also show a characteristic distinction of the three indicators used for the description: the schools are much more widely distributed than the classes within schools and the participation of pupils (the latter correspond grossly to the distribution of the population).

This means that the rural regions are 'privileged' by the distribution of the primary school, whereas they are 'rationed' in the academic track. Some structural consequences are displayed in Fig. 67.3b. Overall, schools are substantially smaller in rural regions than in urbanised ones, with a divide between compulsory schools and the academic track, and rural schools also receive relatively more resources than urban ones (grossly measured by the pupils per class ratio). The resource indicator is consistently more compressed in the agglomerations overall, and also shows stepwise relatively more resources in less densely populated regions both within agglomerations and outside the agglomerations. Thus bigger schools mean grossly less resources per pupil ('economies of scale'). However, if a higher degree of disadvantage and problem-loaded areas in the densely urbanised regions, as well as a more polarised structure of privileged and disadvantaged areas, is taken into account, these differences might substantially reflect rather a 'dis-economy of scale', as the most needy regions might receive relatively less resources than others. The existing conceptual and ideological disregard of the issues of urban education drives the attention away from these distributional divides, so that knowledge and even information is missing about the distribution problems within the highly urbanised regions.

The urban structures can be further differentiated by some striking distinctions (see the annex tables for detailed information), first between different types of urban environments (upper panel of Fig. 67.4), and second between different degrees of urbanisation within the agglomerations (cities, surrounding 'core agglomerations – *Kernzone*' with a high population and employment density, and 'extended agglomerations- *Außenzone*' with a high degree of commuting into the urban centres). The types of urban environments include the three large highly urbanised agglomerations of Vienna, Graz and Linz (where together more than 40% of the Austrian population live), and two types of less concentrated urban regions, those more densely embedded into some degree of an agglomerative environment (these include the smaller regional capitals of the Austrian *Länder*), and other more 'stand-alone' small towns without such an environment. Figure 67.4 compares the distribution of the population with the distribution of schools among these types of urbanisation, and shows a kind of polarised structure. Half of the population lives in bigger or smaller agglomerations, the other half in small towns or rural regions.⁷ The proportion of people living in stand-alone small towns is about double compared to those

⁷The rural regions also include different kinds of settlements, from small villages to very small towns that are not classified as urban regions ('*Stadregionen*') by Austria Statistics.

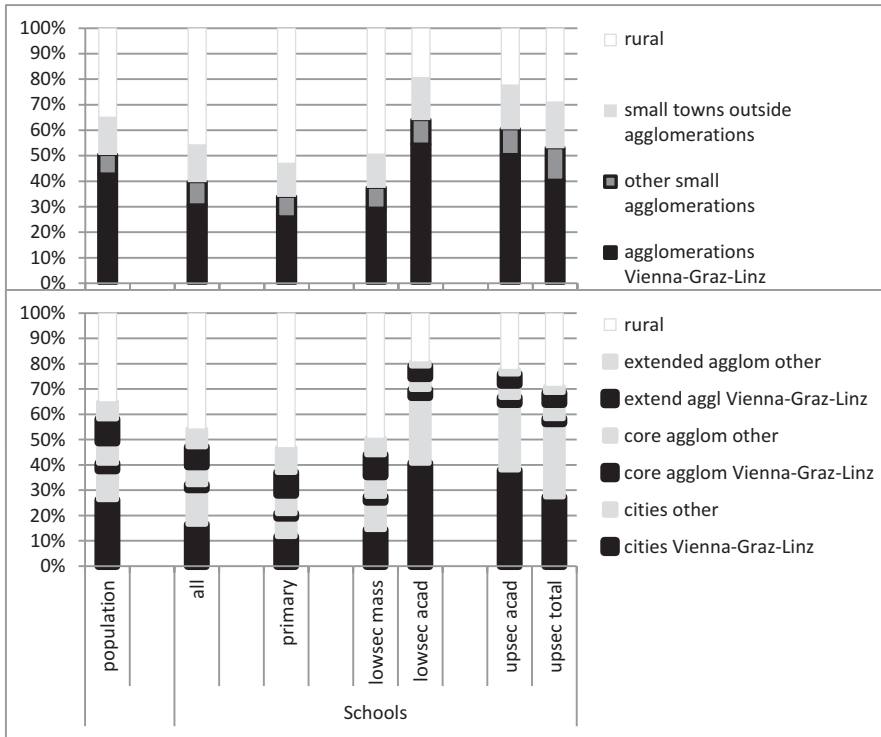


Fig. 67.4 Distribution-concentration of schools by regional typologies (Source: authors own figure based on own analysis of Austria Statistics data)

in small agglomerations, pointing to some discontinuities with urbanisation. This polarisation is reflected in the distribution of schools, with the majority of compulsory schools being situated in rural regions or small towns, and the majority of academic schools in the agglomerations (half of total in the three large ones of Vienna, Graz and Linz); the vocational schools are more evenly distributed according to the population.

The distinction of the degree of urbanisation in the different kinds of agglomerations shows the high concentration of academic and upper secondary schools to the different kinds of cities. Less than 40% of the population lives in cities, but more than half up to two thirds of these types of schools are situated in cities (with almost 40% of academic school in the cities of Vienna, Graz and Linz); the regions of hidden urbanisation host clearly a lower proportion of academic and upper secondary schools, but a similar proportion of primary and lower secondary mass schools, compared to their share of the population. The regional polarisation is particular striking at the lower secondary level, where half of the mass schools are situated in rural regions, and the highest proportion of academic schools is situated in cities alone.

The next two sections relate this uneven and polarised distribution of schools to the specific governance structure and to the historical political fights and conflicts about public education, which can explain to some degree the high focus on rural education and the neglect of the problems of urban education.

67.3 Historical Legacies of the Political Conflict Related to the Educational Structure

Within policy making in Austrian education the conflict about the segregated structure in the 10–14 cycle of lower secondary compulsory education is a kind of structuring ‘leitmotif’, that orders the discourses as well as the actors along the comprehensive-segregated division, and has its repercussions to many other key political issues, from early education to the organisation of access to higher education. This issue is politically structured in a certain way, as the decisions in Austrian parliament about issues of school structure require a qualified constitutional (two-third) majority. In the past this meant that the two ‘big’ political parties, Social democrats (SPÖ) and Christian-conservative democrats (*ÖVP-Österreichische Volkspartei*), must have found a compromise; in the meantime the party spectre has diversified towards four to five parties, however, the comprehensive-segregated division has remained intact with the green party joining the Social democrats, and the right-wing Freedom party joining the Christian-conservatives.

However, the polarisation does not only concern the blocked political decision structure, but is also tightly related to the overall constitution of the Austrian federal state. At this point the historical legacies must be taken into consideration in multiple ways. In a longer historical perspective, public education was linked to the liberal-republican vs. the catholic-absolutist division, with the basic structures of education being grounded first in the highly bureaucratic absolutist state (competing with the church, after the victory of the counter-reformation), second in the plans devised around and after the defeated 1848 revolution, and third in the short liberal period of the 1860s around the capitalist expansion, when Habsburg-Austria was a big player, and Vienna became one of the biggest metropolises of the world. However, after the crises of the 1870s the Liberals were sustainably defeated by the construction of (one of) the first modern right wing political mass parties that gradually united the catholic-conservative rural (peasant) masses and the urban petit bourgeoisie on a reactionary anti-industrial, anti-market, and above all, Anti-Semitic basis (Boyer 2010). This movement was started in Vienna, and increasingly had to compete with the parallel upcoming Socialist movement that successfully tried to organise the proletarian masses. In the beginning of the twentieth century, when Vienna was a world metropole, the political climate was strongly driven by the fights between these two parties.

When the Habsburg monarchy broke apart after World War 1 the main players of the small remaining German speaking part could not believe in the viability of this

unit and wanted to join Germany, which was forbidden by the peace treaties. Thus a new 'state, wanted by nobody' (Andics 1962) had to be constructed for 'the rest' of the big empire, and this process emerged in a dualist way, with two parallel histories and two competing camps among the political players, the 'centralists' and the 'federalists'⁸: one history is the foundation based on a constitution devised by Hans Kelsen in a predominantly centralist spirit and decided by the Austrian Parliament in 1920; another competing history is that the (pre-existing) regional units (*Länder*) have founded the new republic by their formal declaration to the parliament to join the new republic in 1918. A complex and contradictory federalist system was built in the new small state, which has had – different from Switzerland – a tradition of a unitary state since centuries, however, always accompanied by battles between the *Länder* interests and the centralist monarchy. Conflicts about the distribution of competences between the central and the regional levels were a core issue from the beginning, and education was always, and is still situated amidst these conflicts, with strong consequences for governance and policy making in education (the distribution of responsibilities for education have been left open in the Austrian constitution of 1920, until a very complex solution was amended in 1962 that has built a structure of mixed responsibilities between the central and the regional levels, and in fact blocked reform decisions by demanding a two-third majority in parliament).

The battleground between federalists and centralists was changed in a fundamental way by an institutional transformation of the urban metropole of Vienna from a city within the surrounding Lower Austria into one of the Austrian federal states in 1921. This preserved the conservative majority in agrarian Lower Austria, and gave the leading Social Democrats the opportunity to continue the reforms started by the central coalition government after its breakdown in 1920 – by this move they also received a big stake in favour of federalism, against their basic preference of the unitarian state, and consequently made the issues more complex. 'Red Vienna' became a laboratory of reforms in a conservative, crisis-driven environment, shaken by heavy political fights between the left and the right. One reform issue was the educational structure. The Social Democrats with Otto Glöckel as a leading figure proposed to develop a comprehensive school at the lower secondary level and had opened a reform department for systematic experimentation at the level of the education ministry and started trials at the school level.

This structure was shifted to the level of Vienna, when the political protagonists had to leave the central Austrian government, and the school reform became one of the main issues of contest between the main political movements. The Christian Party leading the central government was strongly related to the rural interests and defended the traditional segregated structure of education, whereas the Social Democrats were somehow 'insulated' in the exceptional environment of metropoli-

⁸As some other concepts the understanding of a 'federalist' is different in Austria (and more generally in German language) from the US and maybe the English understanding, denoting not the central level (of the federation), but rather the decentral lower level of the regional units, and the proponents of their interests and positioning.

tan Vienna, with all its social and economic problems and its (too) big size for the small country. In 1927 a compromise concerning the structure of the lower secondary level has been decided which, however, could not be implemented, because of the regime-shift to the Austro-fascist regime in 1934. The Social Democratic streaming-model (called *Hauptschule*) of a comprehensive school differentiated by a higher and a lower achievement track (A and B; track A should be equivalent to the academic school) was foreseen as one of three institutional tracks: a rural upper cycle of primary schools, the new model, and the academic school.

On the background of the political cleavages between the oppositional parties, and the central-federal divide the reform of urban education turned into the 'Viennese reform' and the problems of urban education turned into the problems of 'Viennese education'. During the German Nazi-regime the issues of the regional position of Vienna were aggravated by a big administrative extension of the metropolitan agglomeration around Vienna through the incorporation of about 100 surrounding communes into the city area – this shift was immediately reversed after the liberation in 1945, however, it took years to re-implement the previous structure, and one should not wonder that this issue has become a kind of taboo subsequently.

After World War 2 until the end of the 1950s a main topic of education policy was – besides the reconstruction of the institutional framework – the preservation of the traditional structure of rural education, the upper cycle of primary school (*Volksschul-Oberstufe*), which very often combined different grades in a class. This conservative strategy was embedded in a broader concept of preservation of the closed agrarian rural culture and environment against industrialisation, and tried to undermine the alternative strategy of implementing the two-track common school from 1927, which had been already established as the legal norm in 1945.

In the end of the 1950s full implementation of the tracked model of *Hauptschule* in parallel to the academic track was decided, and realised during the 1960s. The main change has been to spread this tracked type from the urban to the rural regions, and to abolish the upper cycle of the primary school. In parallel the academic school was also to some degree regionally extended to smaller towns. Subsequently the proposal of a full comprehensive school has always remained in place as a kind of more or less excluded 'discursive ghost', and time and again it also rose up to respectability on the political agenda (in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and again since the mid-2000s). The solution has always been to reform the mass track and to preserve the academic track, leading to the current structure shown in the previous section. In the 1980s the two-track streaming model has been changed to a three-level setting differentiation by achievement groups, and currently the achievement groups should be transformed to individualised differentiation within class, using team-teaching as a main device.

In the long term two overlapping developments can be observed, first the spread of the traditional urban structure towards the less urbanised regions by abolishing the traditional rural structure; secondly the traditional urban structure changed in parallel by the increase of participation in the academic track, which paradoxically marginalised the school type that was extended to the whole of the country. Because the attention was laid mainly on the rural regions, the urban structure served as a

norm, and the problems of urban education were more or less neglected; at the same time the influence of the social background variables on achievement and education careers was completely missing in education statistics.

Until the international large scale assessments the results of education were not observed regularly in a transparent way, and politics concentrated on the input dimension of (additional) financing, and in particular during the 1970s on providing additional teachers.

First the full participation in the 1995 TIMSS (*Third International Mathematics and Science Study*; see <https://www.bifie.at/node/106>), and later the PISA (*Programme for International Student Assessment*) results have identified quite severe achievement gaps and 'problem groups'. However, on the background of the polarised political discourse, these results were rather scandalised by attributions of blame to competing actors, instead of looking more deeply for pragmatic solutions.

Putting these arguments together, the overall pattern of the political discourse about the problems and solutions in education has driven the attention away from urban education. The focus has been laid on a more even distribution of facilities towards more rural regions taking a previous urban structure as a norm. The polarising topic of federalism-centralism, and a more expensive rural framework of education, reinforces the competition between these different regional aggregates, and because of the *Länder* as core players in the federalist structure the urban regions are on the one hand hidden behind the averages of the majority of the *Länder*, and are in the case of Vienna highlighted as an exceptional situation of a special metropolitan area (whereas in fact the agglomerations of Graz and Linz are also quite large but not perceived as such, and have no real advocates).

In the contested complex centralist-federalist structure the political discourses about education are mainly situated at the federal level, and follow a historical legacy of a one-size-fits-all approach of an 'average'-guided systems reform. In the logic of this discourse the urban status of Vienna, as a minority of one among nine federal units, appears as exceptional and 'problematic', measured not against the standards of urban education (which do not exist in the national discourse, because units of comparison are missing) but in a reversed manner against the more rural conditions. Consequently, the issues of urban education are not tackled as serious issues to be resolved, but '*repressed*' in the old Freudian manner behind an average overall structure; this means in particular, that the specific conditions in the urban regions are not even sufficiently visible.

67.4 Political (In)capacities to Cope with the Urban-Rural Polarity

As indicated in the previous section the regional structure is heavily politicised because of a complex federal structure in which Vienna is a contested federal unit because of its definite urban structure different from the other units, and – more

importantly – because of a long tradition of political struggles, in particular related to education. These struggles revive along rural-urban and political right-left lines, and are complicated by a regional border that divides the overall Vienna metropolitan region into the state of Vienna as the urban core and its surrounding areas that are part of the surrounding state of Lower Austria. Vienna has a long social democratic tradition, and has been the centre of a social democratic attempt towards school reforms after World War 1 which still somehow casts a cloud over the enduring struggles in education policy, with the segregated structure from age 10 vs. the ideal of a comprehensive school at least until age 14 at its core.

The previous analysis of the regional structures has shown different degrees of urbanisation in the primary and lower secondary levels of compulsory schools on the one hand and the academic and upper secondary level schools on the other. These two different categories are governed and financed in different ways by different authorities: the academic and upper secondary schools are under the formal responsibility and financing of the central government; and the compulsory schools are under a mixed structure of responsibilities, with the regional authorities implementing the (gross) central regulations. In the latter area the federal government has to finance the teachers, however, the regional authorities allocate the money and get it refunded within very loose rules (some average indications based on the number of pupils, and very few requirements concerning the invoice; only recently some monitoring information is also required). This governance structure would require a highly cooperative actors' constellation which, however, is not realised as argued in the previous section. On the contrary, the schools are a main object in the double polarised conflictual structure of power games between the central and the regional authorities (the centralist-federalist conflict) that in addition are led by different political affiliations, and of the related political preferences about the school structure (the comprehensive-segregation conflict). Two basic traits are of substantial influence in this structure: first, the Austrian federalism is mainly a distributional machine, as the *Länder* mainly spend money they receive via transfers from the central level (the central authorities have to transfer grossly half of their education budget to the *Länder*, without having control or even information about the specific use of this money); second, behind the mixed allocation of responsibilities lies a highly bureaucratic central administration, which cannot reach the level of schools because the authority structure is 'broken' by the federalist interventions. From several reasons can be predicted that this structure cannot work reasonably.

Two examples can illustrate the logic of this governance system. The evaluation of one of the biggest recent federal reform initiatives, the reform of the differentiation structure of the lower secondary school from achievement groups towards individualised instruction in heterogeneous classes through team teaching ('*Neue Mittelschule*') was fully implemented only in about one of five cases (Eder et al. 2015). Several analyses of the allocation of resources rather find indications of a maximization of resources by the *Länder* than of a reasonable allocation of them. The allocation of resources to the primary schools in the recent decades have led to a substantial increase of resources per pupil in the *Länder* with a demographic decline, whereas there was no increase in Vienna, the only region which would have

afforded more resources because it did not experience a decline (Lassnigg 2016; Bruneforth et al. *forthcoming*).

Interestingly, despite this apparent divergence between the demand for resources and the allocation of resources among the *Länder*, which is documented already since some time in different versions, and can be demonstrated by several observations (e.g., the *Austrian National Education Reports* from 2009 to 2012, Specht 2009a, b; Bruneforth and Lassnigg 2012; Herzog-Punzenberger 2012; Lassnigg 2015), virtually no requests for a redistribution of resources can be found in the public debate. This can be possibly explained by a lack of awareness and comparative information about the distribution of resources. The system drives each regional unit to look inwardly to the own resources, which are allocated periodically by a political process of financial transfers ('*Finanzausgleich*'). Another possible explanation could lie in an endemically unstable architecture of the negotiated transfers, and a kind of underlying agreement among the actors not to question the distribution, because otherwise the architecture could break down. Education is only one part of the complex overall framework of transfers, so even substantial drawbacks in this area could be compensated by advantages in other areas.

At the level of political competition the endemic repression of the disadvantages and problems of urban education and its marginalisation as a system and policy failure rather creates an inclination for politicians to present the achievements in their own domain positively, instead of pointing to the problems and demands, and demonstrating them thoroughly. The coincidence of the largest urban agglomeration being also a unit in the federalist system might thus be a factor in support of the neglect and repression of its problems. And, furthermore, if Vienna as the most pronounced metropolitan agglomeration is hiding its disadvantages, then the other smaller agglomerations will be inclined to do the same. As the agglomerations are part of the wider region, they hide automatically themselves, if they not specifically observed.

67.5 (Im)migration as a Specific Topic Concerning Urban Education

The 'reversed' political agenda means that the focus is laid more on the rural conditions, comprising a wide network of small schools, and an uneven distribution of the upper level schools between rural and urban regions. Consequently the opportunities of educational progression of individuals are also distributed in an uneven manner. Within this basic structure the Austrian education system has in particular not been very able to cope with the phenomenon of immigration that concerns rather the urban communities. As the migrants were for quite a long time considered as temporary so called 'guest workers', the phenomenon by itself also was more or less 'repressed' as an issue, so that no sufficient conditions for the education of the immigrant offspring were build up.

At the time of writing (March 2016), with the increase of the number of refugees, migration might have reached a new dimension, and the past experience might not provide a valid picture of how to cope productively with this issue. In Austria, as in many other Western countries, the declining and ageing 'native' population is setting demands for a substantial amount of immigration, in order to hold the population even stable. This has been demonstrated already for quite a long time. However, much time has been missed to develop the necessary practices to educate the increasingly diverse student population in a sufficiently productive manner. The dimension of the diversity has not been observed sufficiently because only a foreign nationality was used as an indicator, and the distinction of the generations of immigrants has not been made. Then the observation has been improved by taking the spoken language as an indicator at the national level and at the regional level of the Länder, increasingly realising that a substantial part of pupils in Vienna are speaking a foreign language. However, the proportions in agglomerations outside Vienna were not known for some time – so there was a stepwise acknowledgement of a basic demand for developing new practices.

Currently the proportion of pupils speaking foreign languages (mainly Turkish 7%, and former-Yugoslavian 7%, other 12%) at primary school is distributed across the Austrian Länder around an average of almost 30%, in a range between above 10% and almost 60%; in rural regions the proportion is around 10%, and in the densely populated regions it is on average 50% in a range between above 20% and almost 60%. Across school types the proportion ranges most between above 10% and below 30%, with a higher proportion particularly in business related medium level vocational schools (above 50%). The proportion of pupils speaking foreign languages is concentrated to 20% in classes with more than half of all children, and to around 50% in such classes among the immigrants only. The proportion of pupils that do not reach the standards is more than double compared to the native pupils, and higher at the 8th grade (standards not reached Math. 4th grade 24% : 9%; Math 8th grade 35% : 13%).

Since the 1980s the shift from the earlier paradigm of temporary labour migration towards permanent immigration has become an increasingly contested terrain at the political level. Whereas the longer term demographic gaps are to some degree accepted as an issue, there have been also periodical economic estimates that show in the short term negative impulses from immigration on the labour market towards increasing effects on unemployment. The trade unions have therefore taken a critical stance, which was reinforced first by conflicts with the employers' organisations about dumping in terms wages and labour conditions and second by the stepwise opening up of the labour market in the process of European integration after the accession to the European Union (EU) in 1995. In the European integration process the opening of the Eastern European countries after 1989 and their subsequent accession to the EU have been a source of fears about the impact on the labour market. A stepwise delayed liberalisation of the labour market was therefore negotiated with the EU in order to agree to the Eastern enlargement. During the violent break-

up of Yugoslavia many refugees have also been taken, as this region – together with Turkey – has always been the main origin of immigration to Austria.

Besides this basic critical background to immigration the strategies of how politics and society should cope with immigration has also been always a contested terrain, oscillating between a strong assimilation programme vs. multiculturalist stances of mutual adaptations between the immigrants' cultures and the native population. In school and education politics these conflicting programmes have materialised – and still do so – primarily in the field of language policies: how strongly should the immigrant children be forced to quickly learn German as the dominating language of instruction vs. how much room should the native language(s) of the immigrants, and related to this their cultures, have in school, and how much should they change in turn towards multiculturalism. Another main topic in education concerns the issue of how much immigrant children were transferred to special schools, which still exist to some degree despite an overall integrative strategy since the 1980s (overall, about 40 % of children with special needs are segregated in special schools, the slight majority is integrated in mainstream education). Children speaking non-native languages are still transferred to special schools or the special need programmes at a rate that is 50 % above the rate among German speaking children (5.5 % vs. 3.6 % on Austrian average, the overall proportion in special education programmes ranging between 3.7 % and 8.4 % in the different *Länder*). This transfer increases during the compulsory school careers from about 3 % in the beginning (grade 1) to around 7 % at grades 6–8 (vs. 2–4 % among the German speaking children). In the sector of apprenticeship which is an important part of vocational education, where the access to training and education is controlled by the training enterprises, a below average representation of migrant youth has been deliberately acknowledged by the social partners as a political issue to be tackled in 2011 (Beirat für Wirtschafts- und Sozialfragen 2011).

At the expert level much development work towards a cultural opening up has been brought forward, being reflected in the preparation of the Austrian National Education report 2012, where the issues related to immigration were an overall leading device, and should be tackled in each of the topical chapters. A specific chapter (Herzog-Punzenberger and Schnell 2012) reviewed and analysed the issues around multilingualism, trying to give a strong message towards an emphasis on the strengths of multilingualism, instead of seeing diverse languages and cultures mainly as 'a problem'.

According to Herzog-Punzenberger and Schnell (2012, 239–40) four types of measures were basically designed for supporting children with non-native languages since the early 1990s:

- Learning German as a second language
- Learning the primary non-German language
- Integrated instruction in mainstream classes by a status of 'extraordinary pupils (*außerordentliche SchülerInnen*)' until they have acquired sufficient competences for ordinary instruction
- Intercultural learning.

However, the provision of these measures had not any binding status, and was not very much monitored and followed up. It was not before 2008 that a department of diversity and language policies was created in the ministry of education, in order to develop more comprehensive policies for the support of diversity. In parallel a secretary of state for integration politics was established in the ministry of the interior that proposed a broader array of policies in an action plan for integration in 2012, using the analyses and recommendations of an OECD-country examination about migration and education (Nusche et al. 2009). Five types of measures were proposed:

- Support of language learning in German and the native language, starting in preschool education and followed up in school, and supported by the development of instruction material as well as mentoring and counseling activities
- Professionalization of the teaching, administrative, and supervising personnel in preschool and school education by several institutional entities and frameworks
- Support and competence development of the migrant parents
- Development and intensification of the dialogue with the communities of migrants
- Public relations in support of these kinds of policies.

Still the strategies and the degree of implementation of this programme remained questionable, and an almost complete lack of evaluation of measures and policies in this field was observed by the authors. In the political discourse some tensions emerged between the more diversity oriented approach in the education sphere and the more administrative and adaptation oriented approach in the ministry of the interior, which belonged to the different political camps.

Politics took mainly up the issue of German language learning in preschool education, by providing a free and compulsory year of Kindergarten before the start of the school careers. As the local and regional authorities are responsible for the preschool area, the central authorities cannot directly intervene in this field in the Austrian federalist framework. As Kindergarten is not free in Austria, an agreement between the central government and the Länder was negotiated that allocated money from the central budget for this purpose which had to be matched by money from the Länder, in order to provide the necessary places in Kindergarten. After a first step, the proposal was made to extend this programme to a second free and compulsory year of Kindergarten. However, here political conflicts emerged and the duty to enroll in Kindergarten for this second year was reduced to those who need additional learning. These policies meet several problems, as the preschool areas is a very diverse field in Austria because of the distributed responsibilities, with a high degree of variation in the institutional provisions (e.g., opening times, spatial accessibility in rural regions, budgeting and monitoring practices). The high priority of the measures needed quick reaction by the various stakeholders, and several difficulties have arisen, a main one being the challenge of quickly setting up the necessary infrastructure. In the Länder it was not always possible to use the resources

allocated on the one hand, and in the Vienna region 'cultural clashes' have emerged, as it is not clear to which degree providers with more or less fundamentalist orientations were supported by the quick extension of facilities. This issue came up recently on the background of the increase of a take-up of refugees.

Because of its size and the high visibility as a federal unit the attention on the migration issues is strongly oriented towards Vienna, whereas the other agglomerations with similar proportions of migrants are not so much visible. The political climate adds to this, as the right-wing freedom party that focuses its strategy towards the 'migration problem' is competing mainly with the Social Democrats for the electorate. Thus in terms of politics the Viennese government must find itself in a catch-22 position: if it provides politics offensively for solutions of problems in support of migrant communities it is under attack because of supporting 'them' instead of 'us', if – on the contrary – it leaves the politics in this area in the silent, it is attacked because of 'not doing anything' about the problems.

In sum, it must be said that it took a very long time until the slowly emerging issue of migration was considered as a 'political object' that needs to be deliberately tackled with some priority. At the point when it really came up on the agenda and the search for solutions intensified more seriously, its weight has become too heavy to let much room for experimentation and a wider search for solutions – the current (and maybe also future) wave of refugees to Europe has once more overtaken the already strained situation, creating a new situation at least in the short run. The factors contributing to the repression of the problems of urban education worked out in the previous sections, as they are the hidden agglomeration process, the historical legacies concerning federalism, the political polarization around the lower secondary schools, and the complex and contradictory governance structures, have contributed to these delays in the political and the practical sphere.

67.6 Concluding Remarks and Some Questions for Further Attention

The exploration of the Austrian case has shown a special constellation of urban education as a repressed phenomenon in the Freudian sense, combined with a reversed political agenda of support of the rural regions. Historical legacies of polarized political conflict positions about the contested shape of the federalist state, and about the structure of lower secondary education have contributed to the emergence of this constellation. A main factor is the contradictory interplay of the institutional structures of the state and the education system with the positioning of the political actors (parties and interest organisations). On the background of a divided regional structure with Vienna as a large metropolitan agglomeration and some other urbanized agglomerations on the one hand, and several small towns and a more rural countryside on the other, Vienna has an outstanding position of one of nine federal

states, giving the still leading Social Democrats a stake in the federalist structure that points against their basically centralist orientation. The problems of urban education are downplayed in this constellation, as the Viennese politicians must show success rather than problems, and the other more hidden agglomerations lose a vanguard that would openly and deliberately struggle for solutions. In fact many indications point to a tendency that in the federalist constellation of the distribution of resources Vienna does not get a share according to the needs, but rather a share according to a political *fait accompli* as a result of complex negotiations.

In the longer term an interesting process of structural change is observed since World War 2, as the original urban structure with the mass lower secondary school as the predominant institution was spread to the rural regions, whereas in parallel the structure within the urban agglomerations changed towards a predominance of the academic school and a marginalization of the mass track. The academic schools are heavily concentrated in the city areas, compromising the opportunities in less urbanized regions.

The disadvantages and problems of urban education which do not have strong advocates in the given structure seem to be matched with lower resources, and this constellation might arise out of a misunderstanding of 'economies of scale': the indicators show much larger schools in the urban agglomerations, and at the same time higher numbers of pupils per class. This holds for all types of schools, also for the mass lower secondary school, which is privileged by several better background factors in the rural regions, and marginalized in the urban agglomerations. This relationship between school size and resources per pupil might deserve more attention, looking at non-linearity. A well-known stylized fact is that larger schools provide better results; another more contested stylized fact is that resources are not clearly related to results. If we take into account the two, in fact different types of the mass lower secondary school conflated in one type in Austria, we see the potentially misleading results which might come out from superficial comparisons between such types – the academic school must also be heterogeneous, if the complementary type is. The urban-rural distinction might serve as an explanatory device in this sense.

A final question concerns the issues of the hidden agglomeration processes, displayed by the simple observations of the population dynamics. How much do their internal structures lead to the problems of more densely urbanized regions, or do they rather preserve the traits of the small towns they previously were? How much can the research about Suburbia illuminate these structures? At least for Austria this would be important issues for further reasoning and analysis. And a final question concerns the role of the institutional demarcations (e.g., the coincidence of state and city borders, and at the same time the intersection of cohesive agglomerations by administrative and institutional borders) in relation to the dynamic of urbanization.

Appendix

Table 67.1 Austrian population by dimensions of urbanisation

AT summary	8488,5	100,0%
Agglomerations		
Agglomerations total		
Agglomerations total; lev (1)–(4)	4915,0	57,9%
>500 T (n=3)	3701,4	43,6%
250–500 T (n=4)	1213,6	14,3%
<i>Cities only within agglomerations; lev (1)</i>		
>500 T (n=1)	1741,2	20,5%
250–500 T (n=1)	265,8	3,1%
100–250 T (n=3)	459,9	5,4%
<100 T (n=2)	123,6	1,5%
<i>Smaller towns only inside aggl.; lev (1)</i>		
Towns (n=12)	311,4	3,7%
<i>Cities and towns only within aggl.; lev (1)</i>		
Cities and towns (n=19)	2901,9	34,2%
<i>Surroundings within agglomerations; lev (2)–(4)</i>		
City and town surroundings (n=19)	2013,1	23,7%
<i>Smaller towns outside agglomerations; lev (5)</i>		
Towns incl.surroundings (n=15)	669,1	7,9%
Towns only	280,2	3,3%
Town surroundings only	388,9	4,6%
<i>Outside towns and cities and their surroundings (rest)</i>		
Level (6; rest-cat)	2888,2	34,0%

Definitions

Four levels of urbanization in agglomerations (=greater regions) are distinguished

- 1 city or town (admin.)
- 2 core region
- 3 wider region
- 4 greater region

Levels (1–3) are defined by Austria Statistics, level (4) was added by the author to include the neighbouring towns easily accessible

A fifth level (5) displays towns and their regions that are not directly connected to agglomerations

A sixth level (6) displays the remaining non-urbanised regions

Legend

- 'city' refers to level (1)
- 'region': levels (1)–(3)
- 'greater region': level (4)
- 'small towns...': level (5)
- 'non-urban': level (6)

Table 67.2 Degrees of urbanization by Austrian Länder (2013)

Land	abs. (N*1.000)	% AT	% Land
Austria total	8488,5	100,0 %	
Vienna			
Population	1.757,4	20,7 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Vienna</i>	2.503,1	29,5 %	142,4 %
<i>Thereof city Vienna</i>	1.741,2	20,5 %	99,1 %
<i>Thereof region Vienna (incl.city) in LA + B</i>	2.389,0	28,1 %	135,9 %
<i>Thereof in Lower Austria (LA)</i>	620,3	7,3 %	35,3 %
<i>Thereof in Burgenland (B)</i>	27,4	0,3 %	1,6 %
<i>Thereof greater region Vienna in LA</i>	81,4	1,0 %	4,6 %
<i>Thereof greater region Vienna in B</i>	32,8	0,4 %	1,9 %
Lower Austria			
Population	1.621,9	19,1 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Vienna (part Lower Austria: LA)</i>	701,7	8,3 %	43,3 %
<i>Thereof region Vienna in LA</i>	620,3	7,3 %	38,2 %
<i>Thereof greater region Vienna in LA</i>	81,4	1,0 %	5,0 %
<i>Small towns outside agglomerations</i>	201,5	2,4 %	12,4 %
<i>Non-urban</i>	718,7	8,5 %	44,3 %
Burgenland			
Population	287,1	3,4 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Vienna (part Burgenland: B)</i>	60,2	0,7 %	21,0 %
<i>Thereof region Vienna in B</i>	27,4	0,3 %	9,5 %
<i>Thereof greater region Vienna in B</i>	32,8	0,4 %	11,4 %
<i>Non-urban</i>	226,9	2,7 %	79,0 %
Styria			
Population	1.215,2	14,3 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Graz</i>	547,4	6,4 %	45,0 %
<i>Thereof city</i>	265,8	3,1 %	21,9 %
<i>Thereof region (incl.city)</i>	466,8	5,5 %	38,4 %
<i>Thereof greater region</i>	80,6	0,9 %	6,6 %
<i>Small towns outside agglomerations</i>	165,4	1,9 %	13,6 %
<i>Non-urban</i>	502,4	5,9 %	41,3 %
Upper Austria			
Population	1.421,7	16,7 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Linz</i>	650,9	7,7 %	45,8 %
<i>Thereof city</i>	191,5	2,3 %	13,5 %
<i>Thereof region (incl.city)</i>	451,4	5,3 %	31,8 %
<i>Thereof greater region</i>	199,5	2,4 %	14,0 %
<i>Small towns outside agglomerations</i>	166,1	2,0 %	11,7 %
<i>Non-urban</i>	604,7	7,1 %	42,5 %
Salzburg			
Population	536,4	6,3 %	100,0 %
<i>Salzburg region</i>			

(continued)

Table 67.2 (continued)

Land	abs. (N*1.000)	% AT	% Land
<i>Thereof city</i>	145,9	1,7 %	27,2 %
<i>Thereof region (incl.city)</i>	325,8	3,8 %	60,7 %
<i>Small towns outside agglomerations</i>	21,2	0,2 %	4,0 %
<i>Non-urban</i>	189,4	2,2 %	35,3 %
Tyrol			
Population	718,7	8,5 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Innbruck</i>	287,3	3,4 %	40,0 %
<i>Thereof city</i>	122,5	1,4 %	17,0 %
<i>Thereof region (incl.city)</i>	265,9	3,1 %	37,0 %
<i>Thereof greater region</i>	21,4	0,3 %	3,0 %
<i>Small towns outside agglomerations</i>	50,1	0,6 %	7,0 %
<i>Non-urban</i>	381,3	4,5 %	53,1 %
Vorarlberg			
Population	373,3	4,4 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Bregenz</i>	315,1	3,7 %	84,4 %
<i>Thereof city</i>	28,1	0,3 %	7,5 %
<i>Thereof region (incl.city)</i>	169,8	2,0 %	45,5 %
<i>Thereof greater region</i>	145,3	1,7 %	38,9 %
<i>Small towns outside agglomerations</i>			
<i>Non-urban</i>	58,2	0,7 %	15,6 %
Carinthia			
Population	556,8	6,6 %	100,0 %
<i>Greater Klagenfurt (Carinthia)</i>	285,4	3,4 %	51,3 %
<i>Thereof city</i>	95,5	1,1 %	17,2 %
<i>Thereof region (incl.city)</i>	150,7	1,8 %	27,1 %
<i>Thereof greater region</i>	134,7	1,6 %	24,2 %
<i>Small towns outside agglomerations</i>	64,8	0,8 %	11,6 %
<i>Non-urban</i>	206,6	2,4 %	37,1 %

Definitions

Four levels of urbanization in agglomerations (=greater regions) are distinguished

- 1 city or town (admin)
- 2 core region
- 3 wider region
- 4 greater region

Levels (1–3) are defined by Austria Statistics, level (4) was added by the author to include the neighbouring towns easily accessible

A fifth level (5) displays towns and their regions that are not directly connected to agglomerations

A sixth level (6) displays the remaining non-urbanised regions

Legend

'city' refers to level (1)

'region': levels (1)–(3)

'greater region': level (4)

'small towns...': level (5)

'non-urban': level (6)

Source: own calculations based on Austria Statistics and WKO

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Chapter 68

Growing Up in Europe's Backyard: Researching on Education and Youth in Portuguese Poor Suburban Settings

Sofia Marques da Silva and Pedro Abrantes

68.1 Young People in the Portuguese Suburban Outcasts: An Overview

Portugal was mostly a rural, illiterate and traditional country, until the 1960s. In just four decades, the population working in agriculture declined from more than 50 % to less than 5 % (Machado and Costa 2000). The upsurge of many jobs in the industry and services, near the coast, generated a huge exodus from the misery living conditions in the fields, complemented by the arrival of many immigrants, especially from African former colonies and more recently from Brazil and Eastern Europe as well. Nowadays, 40 % of the population lives in Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas, and services became the main occupational sector (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2011), although most of these jobs are temporary, low paid and not highly qualified, especially in the building sector (men) and in the cleaning and selling sectors (women) (Pinto and Queirós 2010). So, the transition to modernity and democracy was not in contradiction with the persistency of high levels of social inequality and severe poverty (Martins et al. 2009).

Lisbon and Porto city centres turn into cultural and economic nodes, attracting many international companies, events and tourists, towards a concept of “global city” (Sassen 1998), while their living population has actually decreased, due to the rise of housing prices. Meanwhile, their suburbs have flourished, from the 1970s on, with small villages now linked to the city centre through highways and railways,

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turning to be very crowded towns in few years, often with very low planning structures.

A recent research on the biographies of working class' members living in the Lisbon suburbs (Abrantes 2013) allows us to understand how hard (and unstable) working lives and this double exclusion process – from the countryside and from the city centre – was compensated by a sense of belonging based on a long-run investment on private property, specially an apartment and a car, as well as an expectation of paving the stage to improve the educational and living opportunities of their offspring. During their lifetime, many of these workers have worked in agriculture, industry and service (sometimes at the same time) have gone through periods of unemployment, and informal work (with no rights). Unpaid salaries, harmful activities and other labour abuses were very common. Their wage was often close to the minimum national wage (currently, around 540 euros), and considering the increase of the living cost, this value in real terms was not improved since its establishment, in the 1970s.

On the one hand, an alliance between banks, powerful building companies and local authorities enabled many citizens to afford to buy houses in the suburbs. Small apartments in tall and poor buildings were available even for those with low salaries, through long-term loans. On the other hand, reproducing traditional practices, networks and knowledge, many people built their own houses, from good houses with gardens up to very humble tents in slums. From the 1990s on, these ghettos were gradually replaced by social housing headquarters, solving some of the infra-structural problems, but not the social and economic ones (Arbacci and Malheiros 2010).

Besides, in a few years the suburbs of those two cities became also quite multicultural, especially in comparison with the rest of the country. The growing immigrant populations, especially from Africa, were concentrated in some areas of the Lisbon periphery. According to official data, around 52% of the foreigners living in Portugal inhabits the Lisbon metropolitan area (9% in the city centre, and the others in the suburbs), and this rate goes up to 80%, in the case of African citizens (Oliveira and Gomes 2014). According to the same report, 52% of the African foreigners lives in an overcrowded accommodation, in contrast with 16% of the Portuguese. Formerly nomad, the Gipsy communities were also pushed to these areas, where poor populations were segregated, living in precarious conditions and suffering pervasive stigmas. So, as noted by Wacquant (2008), in many cities across the world, the advance of capitalism has generated an urban polarization, leading to the rise of exclusion, violence and repression patterns, in some headquarters where deprived populations are concentrated. This was especially the case in the cities where the expansion was faster and occurred more recently.

For the young generation growing up in these districts, massive educational failure, as well as problems of employment and social integration, was acknowledged from the 1990s. As shown by José Machado Pais (2003), most young people in Portugal remained supported by their parents for many years, enjoying a “semi-dependence status” and the rise of consumption patterns, but also suffering a “defuturization”, both through the “utopization” (dreamed future) or the “atopization” (absence of future). If this was not the case of those with long and successful school-

ing pathways, mainly from privileged backgrounds (Guerreiro and Abrantes 2004), this was actually the case of many young people in the suburban areas. Mobility and social changes have weakened family structures and especially their ability to socialize young people. Traditional work socialization, embedded in family practices, particularly in agriculture, fishery and small business, is no longer available, while the formal path to employment, through long and successful educational careers, is not accomplished by most young people from the suburbs.

An ethnographic research in a youth centre located in a suburban area in the north of Portugal (Silva 2011) explored and discussed how structural inequalities were integrated in young people habitus and how they managed to organise their life pathways navigating those inequalities in a way that allowed them not to lose their face and dignity. Being some of them the third generation without any socialization for labour, as their parents and grand parents received the state minimum income, we encounter young people with fragile connection to what it means to have a job, a salary and, consequently, a weak connection to a school based on work values.

The economic crisis and the austerity policies, from 2010 on, make this situation worst, due to the erosion (and polarisation) of both employment opportunities and welfare structures. Actually, from 2001 to 2014, the unemployment rate has increased from 3 to 15 %, and it went up to 35 % among the young people (Carmo et al. 2014), while taxes and prices, including in basic services as transports, education and health, were dramatically increased. Besides, even among the employed youth, temporary jobs became the common situation. Although early school leaving rate has declined during the last decades, particularly due to the extension of compulsory education, the expansion of vocational training and the crisis of youth employment, it is still 27 % (32 % among the male population) for the whole country (Justino et al. 2014). Therefore, the conditions for the transition to adult life, especially through work, residential move and parenthood were blocked for many young people, and the cohort of those who are neither studying nor working has actually increased. According to Carmo and Nunes (2013: pp. 385), “among social agents who are partially lacking in resources, low economic resources and school attainment walk hand in hand with low social trust and low participation in social activities”. The progress expected for these generation and their life prospects have suddenly collapsed.

In face of this depressive scenario, many of these youngsters migrated during the last years, especially to Central Europe, but also to other regions of the world. Official statistics pointed out that around 100,000 citizens were leaving the country, each year, and most of them are young. Besides, as a recent project underlies (Lopes 2014), in contrast with the immigration observed in the 1960s, that was mostly composed by low qualified young men, the current wave has a similar dimension but it is mixed, in terms of gender and educational levels.

One shall wonder if the lack of opportunities affecting young people from the suburbs is actually different from that young people are suffering in other regions of the country, especially in rural areas or in poor neighbourhoods of the inner urban centres. However, while an aging population now characterizes the later ones, the suburbs concentrate a large sector of current youth, especially those from ethnic

minority backgrounds. Besides, some situations of violence disseminated by the media have reinforced the stigmas of young people from these areas, generating moral fears in the mainstream society and reducing their work and life chances.

A recent research on the schooling careers of the young people from African backgrounds in Portugal (Roldão 2015) has shown a huge concentration in the so called “exclusion pathways”, including year retentions and low grades, during the primary and low secondary education, in contrast with the Portuguese students. This is especially the case of the natives and descendants (second generation) from Cape Verde (the second biggest immigrant community after Brasil), Guinea-Bissau and São Tome e Príncipe. And although the social class background is the most significant factor for educational inequalities, school failure is considerably higher among students from African backgrounds, in comparison with Portuguese ones living in similar social conditions.

This study has also shown that students from African background are increasingly over-represented in vocational training paths, while the autochthonous population is mostly attending the general courses of upper secondary education. For instance, the proportion of African students in vocational paths is 22% in lower secondary and 78% in upper secondary, while these rates are 7% and 43% among the Portuguese students. Even among each of these paths there are inequalities: comparing with the average, African students are concentrated in devaluated study areas (Humanities in general courses, and technical courses within the vocational ones) and considerably excluded from sciences, technologies and arts. Besides, it was also observed a cluster of secondary schools, located in the Lisbon metropolitan area, where the schooling failure rates are much higher than the national average.

68.2 Field Work with Students in Suburban Schools

Qualitative studies on how young people in poor contexts experience the schooling process are a central topic in Portuguese Sociology of Education, from the 1980s. The work of Benavente et al. (1987) in a school of Lisbon inner centre or the project of Stoer and Araújo (2000) on the relation between education and work in a rural community of the North of the country are two main landmarks for the following generation of researchers in this field. Although there are some theoretical differences, both studies stress the pervasive tensions, gaps and misunderstandings between schools and poor communities.

In a context of political democratization, economic growth and massive implementation of public schools all over the country, during the 1970s and the 1980s, the high rates of academic failure and early school leaving were neglected by the media and the public debates. In contrast, the above mentioned studies have shown an enduring gap between school and local cultures, as well as an increasing mismatch concerning youth expectations, interests and practices. As noted by Stoer (1986), after a short revolutionary stage where there were many projects to democratize

schools, the new elites, supported by powerful international institutions (as the World Bank), imposed a bureaucratic, centralist and authoritative framework to rule schools, recovering many structures of the dictatorship and neglecting local cultures, as a leverage for modernization and integration in the capitalist world.

The above mentioned rise and concentration of poor and diverse populations in the suburbs generated an increasing interest of educational researchers, during the last 15 years. An ethnographic research in the Lisbon periphery has characterized a main disposition of "distant participation" in the local secondary school (Abrantes 2003). Rather than a systematic resistance and opposition to school culture, most young people were trying to seize the day, deeply immersed in their sociability networks, being involved in some school activities, but resisting to others. The relations between teachers and students were described as strong and emotionally charged, while the school failure and the misbehaviour in some classes was mainly interpreted as consequences of some teachers' or students' character (or inability), rather than a class (or cultural) struggle. Besides, this study underlies the diversity of students' relation with school, including those who were studying, but whose "real life" was outside school, as well as those who were supported by teachers, oriented by a sense of distinction based on their high grades and a project of social mobility through higher education.

At the same time, the ethnographic work of Maria José Casa-Nova (2004) with a Gipsy community has revealed the huge mismatch between school rules, requirements and expectations, on the one hand, and Gipsy institutions, practices and conceptions. The irregular participation, low involvement and early dropout of Gipsy students are interpreted by school agents as a consequence of irresponsibility, ignorance and lack of rules, while in the Gipsy community is conceived in terms of its commitment to one's own family and culture. This is especially the case for girls, since they are expected to marry and to be mothers when they are teenagers. Although a diversity of cases is also apparent, a main (tacit) agreement prevails between young people, families and teachers, leading Gipsy youth to an early school leaving which reinforces their long-term social exclusion (Casa-Nova 2004). A more recent research with Ukrainian migrant children (Tereshchenko and Araújo 2011) remarked situations of exclusion in Portuguese schools felt by these children, in spite of feeling emotionally safe and secure. Authors call the attention to the high rates of school drop out among Eastern European children living in Portugal.

Another field research, developed in a marginalized neighbourhood of the Lisbon suburbs mostly populated by African communities, has focused on the indiscipline of students who are considered by educational authorities and the media as "out of control" (Costa 2012). This study has shown that many behaviors labelled as bullying or misbehaviour in the classrooms are actually cultural expressions of the local groups, as well as ways in which students participate in school life, expressing their feelings, perspectives and frustrations, while developing a sense of distinction and belonging.

The author emphasises the misunderstanding between teachers' and students' notions of the classroom interaction. On the one hand, the work with teachers allows us to observe a diversity of conceptions and attitudes towards students' behaviour,

under a generalized notion of the loss of teachers' authority, not just in this school, but in society as a whole. For instance, behaviors as using a cap in class, chewing gum, standing up without permission, making a joke are understood by some teachers as unacceptable in class and students are punished, while others interpret the same behavior as natural or meaningless. On the other hand, the work with students does not confirm such notion of the lack of importance of teachers. According to this study, young people value the empathy and ability of some teachers, playing a key role on the way they think and they act, while they criticize the rigidity and inability of other teachers to reach their expectations: to have fun but also to learn; most of all, to belong and to be understood. For instance, to joke in class is seen as a valuable practice, when teachers and classes are boring or when students are failing in some subject, but the same behaviors are seen as a betrayal in classes with teachers they like. As noted by a 15-old boy, "there are some teachers (...) who help you (...) you think they are cool! So, you won't misbehave with him, he his cool with you, you will be cool with him" Anyway, most students think that indiscipline in classroom is a way to belong to a group and to gain status and power over peers. And a 17-years old boy in a vocational course pointed out, when questioned about why students are often unruly in his group, "they want to have a kind of attention from someone (...) usually, they want to gain respect from colleagues (...) so they fake as they were nervous".

The long-run ethnographic work of Alexandra Leandro (2013), carried out two secondary schools in the poor Southern suburbs of Lisbon, provides also a fruitful contribution to this topic. Many students are from Gipsy or African families, conceived by school authorities as "savages". Focusing a mediation office within one of the schools, her work has explored how the disciplinary concerns, linked with cultural diversity, social inequalities and moral fear, have reinforced the detachment of these schools from their local environments, as well as their daily social control mechanisms. The borders between community and school rules are continuously emphasized. Students daily move around the thin line between physical games, jokes and violence, trying to enlarge their autonomy towards school authorities. Leandro (2013) analyzes the context in which school rules are continuously negotiated and children are socialized, showing how emotional bonds, physical language and moral claims are central features.

One of the many episodes analysed by Leandro (2013) is the following: "I notice that school is oddly silent (...) When I am walking through the playground with a mediator, we notice there is an ambulance inside the school. A girl tells us that Paulo [a student from a vocational group] has broken the foot of one of his colleagues. Other students join us. A girl says: 'Paulo will be beaten'. The mediator tries to calm down her: 'we've talking about this yesterday'. But she is upset: 'Paulo deserved it a long time ago, he mistreats everybody, he abuses'. We found Paulo in the bar. The mediator sits in his table and talk to him for some minutes. Paulo convulsively cries with his head on his harms, over the table. The mediator is close to him, touching in his arm, trying to calm him. Another student arrives, noticing that Paulo's mother and older brother are in the school. Paulo finally stands up.

A recent fieldwork in suburban schools included in a public program against social exclusion, named *Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária*, has

shown how these schooling landscapes are changing (Abrantes et al. 2013; Abrantes and Quaresma 2013). These schools are often blocked in a circuit of social vulnerability, ethno-cultural diversity, low scores in national exams, high retention rates, negatives stereotypes (usually associating schools with violence) and high staff turnover. Many teachers are assigned to these schools regardless of their own preference or familiarity with such educational contexts and since they are not prepared to work with these specific populations, they quickly develop negative ideas about them and try to move to another school and area as fast as they can. The recent reinforcement of national standards and national exams, based on a standardized and ethnocentric conception of the curriculum, as well as the diffusion of schools' average scores in the national media have strengthened the pressure over (and the depression of) these schools, areas and agents.

Our research in three different suburban basic (primary and lower secondary) schools, covered by this public program, observed some key trends. On the one hand, there is a growing concern with students' achievements and behaviors. In spite of an original principle of supporting local projects, in order to contribute to community development, most resources are now used to hire teachers to reinforce learning activities in the core-subjects, oriented towards a reduction of undisciplined behaviours and an improvement of scores in national exams. Students are seldom heard with regard to these strategies and actually many of them are not motivated by this intensification of learning traditional activities and social control. On the other hand, there is a local conviction (shared by teachers, students and parents) that they won't succeed anyway in national exams. These are "not for them". Surveillance and assistance apparatus were considerably developed, but massive academic failure and pupils' misbehaviour are still conceived and dealt with as personal (and family-based) handicaps. Vocational training is increasingly seen as the only solution for students living in poor suburban areas and who are conceived by school authorities as "naturally" unable and uninterested in sciences or literature, but can be motivated to practical activities oriented towards a fast integration in the labour market.

Still, according to the same research, in some suburban schools this national program was also used to support the development of youth projects, clubs and activities, especially in areas as sports, media and arts. This is the case when principals, teachers and students, supported by some local and national partners, are aware of the importance of these projects on young people's life, as well as on the community development, and they fight together every year to re-fund these activities and to create some new ones.

68.3 Discussing the (Im)possibility of Education Interventions in Poor Contexts

The latest but also old forms of economic and financial crisis led to profound changes in the life course of different generations, becoming more unpredictable, unstable, and causing several social risks and vulnerabilities. This situation, increasing with the economic crisis, has affected predominantly young people, lately from different social economic backgrounds, schooled and familiar with new media and social networks (Estanque 2014), with regard to their expectations, aspirations and pathways toward autonomy and citizenship. In the past four decades and in the Portuguese context, young people have suffered paradoxical processes of raising their expectations and, subsequently, cooling out them latter. Since 1974 Revolution that ended 60 years of a dictatorship, Portugal has been investing in providing education for all addressing the cultural project of guarantying the democracy and the needed stability through school and education (Stoer and Araújo 2000). In this study, carried out in a secondary education school, the authors analyse the Portuguese semiperipheral economic situation discussed through the vital role of school and its simultaneous crisis. The investment of Portuguese families in their children education grew as they expected that school could contribute for more qualified and secure jobs, and social mobility (Silva 2010). A study conducted in Lisbon on youth and transitions to the labour market from Natalia Alves (2008), already pointed the paradox between families' and young people's trust in Higher Education diploma and the decrease of the diploma's guaranty. In the past 20 years the process of lowering expectations started and in the past decade affected most of young people. The concept of *Lost Generation*, mentioned in the *International Labour Organization* reported on global trends of youth unemployment (2012), and inspired the *media*, dominating public discourses and becoming worthy of interest among researchers (Ainley 2011; Allen 2002). Research conducted in Portuguese contexts with young people accounted for the increasing amount of uncertainty in predicting the future and in making transition to adulthood more precarious and less linear (Silva 2011; Alves et al. 2011; Carmo et al. 2014).

Different processes are organised, namely by school contexts, but also by families, local institutions, local programs, etc., in order to deconstruct and reconstruct young people (and families) perception of school experience up to the level in which each individual adopts a satisfactory perception of his or her place in the process. In a qualitative research with girls from a poor suburban region in the North of Portugal, Laura Fonseca (2009), discusses how choices are driven, cooling expectations in order to make those girls to consider those as "pragmatic pathways" (Fonseca 2009: 220). The author considers as a strategy to restore reproduction mechanisms that put in danger equality and social justice. These girls experience their own choices concerning school and future through the perception that they are making a pragmatic choice, perpetuating the social order. Efforts are done to minimize (social, collective, individual) impacts of a structural fragile relationship with school and education because of the existence of limited opportunities. In the end we are upon a

rethorical inclusive educational policy that blames the victim for being excluded and rearranges smooth ways of excluding. An example is the unconditional belief in vocational courses, which is a “way out” solution. An ethnographic study conducted in a youth centre (Silva 2011) accounted for several cases of young people leaving school to start working in precarious jobs or engaging in a vocational course with no future:

I would like to continue in school, though. I would have the 9th grade and could get a better job afterwards. I already apply for McDonald, but I don't know when they call me. I left there my resume. I know a bit of everything: sewing, hairdressing, and waitressing. A bit of everything... (Girl,16).

- Why did you leave school? It was for any special reason?
- Because it is faster. But I will give up this as well. I am going to try another one even faster: only 2 months. I have a teacher that thinks it is better. (Girl, 15)

In an article written in 1952, Erving Goffman, discusses the cooling out processes carried out on individuals. Accordingly to that perspective, the cooling out processes of expectations seek to avoid adverse reactions, which may lead to the collapse of a certain social order. We consider that this concept is still useful to analyse contemporary phenomena, such the one we are discussing in this place.

In fact the process of *cooling* (Goffman 1952), through which much of the educational intervention operates, becomes institutionalised and accepted, legitimated even, by those who are cooled. This work is done in such a way that the phenomena, as the decisions young people within already fragile educational pathways make, are understood as normal and expected. An 18 years old girl from Fonseca's (2009: 76) research clarify her decision in abandon school in 8th grade:

I made a decision. I am not going to spend my mother's money. I had a conversation with her and I told her that I don't want to continue in school. I want to work. I already have a job, in a dry cleaning store. (...) I imagine that my life from now on will be like this: work and then home. It will be home/workplace; workplace/home. But I want to have some fun as well....

The cooling out of expectations is accompanied by a growing distrust in authorities and institutions, challenging society in general and the educational contexts in particular. These contexts have also featured, through their practices and discourses, cooling out processes of different generations of youth, especially those more affected by poverty and exclusion.

Young people are integrating discourses on versatility and individual initiative: people fail, because they are not fast enough, flexible enough. From their discourses we can understand how young people from different social backgrounds are, sometimes uncritically, integrating the idea that they have to adapt in their own identity. They are in a way realigning their own aspirations and expectations, which can be interpreted as strategies of coping and resilience in order not to loose completely the sense of their self. The study from Carmo et al. (2014) with Portuguese workers aged between 18 and 34, refers to the difficulty of young adults to project themselves in the future under such precarious and unpredictable situations: “individuals are faced with the constant need to make life decisions based on an outlook of

change and instability” (Carmo et al. 2014: 342). One interviewee of this study mentions that “anyone who manages to make long-term plans is to be congratulated because nobody knows what’s around the corner” (in Carmo et al. 2014: 350).

However, if conventionally these discourses fall upon those traditional groups often excluded and with poor social, economic and cultural background, these past 4 years of economic stagnation and decline of opportunities changed the landscape of young people affected. The spectrum of excluded increased and affects poor and middle class families, more qualified.

68.4 Reconceptualizing the Outsiders

Life conditions of young people have suffered a process of degradation and several structural problems as unemployment, risk behaviors, early school leaving, drop out, have now other proportions and are located in large social contexts.

In Portugal (Carmo and Nunes 2013) and in western contexts in general (Standing 2011) socially more protected groups against social exclusion are also affected. According to Standing (2011), “to be precariatized is to be subject to pressures and experiences that lead to a precariat existence, of living in the present, without a secure identity or sense of development achieved through work and lifestyle” (2011: 16). The economic crisis, followed by austerity measures turned precariousness in an epidemic situation, affecting different generations, but mainly young people from different social, cultural and educational backgrounds and settings. In Portugal the beginning of 2014 the unemployment rate among young people (15–24) was 42,1% (in 2008 was 16,4%) and the unemployment rate in general was 17,7% (in 2008 was 7,6%). Carmo et al. (2014), in an article on youth and unemployment in Portugal, emphasize that “unemployment rate in Europe is becoming markedly asymmetrical between southern and northern countries” (Carmo et al. 2014: 342). This study was developed through semi-structured interviews with portuguese young people from 18 to 34 experiencing precarious, low skilled and low paid work.

Economic stagnation and the decline of opportunities for young people have impact on levels of social engagement. Low aspirations, lack of goals, or sense of powerless might be feelings that young people, especially from countries more affected by the economic crisis followed by austerity, become acquainted with. This situation, accompanied by a growing disbelief in authorities and institutions, followed by general resentments towards EU institutions (Dessi and Greco 2012) is challenging the society and, in particular, cultural and educational contexts as precariousness experiences will have impact on their values and aspirations (O’Reilly et al. 2015). School, for example, does not seem to be able to deal with changes, and unemployment and under unemployment will have short and long-term effects. O’Reilly and colleagues when analyzing youth unemployment among European Countries during the economic crisis considers, for example, that differentiated educational solutions, like vocational pathways, will have as a consequence socially differentiated itineraries (O’Reilly et al. 2015).

Precariousness is part of our lives and lately is becoming familiar within different social, cultural and generational groups, assuming different layers and shapes. Job expectations and possibilities are very low among young people and their families, especially, from middle class and also from low income families, who expected more from the school promises: “recent graduates, current students or even pre-students work for a while for little or no pay, doing petty office jobs” (Standing 2011: 16).

Part-time employment, temporary jobs, mini-jobs, internships, flexi-jobs can be translated into different ways towards low-income, exploitation or accepted exploitation. These types of “employability” attached to a “flexibility burden” and affecting mainly youth (O’Reilly et al. 2015: 3), are constructed within a “discourse of celebration”, as a privilege and an opportunity in a specific context of extreme poverty. In these post financial crash conditions that are affecting different layers of the society, people in general are becoming “more self-exploited, having to do extra work in order to retain a niche of some sort” (Standing 2011: 15).

The relationship with the future is void. As Berardi says: “the future becomes a threat when the collective imagination is incapable of seeing possible alternatives to trends leading to devastation, increased poverty and violence” (Berardi 2009: 122). Young people are in general defining the future in the present (Hewitt and Stokes 1975; Leccardi 2005; Silva 2008; Pais 2003). Young people are explaining precariousness, lack of jobs, etc. by interpreting the situation as a normal one, therefore, as stable and expected. Through an ethnographic study in a Youth Centre located in a disadvantaged suburban area in the north of Portugal it was found that most of young people explanations were often disempowering: to have a job no matter in what conditions to help the family, that sometimes does not value school; to work in precarious conditions to be able pay for their education and not to give up everything (Silva 2011).

Several social problems are foreseen in a time “marked by insecurity for a growing mass of people that press at the precariat borders” (Standing 2011: 36). The problem is that the “youth left behind”, the traditionally disadvantaged affected groups (O’Reilly et al. 2015), are increasingly trapped and their negotiating position is getting weaker. Unqualified, from poor neighborhoods, with a migrant background, under educated, they are more vulnerable to precariousness and poorness as they are already negatively positioned. As Laura Fonseca points out in her study with girls from a poor neighborhood and from the Roma community “this context of crisis is a facilitator of the emergence of the “expectations cooling” that lead to school dropout, abandon school careers” (Fonseca 2009: 222).

The justification for their exclusion is now produced from mainstreaming settings. Crisis works as an excuse to take measures, especially in education that becomes a privilege while school disaffection is considered a more profound legitimated reality besides being already part of their identity. Crisis allowed invoking the “state of exception” as Fonseca and Ferreira (2015) well explained when analyzing the Portuguese government discursive strategies between 2011 and 2014.

68.5 Final Remarks: Making Sense of the World from the Backyard

The process of *cooling the mark out* was mainly seen among groups of young people already known for living among structural and traditional inequalities, living in poor neighborhoods at risk of becoming Early School Leavers (Silva 2011). However, austerity driven public sector cuts measures and economic and financial crisis affected different groups of young people with a good relationship with school and with their life projections. These last types of youngsters are appropriating these different repertoires of relationships with school and the labor market, by integrating precariousness and fewer expectations into their own identity, through a “normalisation of an emotional sense of insecurity and permanent risk” (Fonseca and Ferreira 2015: 705).

Young people from well-known deprived areas have had developed different types of strategies to still have comfort zones (Silva 2011). Our experience in doing research in suburban areas allowed us to describe two trends among young people dealing with insecurity and precariousness. One trend can be described as organised by a sense of pride and naiveté, with moments of clarity, when referring to their jobs and school conditions. A girl (16 years old) from a Youth Centre says “I have a feeling that next year I will leave and will be to France. It is a feeling. I can’t explain” (Silva 2011: 284). Sometimes they embellish their real life situation and their condition of structural inequalities. A young man from the same place (20 years old) that had a precarious job in a container ship only for 1 month: “I was a month there. I went to Spain, La Curuña. Now I will stay here. I was in the open sea. I am a sailor!” (Silva 2011: 268). In other moments they have a clear perspective about their educational possibilities as a 9th grade girl that mention that “for working class if you have the 9th grade it is OK. It is enough to work. (...) It is enough to wash dishes in a kitchen, in a restaurant, so that’s fine, it is enough” (Fonseca 2009: 218).

What seems to be clear is that they try to show “how they develop their action in relation towards a dominant social order” (Silva 2011: 261). This trend is more visible in young people “traditionally” associated with poor social and cultural backgrounds, often situated at the margins of powerful knowledge (Young 2011). Another trend is organised under the sense of fear. This trend seems to be affecting young people from different social backgrounds, usually those who with greater or lesser sacrifice, invested in education. Apparently, the *carpe diem* principle grows with the sense of unpredictability that they are perfectly aware of.

Doing research with disadvantaged young people reveals different perspectives and their inside knowledge about their sense of ownership when they have little possibility to choose and decide their future (Silva 2012). We also became acquainted as well as with different struggles done by young people to feel empowered and to cope with their fragile situation (Charlesworth 2000) and how, in this process, they end up by blaming themselves as individuals or as a community. This was done in a context of massive reduction in public welfare and in public spending legitimized

by powerful political narratives, namely through a “state of exception” narrative (Fonseca and Ferreira 2015).

Lately, we have become familiar with young people's acceptance and sense of inevitability concerning their vulnerability. Sometimes this is made visible by their absence from public protests, although some social movements arose when austerity measures within the EU “rescue package” started and they saw no future for them in the country.

If the process of cooling the mark out was mainly part of groups of young people facing structural and traditional inequalities, austerity driven public-sector cuts measures and economic and financial crisis changed the nature of the strategies and explanations driven by the affected groups which were from more diverse social background. Nevertheless, the most affected population of young people is those that we are used to acknowledge as normally excluded. Those, loosing with the flexibility discourse, less likely to profit by European measures to improve the quality of young people transitions, might be at risk of being forgotten and falling deeper in a precariousness trajectory.

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