MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Beyond Bystanders

Educational Leadership for a Humane Culture in a Globalizing Reality

Nimrod Aloni and Lori Weintrob (Eds.)

Foreword by Irina Bokova

SensePublishers

Beyond Bystanders

MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Volume 11

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Morality has become a multifaceted and highly diversified construct that now includes cultural, developmental, situational and professional aspects. Its theoretical modelling, practical applications and measurements have become central scientific tasks. Citizenship and moral development are connected with the identity constitution of the next generations. A caring and supporting learning environment can help them to participate in society.

Books in this series will be based on different scientific and ideological theories, research methodologies and practical perspectives. The series has an international scope; it will support manuscripts from different parts of the world and it includes authors and practices from various countries and cultures, as well as comparative studies. The series seeks to stimulate a dialogue between different points of view, research traditions and cultures. It contains multi-authored handbooks, focussing on specific issues, and monographs. We invite books that challenge the academic community, bring new perspectives into the community and broaden the horizon of the domain of moral development and citizenship education.

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Educational Leadership for a Humane Culture in a Globalizing Reality

Foreword by Irina Bokova

Edited by

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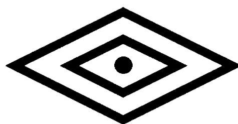

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IRINA BOKOVA

FOREWORD

People, places, and economies are increasingly interdependent and interconnected. Global challenges – from conflict and violent extremism to poverty and the consequences of climate change – impact on all societies, and touch every woman and man. Effective and lasting solutions require new forms of global solidarity and cooperation. This must start on the benches of schools. To build a better future, we need to educate new leaders today.

This calls for new approaches to education. We need a new focus on quality and the relevance of learning. We need stronger support to teachers and educators across the board. We need new forms of global citizenship education and education for sustainable development.

Education is not only about teaching people to read and to write. It is about values. It is about teaching human rights and cultural diversity, nourishing peace and fostering inclusive and sustainable development. It is about reaching one's full potential as a human being.

As the lead United Nations agency for education, UNESCO is leading education for global citizenship to empower learners to assume active roles in tackling these challenges and in building a more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive and secure world.

Global citizenship education is not about citizenship in the legal sense. It is about learning to live in a world under pressure – it is about forging new forms of cultural literacy, on the basis of respect and equal dignity.

UNESCO seeks to equip learners with the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to assume active roles locally, nationally and globally. Global citizenship education can instill in children and youth a true commitment to treat people humanely, to abide by the rule of law, to be generous and caring to our neighbors, and to respect human dignity while making the most of diversity. Young people and learners need the cognitive and socio-emotional skills (such as creativity, empathy, compassion, sense of solidarity and responsibility, etc.) that will both prepare them for the world of work and empower them as responsible citizens.

For this, UNESCO is helping countries integrate global citizenship education into education systems and practices. We are leading forward human rights and peace education, a longstanding area of UNESCO work, as well as Holocaust education and education for the prevention of violent extremism.

All societies are transforming today – we need to make the most of education as a transformational force for equity and inclusion, for global solidarity and social mobility. Nelson Mandela once said that "education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." In this spirit, I wish to commend the

Kibbutzim College of Education, Technology and the Arts and Wagner College for joining forces to compile this volume to inspire readers in crafting new models of intellectual and intercultural understanding, to motivate them to act and contribute to building a better world for their future generations.

Irina Bokova
Director General of UNESCO

NIMROD ALONI AND LORI WEINTROB

INTRODUCTION

> There is no passion to be found in settling for a life less than the one you are capable of living.
> – Nelson Mandela

> Thou shalt not be a victim. Thou shalt not be a perpetrator. Above all, thou shalt not be a bystander.
> – Yehuda Bauer

Our current era has been diagnosed by many social critics as suffering from a disproportion between information and orientation. We live in an epoch that is named the information age, invests in scientific research, and celebrates technological innovations. Yet, at the same time, the commitment to liberal arts education and to serious public discourse has been abandoned, devaluing the capacities of thoughtful and empathetic deliberation required for ethical and political appraisal of personal choices and common goods.

In view of this disjunction, we – humanist scholars and educators – cannot remain passive. In the face of this developing cultural reality, we cannot be complacent. We cannot be bystanders. Whether we hold our professional ideals to facilitating human development, flourishing lives, full humanity, or intellectual growth, such devaluation of the ethical and political "orientation capacities" is regarded as hostile to our fundamental pedagogical commitment to care for our students. It obstructs our professional engagement with facilitating our students' wellness, dignity, personal autonomy, reflective thinking, moral deliberation, creative imagination, equal opportunities, and democratic citizenship.

The tools we provide to our students will be translated later on into their ability to deal with, cope with, and shape the challenges of their future and those inherited from us. For better or worse, the nature and quality of their educational experiences might have dramatic effect on their quality of life and in some cases even on issues of life and death. It is therefore our professional obligation as educators to prepare them well for life, including cultivating their powers to grapple wisely, effectively, and with courage with crucial ethical, environmental, and political issues that will inform their professional and personal decisions. In light of our commitment to help our students lead flourishing lives – physically, morally, intellectually – as well as enriching social conditions humanely, justly, and culturally, it is clear that an essential part of our educational enterprise should include empowerment for dealing effectively with some predominant cultural ills.

As argued by many cultural critics, proposed by position papers of UNESCO (2005, 2014, 2015), and contended here in various chapters, such educational

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orientation should address elements from diverse spheres of life. These may include the following: augmenting human capacity, personal well-being, and international understanding; adhering to humane ethics, critical thinking, and sustainable development; enhancing human solidarity, multicultural and inclusive policies, and sense of community (rather than virtual internet friends); investing in social justice rather than in excessive and punitive incarceration; securing human dignity, civil rights, and democratic participation; strengthening families of all kinds; reducing violence and discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, ability, or sexual orientation; appreciating nature and its resources; and enriching one's life with meaning and joy through engagement with demanding intellectual and artistic cultures rather than submerging oneself in smartphones and entertainment trends.

This brings us to the concrete locus of this book: educational leadership for a humane culture in a globalizing reality. The chapters in this book are efforts to guide educators to teach and lead with courage. We seek to inspire our readers and ourselves to take the risks necessary to twenty-first century humanist education, so as to develop more effective models of intellectual and intercultural understanding for themselves and their students. No matter the content, teachers are asked to attend to their students, to listen and ask questions about them and the world. We learn best when we collaborate with our students and each other and develop reciprocal partnerships with the communities we engage.

In contrast to many other books on global education, we envision our impact on not only education departments and policy and K-12 teachers but also college and university courses across all disciplines. We are particularly committed to partnerships between elementary, middle, and high schools with our colleges and intend to inspire our readers to seek out these transformative relationships to benefit youth. Indeed, this book began as a transnational conversation about the responsibility of colleges and universities to commit to intensive, mutually beneficial community engagements. The expertise of the authors of this volume range across film studies, politics, education, linguistics, philosophy, anthropology, and psychology, and our origins from India, Senegal, Columbia, the Netherlands, Finland, Italy, Israel, and the US. Although drawn from diverse religious, ethnic, and national backgrounds, specializing in many different fields, and possibly disagreeing on specific priorities, each author supports the necessary goals to deepen the impact of education as a tool for world betterment and to empower their students as global citizens, educational leaders, and humanists who fashion themselves as beyond bystanders. As the Japanese film director Akira Kurosawa (1910-1998) has written: "Humanity begins at the moment we stop being selfish and start seeing other points of view."

It is the view shared by the contributors of this volume that it is *irresponsible to posit ourselves as bystanders* and to conceive of globalization as something that happens to us and to which we should later adapt effectively. Just the opposite is true. Inspired by the physicians' ethical code and their Hippocratic Oath, we believe that, as educators, it is our very role to establish an educational leadership

that would evaluate critically the wisdom and desirability of elements of the developing globalizing reality with respect to the overarching goals of humanization and facilitation of the flourishing life to the young (Aloni, 2008; Anderson, 2009; Higgins, 2010). In placing ourselves as active advocates of humanistic education, it should be noted that there exists another feature common to the authors: high esteem for engaged intellectuals and pedagogues such as John Dewey, Janusz Korczak, Martin Buber, Paulo Freire, Maxine Greene, bell hooks, and Kwame Anthony Appiah. This will be evident in the various chapters that follow, in the discussion of the views that the *problem of humanization* has always been mankind's central problem, and that democracy is an accomplished way of living rather than just a political regime. A general belief among the authors is that educators can truly affect the being of their students by setting an example and being present to them, and that educational practice worthy of the name must be dialogical and characterized by care, love, humility, empathy, trust, hope, courage, critical deliberation, and respect for both interpersonal and intercultural differences (Freire, 1968). As bell hooks (1994) reminds us, "As a classroom community, our capacity to generate excitement is deeply affected by our interest in one another, in hearing one another's voices, in recognizing one another's presence" (p. 8). Only when an educator "respects and cares for the souls of our students" can progressive, holistic education bring freedom and intellectual and spiritual growth to student and teacher alike (p. 13).

We refer to *globalization* as the intensification and acceleration of the flow of people, capital, commodities, ideas, and technologies among countries and regions of the world. It is a process characterized by a dialectic struggle between hegemonic homogenization (driven by global and often exploitive capitalism) and resisting identity politics for the independence of local communities and for their cultural sustainability (including the rise of militant ethnic and religious chauvinism). On an unprecedented scale, the riches of most cultures and the lived realities of many communities are accessible to people from almost all states and regions in the world, mainly due to our new media technologies. In this emerging reality it is the world, rather than states and communities, that is increasingly functioning as the most meaningful frame of reference for grappling with the economic, cultural, and environmental aspects of our lives (Bauman, 2011; Ben-Peretz, 2009; Berbules & Torres, 2000; Gill, 2012; Noddings, 2010; Sahlberg, 2004; Suarez-Orozco & Qi-Hilliard, 2004).

Notwithstanding the manifold definitions, interpretations, and positions linked with the notion of globalization (debated in the following chapters), it is commonly accepted that globalization is the one complex set of phenomena that characterizes our times and produces dramatic changes in the life of almost every living being on the planet. And the course of its development might determine not only the specific forms of cultural life but also the very future of human civilization and the natural world. In the face of the forces and interests involved in the various aspects of globalization, the current dramatic changes and their potential outcomes, it seems to us that responsible educational practitioners "should be concerned," in the words of

the late Maxine Greene, "with discovering what the known demands" (1973, p. 21). More than ever we must inspire courage in ourselves and others, as Immanuel Kant (1973) challenged us, "Dare to know!" (*Sapere aude*!) and "Have the courage to use your own intelligence."

On the importance of developing a critical consciousness and proactive attitude among teachers who responsibly confront trends and phenomena linked with globalization, we may turn to Pope Francis's recent criticism regarding some of the most destructive elements of globalization. He blamed global capitalism for causing systematic greed for money, becoming a subtle dictatorship, "condemning and enslaving men and women" to a life of poverty, and exclusion in a brutally ordered new colonialism and unjust societies (Bradley & Appelbaum, 2015). As the first Pope from the Southern Hemisphere, born Jorge Mario Bergoglio, his insights build upon the liberation theology that emerged in 1970s Latin America and social Catholicism. Pope Francis offered a forceful critique of the status quo. What is at stake here – and with direct impact on the lives of the young generations – is that in recent years we witness, on the one hand, the growing power of supranational corporations and the unprecedented high salaries paid to their top executives. On the other hand, the earnings of the great majority – the 99% – have been stagnated, the middle class is shrinking, and larger groups of populations have been marginalized to undignified lives of atrocious poverty and social exclusion. This developing hegemonic economic order of business tycoons, with sole regard for gains, profits, and shareholders, holding enormous power to determine the fate of billions of people all over the world, is unacceptable in our view. It is offensive to the notion of democracy as the *rule of the people, by the people, and for the people*; is destructive to policies of equity and social justice; and directly violates the basic right of children to equal educational opportunity.

Global brute capitalism – which erodes governments' responsibility to administer public resources and undermines the social safety net protecting the most vulnerable populations – is indeed responsible for the soaring socioeconomic inequalities, but it has consequences in many spheres of life that are not economic. It is not by accident that Pope Francis and so many others link the ills of material greed to climate change and the damages done to the environment by irresponsible economic initiatives. It is now widely agreed that obsession with ever more production and consumption – as if material comforts are the only things of value in human life – has led to global warming, the extinction of species, exploitation of natural resources, and other ecological crises to the extent that some damages are irreversible and endangering the very sustainability of our natural environment. Are we recklessly "sowing the wind" and, as a consequence, our children "shall reap the whirlwind?" (Hosea 8:7) Shouldn't we lead dramatic changes in our ways of thinking and educating for the sake of preventing our children from the dangers of ecological catastrophes? The pollution and environmental degradation unleashed by the industrial revolution, and accelerating in the early twentieth century, has now reached dire and irreversible levels that require immediate action.

Day by day the global phenomenon of mass migration becomes more pressing and dramatic. This creates new situations that challenge educators all over the world with regard to the ethical-humanitarian aspect as well as to their engagement with citizenship education in multiethnic and multicultural contexts. The humanitarian aspect, striking us in everyday headline news, involves the tragic fate of millions of people who are victims of terrorist attacks and forced displacements in areas of warfare and ethnic cleansing (including militia abuses of children and teachers), as well as those millions who flee mass atrocities and seek refuge in other countries (raising issues in relation to providing educational services to illegal and undocumented children). The pedagogical concerns amount to reconstructing the curriculum and teaching methods to meet the needs and narratives of students characterized by unprecedented cultural and ethnic diversity. In other words, the phenomenon of large-scale migration and displacement – of refugees as well as legal immigrants and migrant workers – brings about dramatic transformations among populations all over the world, which, in turn, produce diverse responses, including educational policies such as exclusion, assimilation, integration, interculturalism, and multiculturalism.

The emerging intercultural and multiethnic social settings involve many new complexities to which it would be presumptuous to offer, in this book, one definite solution. As humanist pedagogues, however, informed by the recent humanist, cosmopolitan, feminist, and multicultural sensitivities and sensibilities, we are suggesting in this book some normative guidelines for a tenable educational strategy. This should include, in our view, respect for and delight in cultural diversity, including empathetic narrative imagination, cultural sustaining pedagogy, community empowerment, and generating mutual growth by learning from other cultures and forms of life. Similarly and of equal importance, for the sake of sustaining a humane and just social order, we hold it essential to form a steadfast commitment to human dignity, human equality, and equal educational opportunity, including opposition to any form of discrimination or exclusion on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, economic position, religious faith, or ideological opinion.

Furthermore, at the core of citizenship education, because "our loyalties are not one, our wills are not single, our opinions are not uniform, and our ideals are not cut from the same cloth" (Benhabib, 2008, p. 101), it is our duty as educators to prepare our students to grapple with the new challenges of hybrid identities and multicultural democratic societies. It is the challenge of cultivating global citizens capable of negotiating across differences – "fusing," as David Hansen suggests in his chapter, "reflective openness to new ideas and people with reflective loyalty to what they already know and value" (in this volume, p. 21). Indeed our students can be empowered in coming to terms with their own intersectionality and privilege only if we arm them with experience in debating on racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia, without censorship, as bell hooks and other feminist pedagogues have argued. We are in need of good citizens of democratic polities who are capable of collaborating with others in sensitive and thoughtful deliberation of power relations

and public issues, in protecting human and civil rights, and in critical and responsible engagement with activities and institutions that would sustain healthy democratic culture, sound social justice, greater gender equity, and vital natural environment (hooks, 1994; Noddings 2010; Nussbaum, 2002; Suransky, Dubel & Manschot, 2005; UNESCO, 2014).

A rather different cultural element of globalization that is of great relevance to the education profession is embedded in the predominance of manipulative and instrumental language (originating in the market economy, political demagogy, and entertainment industry). The cultural critic Neil Postman (1992), for example, in books published on education and communication in the late twentieth century, has addressed critically this predominance of "manipulative language." He argues that "America is no longer a culture but just an economy" (p. 50), that most of us are devoting our lives to "amusing ourselves to death" (Postman, 1985), and that under such circumstances the required pedagogical strategy should include equipping students with "shockproof crap-detectors in their survival kits" (Postman & Wiengartner, 1969, p. 218) as well as empowering them to elicit alternative social visions or unifying, purpose-giving narratives for world betterment (Postman, 1995). Along the same lines, in recent works on education for a flourishing life, the philosopher Harry Brighouse (2008) has argued that since the mass media "has become a pervasive influence in the life of children" and because it is "almost entirely driven by commercial imperatives…and desires to make large profits" (pp. 63-64), it is for our schools "to make up for the failure of our other social institutions" (Brighouse, 2006, p. 1) and to facilitate the capacity of youth for personal autonomy, rational reasoning, meaningful life, and democratic citizenship.

And indeed if our culture celebrates self-promotion, ingenious marketing techniques, extraordinary economic gains, unbridled consumerism, high popular ratings, and other forms of great sales, then what personal, social, and public spheres of life are left for us in which honesty, decency, and loyalty reign? The whole point of pursuing personal authenticity, family relations, community life, intimate friendship, liberal education, creative arts, and true democratic leadership was to establish a life of basic trust and the sense of belonging, security, and happiness associated with truthfulness, fairness, and a shared common good. Are we, as educators, going to allow such globalizing trends to rob our youth of such goods? Should we, as responsible educators, *remain sitting on the fence* in the face of social forces that doom the youth to treating others only as means rather than as ends in themselves, and to relating to humans and nature only instrumentally rather than to building relations of solidarity? Or maybe it is about time for educators to lead a countermovement, consisting of enhancing their students' social intelligence and ethical concerns, facilitating their ability to "always have eyes to see the beauty of the world" (Zach, 1981, p. 20) – in humans as much as in nature – and cultivate their capacity for engagement in humane and meaningful Buberian "I-and-Thou" dialogues? We can thus encourage a touch of the sacred in our relationships.

Before we move to a short account of the four sections of the book and the chapters

included in them, it is worth noting that in challenging ourselves to go beyond bystanders in our educational practices and in advocating more humane culture in a globalizing reality, we are aware of both the idealistic nature of our educational mission and of the hardship and obstacles present-day teachers are confronting. As portrayed and discussed in the UNESCO report, *Protecting Education from Attack* (2010), many thousands of teachers and pupils living in war zones and under dictatorships are physically attacked and their lives are threatened on a daily basis by militias, fanatic fundamentalists, and cruel tyrants. The horrors and atrocities are stated in the Introduction:

> Attacks on education occur in many countries that face armed conflict and insecurity. Carried out for political, military, ideological, sectarian, ethnic, religious and criminal reasons by state and non-state actors alike, these incidents involve the intentional use of force in ways that disrupt and deter educational provision. Such attacks are directed against learners, educators, education aid workers, education trade unionists and educational institutions at all levels. They include targeted killings, disappearances, kidnapping, forced exile, imprisonment, torture, maiming, rape by soldiers and security forces, recruitment of child soldiers, harassment and intimidation , and occupation and destruction of educational facilities. (p. 3)

Other kinds of hardships and obstructions confronted by present-day teachers are less dramatic and not life threatening, but due to their global nature they affect teachers throughout the world and obstruct their educational endeavor. As Michael Apple argues in "Global Crises, Social Justice, and Teacher Education" (in this volume), and Pasi Sahlberg (2011) contends in *Finnish Lessons* as well as in "Schooling and Globalization" (in this volume, co-authored with Jason Brown), "the new educational orthodoxy is to a large extent a market-based offspring of globalization" (Sahlberg, 2004, p. 73). It is an instrumental commodity-oriented model of education whose core elements consists of increased competition, standardized curriculum, privatization, high-stakes tests, cost-efficiency accountability, performance-based pay, race-to-the-top mentality, and tightened external inspection to control teachers' and schools' achievements. The results, it is argued, are counter-productive and educationally devastating. More specifically, this transition towards global educational standards and commercialized teaching has inflicted teachers with professional demoralization and disempowerment, curbed inspirational teaching and meaningful learning, marginalized students of minority and poor communities (thereby too often dooming them to a miserable life of exclusion and hopelessness), destroyed trust in human motivation and public service, and ultimately dehumanized the multifaceted practices of teaching and education.

In the face of the above hardships and obstacles that confront educators in our current global reality, the authors of this volume seek to adapt Immanuel Kant's idealist view that "children ought to be educated, not for the present, but for a possibly improved condition of man in the future" (1966, p. 14) and that due to the

fact that "political leaders generally view their subjects as no more than means to fulfill their own ends" (p. 15), it is almost always the case that education that seeks humanization, just societies, and world betterment is carried out "against the current." In facing our global predicaments and challenges, this committed stance means a fourfold mission for the contributors to this volume. Firstly, it aims at revitalizing the ethical, political, environmental, and cultural voices as inherent in the pedagogical sphere of discourse. Secondly, it aims to ensure adequate learning opportunities and growth-promoting conditions to all children. Thirdly, it endorses reaching out beyond the walls of academia and the classroom into the lived realities of our common public life. Fourthly, it advances a transformative form of education that reaches beyond the acquisition of knowledge and skills and seeks to bring about changes in the sensitivities, sensibilities, attitudes, and behaviors of the young towards a more humane, just, peaceful, democratic, dialogical, and sustainable culture.

This book is divided into four parts, each of which advances the goal of training students to move "beyond bystanders," that is, to develop a critical consciousness and the courage to live pro-active lives in a globalizing reality. *Part 1* focuses on empowering civic-minded, humanist teachers and students; *Part 2* explores pedagogies to promote intercultural dialogue and anti-racism both within and beyond school walls; *Part 3* focuses on building and assessing relationships as a foundation to human flourishing, exploration, and problem-solving; and *Part 4* looks at innovative models of promoting educational equity, environmental sustainability, and peace education, including what we learn from students, their families and others who are disenfranchised in our global world.

Part 1 of our book examines paradigms of engagement in education to produce authentic, self-actualized, democratic and civic-minded youth and future leaders. The authors in this section, "Educational Engagement for a Humane and Democratic Culture," position teachers as agents of social transformation. They identify changes needed in teacher training programs to focus more on empowering youth through dialogue in dynamic relationships with teachers and community. These chapters offer advice to craft the "organic intellectual educator," guided by cosmopolitanism, civic relationships, and generosity to build a meaningful, community-derived curriculum. They seek to empower students as educational leaders in the service of cultural flourishing in a more democratic society. Finally, the authors grapple with whether an approach that emphasizes explicitly political questions, universal humanistic values, and/or communal experience best serves to strengthen democracy.

"Rooted cosmopolitanism," which consists of "reflective openness to the new and reflective loyalty to the known" (in this volume, p. 23), would act as a compass to guide twenty-first century educators and students in the vision of David Hansen. Problem-solving and learning from each other would also occur in science, math, and other classes which "deploy knowledge dynamically" (p. 27). It is critical that we facilitate learning where "one can be at home with open windows," Hansen argues (p. 25). Wiel Veugelers builds on this goal by advocating that more attention be paid to how empowerment takes place across disciplines (literature, science, and

even physical education). Students should have the ability to formulate their own autonomous opinions, use a more political lens to interpret civic problems, and "search for alternatives" in dialogue and reflection on real civic situations, creating a "playground for citizenship" (p. 54). Pasi Sahlberg and Jason Brown further propose that flexibility, creativity, and risk-taking are the key qualities needed for institutions and individuals in our twenty-first century innovation economy. Schooling must be "*in*, *for*, and *beyond* the uncertain world" (p. 41), meaning teaching, using collaboration and group work, must emphasize such attitudes and skills as ethics, empathy, leadership, and a sense of global responsibility.

An educator should master diverse forms of dialogue to generate trust and lead mutually uplifting exchanges, Nimrod Aloni suggests. "Educators Worthy of the Name" advocate for their students, believe in them, and seek to empower them to flourish and to develop their own identities and philosophies. Emulating the Hippocratic Oath, teachers-in-training should commit to universal ideas of humanist ethics, democratic culture, and excellence in pedagogy. Nir Michaeli and Esther Yogev make a strong plea for the need to "intensify education for tolerance" in teacher training programs, in order that teachers may "play an active role in the communities in which they live" (p. 76). This training would inscribe "political consciousness" as a critical component of the professional identity of a teacher-in-training, who would be an "organic intellectual educator." Rather than an eloquent or specialized orator, the teacher would be a participant, constructor and, "permanent persuader," as Gramsci argued (p. 79). Yet, as Jason Fitzgerald contends, civic engagement projects are often limited by having their origin in the classroom. Fitzgerald maintains that teachers must develop more transformative, dialogic relationships with students and community members alike, both instrumental and non-instrumental. Much as discovery is central to scientific learning, relationships with communities are the key to "develop civic processes" (p. 90). Often community members, like students, are best placed to identify their own needs. Through their openness, teachers can help to build "associational living" as a way of life and establish democracy, as Dewey defined it, as far more than politics.

Part 2 further explores why intercultural understanding and collaboration – in the face of our global reality and contemporary mass migration – is so urgent. In this section on "Globalization, Immigration, and the Challenges of Intercultural Education," the authors argue that intercultural competence is not only an economic imperative but also a political and ethical one. Yet tragically, despite an emphasis on multiculturalism and social justice, most teachers have not attained an awareness of the global forces that upend justice, economic equity, and freedom and, in some cases, have led to genocide. Historical perspectives are critical in moving forward, whether focusing on genocide, immigration, imperialism, or environmental education. These scholars and educators posit that the diversity that globalization brings offers cultural assets and that mutual respect for the *other* should be a "compass" for twenty-first century education. The authors of this section explore how courage and resistance might become outcomes of our educational institutions.

Creating leadership to foster "a humane education requires confidence to contest traditional and relatively neoconservative models of globalization," argue Beverly Shaklee, April Mattix, and Supriya Baily in the opening chapter (p. 107). They recommend four steps to promote insight into forces such as energy conservation and immigration, including training in multiple perspectives, comparing the local and global realities, promoting respect for disagreement, and offering tools to overcome conflict. Similarly, Cyril Ghosh and Lori Weintrob advocate teaching about immigration policy, social mobility, assimilation, and cultural identity with a historical and comparative lens. Assigning students readings "from across the ideological spectrum" is a must for having them grapple with counter-arguments and shifting paradigms (p. 121). Yet the most powerful learning is often in direct engagement with community members, such as crossing thresholds to enter a mosque or an ethnic Hispanic or Asian neighborhood – experiences that give students the courage to overturn media stereotypes of the other. Ousmane Traoré demands that educators transcend nationalist, universal, colonial, and even comparative histories, with the prescriptive "mission to civilize." Instead he favors "connected histories" (to use a term of Sunjay Subrahmanyam) or "mixed worlds" (p. 138) as a teaching tool best suited to the idea that races, peoples, nations, and civilizations have always been in contact and in conflict. What really matters for teaching global history and contemporary politics is how these events created a consciousness of a world of intersections. Moreover, Traore shows how Léopold Sédar Senghor (in Senegal), Lee Kuan Yew (in Singapore), and Nelson Mandela (in South Africa), among others, valued education as a weapon for transformation and used it to successfully fight the ills of globalization in their own time.

Three case studies on African film, bilingual education, and comparative genocide and mass murder emphasize the value of seeing from a new perspective, including a way to challenge students' prejudices. Steve Thomas outlines his collaboration with local organizations in Ethiopia and New York to foster courses on media literacy and film production, with special attention to the historically marginalized Oromo ethnic group. Making use of transnational networks, these courses "radically transformed" the way students understood their relationship to the world and the movie industry (p. 145). Smadar Donitsa-Schmidt offers ideas to challenge media stereotypes and create a strong linguistic landscape in a school. Visible bilingual signs, maps, films, or plays studied in or drawn from diverse cultures all send important messages about inclusivity. Cultural pluralism, sometimes called the "salad bowl approach," and bilingualism, offer enrichment for all children, even native-born ones (p. 161). Yair Auron's chapter appeals to educators to teach the Holocaust and genocide from a comparative perspective. "We must share with young people our anguish and fear that genocide will continue as an immanent part of human behavior," Auron pleads (p. 179). Auron asks us to consider more seriously the dire consequences of politically motivated mass murder, which he terms politicide, in a comparative way. He emphasizes the importance of teaching not only moral decision-making but also "that human life has an intrinsic value" (p. 178).

In contrast with a culture that assesses good teaching based on student outcomes on tests, the authors in *Part 3* on "Professional Ethics and Good Teaching" argue that good teachers and good assessment involves listening to students, engaging with them empathetically, and providing means for student responsibility for their own learning. The authors argue that establishing caring relationships as a foundation of learning is a necessary ingredient for teaching across subject areas from history and philosophy to math and politics. It is part of a larger commitment to the ongoing growth of the students and extends the humanity of both students and teachers.

Nel Noddings points out that students long for a genuine relationship with teachers. She argues for the value of establishing a genuine, ongoing relationship of reciprocity ("caring-for"), using innovative curricular design as well as our own interpersonal skills, as mutually beneficial (p. 184). Here, emotions and moral sensitivities rather than reasons and moral principles act as powerful motivators of human behavior. The contribution by Yehudith Weinberger proposes the conceptual framework of empathetic pedagogy, in which teachers are challenged to understand the student's internal world. Weinberger details the four steps for inspiring and empowering teachers to fulfill the "complete empathic act" (p. 197): showing ethical concern, understanding the student's internal state, remaining apart to avoid immersion, and taking responsible action. Irit Levy-Feldman and Zipora Libman point out that while much teaching has shifted to a constructivist model – stressing active, experiential, meaningful, and sense-making learning – not so in the realm of assessment, where the dominating trend focuses on accountability, high-stakes exams, and large-scale assessments. They prefer assessment of the process of learning – not only the final product – and positioning the teacher as mentor. As the constructivist model suggests, success would be found in how well students are able to raise their own questions and come up with new cognitive schemes and knowledge of their natural and human realities.

Our case studies turn to problem-posing education in philosophy and history, including the lessons of the civil rights and disability rights movements. Ann Gazzard sees young children as "natural philosophers" who are interested in problem-posing, such as exploring "the meaning of life," logic, ethics, and "what is beauty?" (Aesthetics). Too often, problem-solving instructs us to respond to an authority's questions and not our own. Fortuitously, philosophy is one of the classes taught in the innovative model of a three-year college readiness program, the Port Richmond Partnership Leadership Academy (PRPLA) at Wagner College. Lily McNair, Sarah Donovan, and Samantha Siegel reveal that one way to empower high school students within a caring framework is by using undergraduate college students as well as faculty as mentors. In their first summer, the high school students take a philosophy course for college credit on *Ethics and Society* that allows them to explore questions of distribution, access, community, and civic engagement. These students engage in civic projects as well as reflection, both in the classroom and outside it with mentors, cultivating their potential as future democratic and collaborative leaders. Rita Reynolds and David Gordon's chapter looks at how history, notably in the

civil rights and disability rights movement, can empower students with models of overcoming oppression. By emphasizing the diverse techniques to resist and fight inequity, from legal battles in the courtroom to nonviolent protest in the street, and the ongoing nature of the struggle, Reynolds and Gordon create hope and courage to combat discrimination.

Finally, in *Part 4*, the authors most ambitiously call for an education to take on the challenges of social justice, peace, and environmental sustainability. Dialogue with marginalized groups such as migrant families, or those we disagree with politically, is essential. A top priority for the twenty-first century must be to promote on a global scale a shared sense of community and responsibility.

Michael Apple calls for far more attention to be centered on challenging the differential benefits of globalization through openness to and learning from students and parents, on the model of citizen schools in Brazil. "Teachers and teacher educators need to know much more about the home countries and about the movements, politics, and *multiple* cultural traditions and conflicts from where diasporic populations come from," Apple urges (p. 259). Silvia Guetta also notes the need for a change in attitude and mentality to create a culture of peace. It is a challenge widely addressed by UNESCO, consisting in "building peace in the minds of men and women," and establishing tolerance and respect for the well-being and rights of all people (p. 283). Jamal Abu Hussain and Smadar Gonen encourage dialogue on issues drawn from the lives of students, a move away from achievement-oriented knowledge to critical self-examination, in order to create more autonomy and more conscious choice-making. At the Al-Qasemi Teacher Training College in Baka al-Gharbiye, an Arab town in northern Israel, they argue that the "supreme goal" of education must be to inculcate responsibility and attention to the impact of our actions on others (p. 269). Patricia Moynagh's chapter focuses on the grassroots work of the Bereaved Families Forum, comprised of roughly the same number of Palestinians and Israelis (about 600 families) who have lost a close family member to the violence in the region. She argues for the transformative power of dialogue and remembrance to challenge official governing forces.

David Dunetz, Ilana Avissar, and Dafna Gan strive to surpass traditional forms of environmental education, which focus on technological advancement and greening, by moving to include ethical and political discussions of social justice and conspicuous consumption. This chapter identifies three components of environmental education at Kibbutzim College: the Green Council and Green Earth Week; a Master's Program in Environmental Education; and a global education program in Nepal. Margarita Sanchez and Alexa Dietrich's chapter offers a model of what can happen when educators recognize their debt to and ability to learn from migrants in the diaspora. Immigrants, notably undocumented ones, face numerous threats – deportation, incarceration, exposure to toxic substances or danger at work, substandard housing, environmental disasters like "Hurricane Sandy." The ground-breaking transnational project *Nani Migrante* brings migrant families together after years of separation. These intimate encounters, transformative for the families,

enable students of anthropology and language to see more clearly multi-generational choices regarding migration and assimilation, power and culture.

Wangari Maathai, founder of the Greenbelt Movement in Kenya, offered a groundbreaking critique in the 1980s of the environmental impact of global capitalism. For this work, she was later recognized with the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize, the first African woman to receive this honor. We seek to heed her call for "a shift in our thinking, so that humanity stops threatening its life-support system. We are called to assist the Earth to heal her wounds and in the process heal our own... Recognizing that sustainable development, democracy and peace are indivisible is an idea whose time has come" (Maathai, 2014).

The goal of the book is to stimulate discussion among educational leaders as well as teachers-in-training and current teachers about how to empower students as humane and democratic leaders. Recurrent themes involve expanding student immersion in the civic sphere, so that schools are playgrounds for citizenship and spaces to build ongoing relationships with educators and community members. Teachers in all disciplines model problem-posing education, focused on asking questions of themselves and the world around them.

Among institutions represented in this volume, Wagner College in Staten Island, New York, and Kibbutzim College in Tel-Aviv, Israel, have in particular woven democratic and reciprocal community engagement into their institutional fabric as an essential commitment. Their faculty, administration, and staff share a passion for humanist ethics, critical pedagogy, and active democratic citizenship that offers a model for educational leaders.

Among the most critical of policy recommendations regarding assessment, we urge devising ways to measure the process of learning, including collaboration, reflection, and attitudes, and not only the final outcome. In addition, we believe that accreditation of teacher education programs must include global-mindedness, a critical multiculturalism, and environmental justice in a central – not peripheral – fashion. We must ensure that teachers hold a commitment to human dignity and equality and not merely the transfer of knowledge. Finally, educators must be trained to be courageous enough to understand globalization and inequities and how education, as Nelson Mandela said, "is the most powerful weapon to change the world."

Encouraging creative pedagogy involves rearranging time and curricula in schools so that children have opportunities for both instructional and unstructured exploration. This would allow teachers time to collaborate and reflect daily. Educational leaders can be thus better role models for democracy as a way of living, as Dewey argued. We intend that youth build a critical consciousness and proactive attitude, based on an awareness of privilege and power in politics, differences and commonalities in culture, and intersectionality in identity. Students, teachers, and all educators should be able to locate themselves in context of what they have learned, to challenge the media and status quo when needed, and not least to enjoy a flourishing life. As Albert Einstein once said: "The important thing is not to stop questioning… Never lose holy curiosity."

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PART 1

EDUCATIONAL ENGAGEMENT FOR A HUMANE AND DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

DAVID T. HANSEN

EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP IN SCHOOLS TODAY

A Perspective from Cosmopolitanism

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I propose to sketch the aims of the school in light of a cosmopolitan philosophy of education. The first section that follows provides a summary account of what I take cosmopolitanism to mean. The second section frames a philosophy of education that stems from this account. The third and penultimate section sketches a conception of the school and its moral and ethical aims in light of this philosophy of education. The discussion will foreground normative ideals. Such ideals can be problematic, if not dangerous, if they blind people to concrete realities. They can be disappointing if failure to attain them weighs down hard on people. But if ideals are understood as *sources of direction*, rather than as destinations, they can assist educators to sustain their course in the face of obstacles. My core purpose here is to highlight why a cosmopolitan orientation can inspire, encourage, and help guide educators in creating good schools for our globalizing era.

I. A PORTRAIT OF COSMOPOLITANISM

Cosmopolitanism is an ancient idea. Philosophical and educational traditions which originate in the Mediterranean basin have articulated the idea in its most developed forms. However, these forms have never been self-contained (or "purely" Western, whatever that could mean), nor are they at all points the most influential in the world today. For one thing, the Mediterranean has always been a cultural crossroads, ranging historically from the Moorish, Christian, and Jewish milieu of medieval Spain in the west to the multilingual, multicultural ethos of the Levant in the east, not to mention the Phoenician, Carthaginian and Maghrebian cultures of North Africa and the Greek and Roman cultures of southern Europe. For another thing, cosmopolitan motifs appear in numerous philosophical lineages deriving, for example, from the Hindu Upanishads (first millennium BCE) and Confucius' *Analects* (6th century BCE). Contemporary scholars have articulated cosmopolitan themes in these and other long-standing traditions. They have made plain that the movement in cosmopolitan ideas has often been, in global terms, east to west and south to north.[1]

The term cosmopolitanism derives from the Greek *kosmopolitês*, typically translated as "citizen of the world." There are indices of it in Socrates' eagerness to

N. Aloni & L. Weintrob (Eds.), Beyond Bystanders, 19-31.
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talk with persons from anywhere. One can also discern a cosmopolitan attitude in the practices of the traveling Sophists, Socrates' contemporaries who were itinerant educators and among the very first persons in Western culture who were paid for their educational services. As far as scholars have been able to determine, the idea finds its first formal expression in the voice of Diogenes (c. 390-323 BCE), a so-called Cynic philosopher who famously declared that he came from the world rather than from a particular culture. He said that his home was wherever he laid his head down to rest for the night.

The cosmopolitan idea reached an apogee in the ancient world among the Hellenistic and Roman Stoics, who in various ways suggested it was possible to devote oneself both to the local and larger human communities. They sought to frame ways of life in which one could be attuned both to particularized obligations and to the needs and hopes of humanity writ large. Writers as varied as Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius ventured cosmopolitan ideas throughout their texts. Later, in the wake of the Renaissance, with its rediscovery of Plato and other ancient sources, writers such as Desiderius Erasmus and Michel de Montaigne put forward portraits mirroring those of the Stoics about the importance of tolerance and mutual exchange. They sought an ecumenical approach that could reduce the religious strife prevalent at the time, even as they respected human differences in culture, in the arts, and more.

Commentators in the so-called Enlightenment of the eighteenth century rooted their cosmopolitan claims, in part, in the view that because human beings are capable of reason and moral agency, they must be treated with respect. They are not "things" with a merely economic or cultural value, but are beings with dignity. They are creative rather than merely created creatures. They are ends in themselves rather than mere means to others' ends. This outlook led cosmopolitan thinkers, in contrast with some of their Enlightenment confreres, to condemn war, slavery, and imperialism. Immanuel Kant eclipsed his own cultural biases in showing that moral respect – deriving from the German *achtung*, which can also be rendered as "reverence" – translates into the duty to make possible for all people an education that positions them to shape the course of their lives while contributing to the well-being of others. Kant gave the cosmopolitan idea an enduring boost through his moral philosophy and through his oft-cited argument for how to generate peace among states and communities.

As this brief overview suggests, cosmopolitanism has historically taken two directions that can be called, for heuristic purposes, the universal (cf. Nussbaum, 1997a, 1997b) and the rooted (cf. Appiah, 2005, 2006). For the former, the unit of analysis and of concern is humanity writ large. Individuals and local communities matter, but in this outlook "our" primary moral commitment must be to humanity. This commitment must inform local moral relations and practices. In contrast, rooted or practical cosmopolitanism begins from the ground – from the individual and local community. People do need to cultivate moral regard and respect for those outside their circle, but what is of concern to people within that circle must

be given comparable moral attention. Moreover, as I will touch on below, from a rooted perspective, the cultural "circles" humans fashion are typically permeable and subject to change, however slow or piecemeal the process may be.

In brief, cosmopolitanism has been pursued as a universal philosophy that accents a common humanity as well as institutions to support worldwide human well-being and rights. Its rooted version emphasizes cultural and everyday life on the ground: how human beings from diverse backgrounds and origins can not only interact peacefully, but cooperate and learn from one another. My work on cosmopolitanism and education has moved in the latter direction, a perspective that informs the present chapter.

II. A COSMOPOLITAN ORIENTATION TOWARD HUMAN AFFAIRS

Reflective Openness and Reflective Loyalty

In a cosmopolitan orientation, as I conceive it, persons fuse reflective openness to new ideas and people with reflective loyalty to what they already know and value. The ancient Roman playwright Terence wrote: "*Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto* – I am a man; I deem nothing that is human to be foreign to me" (Norton, 1904, p. 175). Two millennia later, John Dewey concluded his well-known book *Democracy and Education* by stating: "Interest in learning from all the contacts of life is the essential moral interest" (Dewey, 1985, p. 366).

Terence's turn of phrase prompts the idea that in enunciating one's humanity – whether through words addressed to others, or through music, dance, painting, or other media – a person enacts the idea that nothing about other humans, who are also enunciating their humanity in their words and works, is alien. In polemical terms: *There are no foreigners*. People may find other persons, and themselves, to be strange, off-putting, enigmatic, and opaque. But that response differs from regarding those features as beyond the pale of the human rather than as marks of its character.

Dewey emphasizes the creative aspect of this orientation. He highlights learning from all the encounters in life rather than just those which are familiar, pleasant, and confirming. This "interest" is moral, in his view, because it can concretize and sustain respectful contact across and within differences. The willingness to learn from every encounter does not mean such learning will be easy or always possible. Understanding self and other is seldom guaranteed and is, in any case, always incomplete. But this interest does presume that there are no impermeable walls that permanently prevent people from engaging one another humanely. People can learn to discern the values at play in different forms of life, as well as learn from the often quite different ways in which people hold values, even the same ones (more on this point below).

The qualifier "reflective" in openness to the new and loyalty to the known connotes more than the cognitive, logical, or analytical, although it embodies these features. It merges with an aesthetic and moral response to the world. In the absence of such a

response, reflection can become desiccated and unmoored from actual human affairs. Reflective openness and loyalty function symbiotically. It is difficult to conceive how a person can be open in a reflective (as contrasted with empty-minded) way without having local or particular commitments. At the same time, it is difficult to imagine being loyal in a reflective (as contrasted with dogmatic) manner without having an open window to the new. The dynamic focus on openness and loyalty demonstrates why cosmopolitanism is not a synonym with uncritical universalism. The idea does not represent a homogenizing or flattening moral and cultural outlook. Quite the contrary: It represents a long-standing, promising orientation toward the realities of endless individual and cultural difference in the world.

A Focus on Shared Capacities

Cosmopolitanism heeds differences, but it also draws attention to shared human capacities that, once recognized, can become a ground for humane, efficacious communication and exchange. These include capacities to speak, understood broadly such that one can "speak" through art and other media; to listen, understood as more than "hearing" but taking in what others are trying to say; and to tell and listen to stories, evoking the idea that people share an underlying, animating response to narrative. Human beings also share a capacity to inquire, to look into and try to figure things out. These capacities sum into the ability to learn. Persons everywhere share them in varying ways and degrees.

People also share a desire for meaning in life rather than settling for a stone-like existence. The widespread joy in cultural creativity – seen especially in the arts, but present even in the most run-of-the-mill encounters people have in the market, the home, the public park – attests to a shared inclination toward meaning rather than a manikin-like life. Put another way, people are valuers. They may differ in their political, aesthetic, religious, and other values, but they share the capacity to value in the first place.

Finally, human beings have evinced for millennia a capacity to live with tension in its negative and positive senses. On the one side is the challenging, sometimes anxiety- and fear-provoking tension in dealing with difference, with the new, with the unfamiliar. Cosmopolitanism arose, in part, as a recognition that people often do learn to respond well to such tensions; history is not simply one long tale of broken communication. In this regard, cosmopolitanism shines a light on the generative dimensions of tension which have to do with interest in, even fascination with, the new. Consider the familiar, compelling qualities of narrative tension in novels, paintings, music, and other arts that lead people to open their sensibilities and understandings to them.

A cosmopolitan-minded school would draw out these features of the human condition for students' consideration and study. To become mindful of them becomes a ground for learning to be reflectively open to the new and reflectively loyal to the known, which I take to be a core educational value in our time.

Rethinking How Persons Hold Their Values

Persons and communities cannot subsist without values. Even the relativist must value relativism in order to hold such a position. In developing a cosmopolitan orientation, people learn to hold and express their values in a non-violent, non-confrontational, and yet determined manner. The idea of "holding" values conjures ways of seeing: how persons see their world, see other people, and see what is in play and what is at stake. The notion of "expressing" values points to actual conduct: what people actually do in their lives. Through educational experiences in the school, people can come to see not only the diversity of values in the human world – values which saturate the curriculum – but how the very same values are often held and expressed differently.

For example, two people can value the same religious text but hold and express their valuation quite differently. One expresses his or her valuing dogmatically and aggressively, finding suspect all who see the text differently. The other expresses her or his valuing ecumenically, understanding that nobody has a privileged insight into the text and "owns" its meaning. Consider two people who value the so-called free market system. One touts the system as a cure for all things and condemns critics as ideological. The other appreciates a free market approach, but does so open-mindedly, understanding that no human-invented system will be infallible or the right one in any and all circumstances. In both examples, we witness the same stated values, but held and expressed differently, in part because no value exists in a vacuum but is bound up with a whole constellation of other values and beliefs.

All of this is another way to characterize the meaning of reflective openness to the new fused with reflective loyalty to the known. This posture respects tradition but not traditionalism. Whether in teaching, family life, a business, or a culture, tradition embodies creativity and responsiveness to the world. Traditionalism turns its back on the future and reifies the past, as it attempts (fruitlessly, in the long run) to keep present arrangements set in cement. A sense of tradition, as contrasted with traditionalism, constitutes an appreciative, but not idolatrous, perspective on precedent and custom. Since change is a guarantee in all things, it is better to try to guide it in humane and efficacious ways, rather clinging to the old as if the slightest alteration, or even ray of light into it, implies a total collapse like a house of cards. From a cosmopolitan perspective, reason and constructive criticism are not necessarily acidic. To examine one's values is not *ipso facto* to dissolve them, though it does mean establishing a fresh and living relation with them. That process implies transformation: an unpredictable amalgam of loss and gain, accompanied by varied degrees of uncertainty, ambiguity, and stability. But to let go of the hold that values can have on people does not imply people must let go of their hold on values.

III. COSMOPOLITANISM *AS* EDUCATION

Cosmopolitanism is not a new identity, much less a badge or marker of distinction. As we have seen, it incorporates rather than stands above or beyond particular commitments and values. Thus it makes no sense, in my view, to speak of "cosmopolitans" and "non-cosmopolitans." At any given time, a person or community may be cosmopolitan-minded, or it may attempt to live in a bubble. This existential division – mirroring that between tradition and traditionalism – appears to be characteristic of every human community past and present. There are always some people open reflectively to the new even as they retain loyalty, reflectively, to the known. There are always people unwilling to take on this posture, for fear of losing power, control, and the false security of illusions. Still others are unable to do so, for quite understandable reasons such as suffering oppression and exclusion. While some persons and communities can appear frozen in place, with respect to their relation with values and morals, others shift continuously, and in inconsistent, puzzling, and unpredictable ways, from one end of the spectrum of openness-dogmatism to the other over the course of a life, or generation, or era. Such shifts, as teachers and parents could quickly attest in their work with the young and with one another, also seem to happen inside an hour, a minute, a second.

One of the offices of the school is to help students appreciate these features of the human. They can do so through realizing that cosmopolitanism can be understood *as* education. What else is reflective openness to the new and reflective loyalty to the known but an educational stance in the world? The orientation *means* continuous learning, and not just in a quantitative sense. It is not a matter of simply adding new information and facts, as if these had any meaning in and of themselves outside a field of purposes and aims. Rather the learning is also qualitative: it involves a transformation in one's self-understanding and understanding of others and the world. Such changes will typically be microscopic and often hard to detect, yet they have a cumulating effect on the person's evolving orientation toward the affairs of life.

Cosmopolitanism can be understood as embodying, or as naming, a philosophy of education. A philosophy of education constitutes (1) a statement of values, (2) a compass, and (3) an abiding wellspring of ideas (Hansen, 2007). As a statement of values, an educational philosophy reflects what the thinker or community esteems: for example, learning to read and to write critically, to conduct scientific experiments, to produce artistic works, to speak well and courageously, to engage other people respectfully and honestly, and so forth. As a compass, an educational philosophy guides the educator or community in making decisions: for example, that a particular approach to teaching is better to adopt than its alternatives because it treats subject matter intellectually rather than as solely a store of facts, which means regarding students as human beings capable of thought rather than mere absorption.

As a wellspring of ideas, an educational philosophy helps the educator or community respond intelligently to new situations and conditions: for example, it

leads the teacher to ask a thoughtful question about the novel at hand when students are restless rather than automatically piling on more information about it. In other words, instead of relying uncritically on precedent, convention, or prepackaged scripts, educators can draw upon their educational philosophy to devise fruitful responses to issues and problems that are tailored to their specific circumstances.

As we have seen, a cosmopolitan-minded philosophy of education foregrounds the value of reflective openness to new ideas and people fused with reflective loyalty to what they know and esteem. This philosophy emphasizes human creativity whether at the level of the individual or community. People have to be creative, which means imaginative and responsive to conditions in order to fuse openness and loyalty; there are no blueprints or algorithms here. Mohandas Gandhi evokes this claim in a reply he once wrote to the famous poet Rabindranath Tagore, with whom he had, during the first half of the twentieth century, a running debate about the appropriate approach to gaining independence from Britain. "I hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great poet," Gandhi wrote. "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my land as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any" (Bhattacharya, 1997, p. 64). A cosmopolitan-minded philosophy of education pivots around the view that it is possible, indeed necessary, to be open to the new, but that such openness does not imply the dissolution, overthrow, or abandonment of the old. It becomes a delicate task to help students learn how to balance the two dimensions, to dwell in a spirit of tradition but not traditionalism, to grasp that one can be at home with open windows.

IV. THE MORAL AND ETHICAL AIMS OF THE SCHOOL

Everyone in the school comes from the world, and they will bring something of the world with them when they enter its doors. Each person will play a part in the school as a learning community. Put another way, each person who joins the community faces an ethical and a moral challenge. The moral pertains to human regard for and treatment of other people and the things of the world. The term spotlights relations of mutual respect, fairness, and serious-minded consideration. These qualities do not spring from nowhere but typically need support and nurturing – for the adults in the school as well as students. Everybody who has ever gone to school knows that adults, like students, can fall down from a moral point of view. They may need help to get back on their feet, and to learn how to assist others do so as well.

The ethical connotes a depth notion of self-development. It becomes an umbrella concept that addresses (1) the individual's aesthetic sensibility, having to do with capacities of perceptivity and sensitivity in working with others and things; (2) the person's moral orientation, having to do as mentioned with being fair-minded, respectful, and concerned for others' well-being; and (3) his or her reflective capacity to stand back, though not apart, from situations in order to think, imagine, and make good decisions. Thus ethics, in the context of the school, points to an

ongoing process wherein each person cultivates these aesthetic, moral, and reflective qualities. As such the challenge is also an invitation. It is not to learn "to toe the line" but to participate in building that line: a communicative, interactive process that can draw out the best in people. In this undertaking, self-discipline matters as much as the discipline that comes through cooperative and collaborative endeavor. So understood, ethics and the moral constitute important strata of a cosmopolitan orientation.

Educational Leadership

In a previous section, I suggested that people share the desire for a meaningful life rather than for a stone-like existence. This quest for meaning can be thwarted or subdued by difficult circumstances. It can be sidetracked by consumerist mentalities wherein everything, other people included, become mere means to the next devouring step – a sure recipe for nihilism. And yet, the quest for meaning seems to abide in most people, and finds expression when circumstances take the right turn.

However, even in the best of times meaning does not come with the break of day or like the oxygen we breathe. It emerges in response to experience, in how a person interprets or makes sense of what is happening. From a cosmopolitan perspective, experience incorporates two platforms: (1) the immediate words, actions, and events at hand along with what one makes of them, and (2) an "address" from the world that underlies them. It is as if the world, in the manifold ways it comes at the person, was constantly asking him or her:

- So, what do you make of me? How is it for you being *in this place* rather than in some other kind of cosmos?
- In what ways are you dwelling here? What relations do you have, and what relations are you creating, with the world around you?
- Why do you ask questions – even if you're not always aware you are doing so? What kind of being are you *that poses questions*? Do trees pose questions? How about the clouds? Has a butterfly ever posed a question to the cosmos? We know that humans do. You do. Why is that?

Educational leadership in the school means each person takes a lead in acknowledging these implied questions. If not in so many words, each person shows others how they are responding to life's call to meaning. Principals and deans, teachers, other staff, and students need to make plain they are *alive* rather than going through the motions of something dubbed "schooling" that is merely a preparation for something known as "getting into university" followed by "getting a job" followed in turn by "retiring" – as if human existence was nothing more than a linear, prewritten script. The world itself is *alive* and it penetrates and courses through people, and if they are attuned to how it is doing so, they can respond creatively, constructively, and humanely. They can participate in rendering that world a bit more beautiful as well as hospitable to everyone.

This cosmopolitan-minded learning can saturate a school ethos if everyone participates in educational leadership. All can lead, if not in so many words, by pursuing ethical lives. They can show others, in their engagement with one another and with the curriculum of the school, what it means to cultivate one's aesthetic, moral, and reflective capacities. They can show others what both curiosity and inquiry can be like. As the more experienced members of the community, adults play a key role. Elders always have, since the very dawn of culture, and culture is impossible without the insight and experience of elders. But wise elders know how much there is to learn from the young, especially in how the young react to the world along the lines of the questions posed above. Children and youth see and respond to the world in their distinctive ways, and these can be fresher, more appreciative, and more creative than what adults can muster.

Curriculum and Teaching

Curriculum itself can be understood as the outcome of responses to the world. Art and literature constitute attempts, among other things, to understand experience and render it richer and more generative. Physical education is a response to the stark fact that we have bodies that interact in better or worse ways with the natural environment. Science and mathematics respond to the sheer puzzle nature can represent. History and social studies concern the study of human responses to the world, which means the study of how the quest for meaning can both flourish – leading to humanizing efforts in everything from art to politics – and go deeply awry, careening into blindnesses, violence, and oppression of others. How shall we respond to the gift of being here at all in the cosmos? The stupefying recurrence of war around the planet demonstrates how easy it can be to forget or neglect the question. The sheer fact that so much remarkable, enlightening art exists everywhere shows what happens when people heed the question.

The curriculum of the school can fuel reflective openness to new ideas, people, and values, even as it instructs reflective loyalty to the known and the already esteemed. Every subject taught in school requires a mode of reflective loyalty. Each has its indispensable rules, methods, and truths, and students (and their teachers) must learn these. They cannot learn French if they pretend *savoir* is the only verb for knowledge. They cannot learn mathematics if they assume 2 + 2 = 5 or any other number they wish. They cannot score two points in basketball by kicking the ball into a football net. But learning also involves the cultivation of judgment, which among other things implies deploying knowledge dynamically as one encounters new questions and circumstances. In this sense, learning becomes another name for the fusion of reflective openness and loyalty, and thereby echoes the idea articulated previously that cosmopolitanism can be conceived of *as* education.

Leadership Revisited: The Roles of Teachers and Heads of School

I suspect many readers have met educators from quite different communities, cultures, regions, and the like, who are able to talk meaningfully with one another about educational matters. When they meet they build common ground, sometimes with remarkable swiftness and with fluency. This common ground does not spring from agreement per se on issues of curriculum, instruction, and assessment. Rather it derives from their ability to generate language for expressing the importance of such issues, for articulating the significance of the endeavor that goes by the name of education. To adapt a turn of phrase from Hans-Georg Gadamer (1984), one could describe this phenomenon as the natural propensity toward philosophy by some (obviously not all) who educate. Their efforts sustain a continuous, worldwide conversation undertaken in numerous registers about what it means to be an educator, what makes educating more than merely socializing others, and many related questions.

This conversation constitutes more than a sum of its national, cultural, and individual parts. It is not difficult to imagine instances in which, if a teacher did not explicitly identify her- or himself as, say, Korean or South African, or Christian or Muslim, or as a history or biology teacher, an outsider to the dialogue might be hard-pressed to determine the person's educational origins. This familiar occurrence does not reflect a universalized homogeneity. On the contrary, it signals the ability of some educators to bring to bear an intimate grasp, literally at their fingertips, of their local domains fused with an equally intimate, thoughtful receptivity to new outlooks and ideas. In their shared aspiration to get at the meaning of education, and to perform the work well, these educators stand between the universal and the particular, between the global and the local. They stand in a cosmopolitan space.

Extensive testimony and research demonstrates that there are educators everywhere who resist being molded into functionaries or hired hands. They do not cast off the charge of socialization, which is a critical aspect of their work. Nobody can participate in social life without being socialized into a language and set of customs. However, good teachers also enact the long-standing fact that education includes voyaging into the new, the unscripted, the unexpected, the unplanned, and the unpredictable – and not just for the individuals in question, but for the world itself. That is, every person and every classroom or school community who undergoes this process – in which they respond creatively to being in the world – has contributed thereby to the human richness of the world. Their effort may be microscopic in comparison with the whole, and it may also have a family resemblance to others' gestures. But every genuinely educational experience embodies dimensions that are unique and irreproducible.

Many educators have an abiding disposition to share ideas, methods, and philosophies across any number of cultural markers. The most serious-minded and playful of them seem to draw pleasure, insight, and edification from this transcommunal and transpersonal exchange. In so doing, they can trace their roots to

pioneering educational influences, such as Confucius and Socrates, who still teach through their words and legacies. Educators who work in this spirit constitute an ever-evolving cosmopolitan community.

Teachers and heads of school are among those in our time who play an invaluable role in cultivating reflective openness to the new and reflective loyalty to the known. Teachers, especially, are face-to-face with students day after day. In their everyday work, they are well placed to ask themselves questions such as:

– What would it mean to perceive one's students – and oneself – as engaged, if not in so many words, in an ethical project of aesthetic, moral, and reflective self-cultivation?
– What would it mean to provoke and help students – and oneself – to treat life in an artful way?
– What would it mean for teachers and students to perceive themselves as potentially creative cultural beings – as beings who do more than ingest facts by rote, but who metabolize them into constructive arguments, artistic works, and the like?

The questions mirror those raised previously (p. 26). They can guide educators in engaging students and helping them see why they, too, must be educational leaders in the school and, beyond that, in the world itself. Educators can draw students into thinking through the questions themselves, just as they can involve students in imagining the dynamics of reflective openness and reflective loyalty. All of this, combined with the more familiar fare of the curriculum, draws persons out of themselves and into the world of other people and things.

CONCLUSION: THE CHALLENGES FACING COSMOPOLITAN-MINDED SCHOOLS

Like any normative conception of the school, the cosmopolitan ideal articulated here will give rise to recurring difficulties and conflicts. Educational life in the school will involve, literally speaking, learning how to address such challenges.

For example, how can a school foster cosmopolitan-mindedness while serving the young of a particular nation or polity? Won't its attempts to cultivate reflective openness and loyalty be compromised by the pressure of nationalistic values, beliefs, and ways of thinking? How can the school respond to the mindset expressed by those who would claim, for instance, that American education must be American, serve Americans, and reject everything non-American? This mindset can be found, in one form or another, in every nation in the world today.

How can a school support ethical and moral cultivation, in the cosmopolitan spirit examined here, when it is subject to any number of top-down, often narrow accountability pressures? How will it find the energy, creativity, and curricular space to fuel a cosmopolitan-minded education while having to devote so much time and effort to addressing external mandates? Moreover, how might the school defend its cosmopolitan ideals from being hijacked for instrumental, strategic purposes, such

as when individuals perceive cosmopolitanism as merely another form of "capital" to accumulate rather than as an orientation toward life?

How does a school community address partisan, ideological, or just plain fearful constituents who do not want their children, or themselves, to be drawn into the play of reflective openness to the new and reflective loyalty to the known? What shall the school community do about constituents who both hold and express their values in a hardened, dogmatic, and monological fashion?

Such difficulties are not new but, in one guise or another, have accompanied schools for children and youth since their inception long ago. We might say the challenges have become more intense and vexing as human life has become more crowded, more fast-paced, and more competitive. Arendt (1961) and Dewey (1985) both argued that the school can make its way even through such daunting thickets. Their well-known views differed markedly. Arendt conceived the school as a place apart from society, wherein teachers and students could pursue knowledge and understanding unhampered by the current ideological presumptions of the day. In her view, it would be disastrous for the world, for the continued life of humanity, if the school was brought too close to current societal expectations and norms. Dewey conceived the school as a place both apart from and in society. Its purpose, in his view, is to create a dynamic learning environment where the growth of all, here and now, would never be compromised by narrow, instrumental notions of "preparing" for life. As he often argued, if the school is doing its work well, its students will be prepared for the future. More than this, they will be educated such that they can not only participate in social and economic life, but have the dispositions and outlook to want to make that life better for all. For Dewey, as for Arendt, such learning cannot happen if the school becomes merely an instrument of prevailing values and societal structures.

Both thinkers would remind us that there are no panaceas for the pressures a cosmopolitan-minded school will face, any more than there have been for schools in previous generations. Educators need a mature philosophy of education that recognizes realities, that helps them grasp why it is that communities and individuals alike are sometimes fearful of any departure from a narrow norm. This philosophy of education can help them understand the strong pull of illusions, such as the chimerical idea of living inside a cultural or psychological bubble, or the blind assumption that consumerism can be a meaningful way of life in the long run. A cosmopolitan-minded philosophy urges the need for patient, courageous, and collaborative work. Educational leadership comes into play once more, on the part of all those who spend so many days of their lives in that place called school.

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NOTE

[1] For references, please see the extensive bibliography in Hansen (2011).

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SCHOOLING AND GLOBALIZATION

EDUCATION SYSTEMS BECOMING GLOBALIZED

Globalization has typically been interpreted using economic, political, and cultural terms. Depending on the perspective, it has been seen as a transition from a Fordist workplace orientation to internationalized trade and consumption. Globalization is also leading to a diminishing role of nation-states and loss of their sovereignty, and the emergence of global hegemony of transnational media and entertainment corporations. As a consequence, standardization in economies, policies, and culture has become a new norm for competitive corporations, ideas, and media. Changes in global culture deeply affect educational policies, practices, and institutions. From recent attempts to analyze and understand the multiple and complex effects of globalization on education it is obvious that there is no single straightforward view of the consequences of the globalization process on teaching and learning in schools and other education institutions (Carnoy, 1999; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Stromquist, 2002). Although globalization has also created new opportunities to improve education, this chapter focuses on some counterproductive implications that are becoming evident in recent education reforms.

Globalization has brought new doctrines in education policy and practice. Standards, performance measures, and alternative forms of financing have come to challenge conventional public education in many parts of the world. In the name of accountability and transparency, schools, teachers and students are more often than ever before assessed and asked to perform under the observing lenses of inspectors and testing officers. Even ministers of education today compete to determine whose students can perform the best in international student assessment programs, as research by Breakspear (2015) suggests. Indeed, increased use of international student achievement comparisons, such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), PIRLS (Progress in Reading Literacy Study), and TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study), has been, as Hargreaves (2003) has argued, one of the strongest pretexts for school reforms in many countries, including many of the transition economies. The emerging perception seems to be that making schools, teachers, and students compete against each other will itself improve the quality of education, as it has done in market economies. Various forms of educational standards have been created to help these competitions to become fairer and more comparable.

Education systems are reacting differently to the changes in the world's new economic, political, and cultural orders. Globalization has become an influence

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in nation-states' social reforms as education sectors adjust to the new global environments that are characterized by flexibility, diversity, increased competition, and unpredictable change. Understanding the effects of globalization on teaching and learning is essential for any policy maker, reform designer, and educational leader. The evolution of global education reforms since the 1990s shows how national education policies have become similar in different parts of the world.

Let's take a look at some of the efforts to understand national education reforms in global context since the 1990s. First, according to Carnoy (1999), the approach governments take in reforming their education sector and its responses to globalization depend on three key factors:

- the government's objective financial situation,
- its interpretation of that situation, and
- its political-ideological position regarding the public sector in education.

These three factors are normally spelled out in the macro-economic *structural adjustment policies* and related large-scale education reform strategies through which countries adjust not only their economies but also their education systems to the new realities.

The key purpose of structural adjustment policies in the education sector has been a transition towards "global educational standards." This is often done by benchmarking the entire systems of less-developed countries to those of economically more advanced ones. Unfortunately, governments often think that there is one correct approach to adjustment of education, and that certain "global education standards" need to be met if the system is to perform in an internationally competitive way. Research on education reforms and experiences on structural adjustment suggest that governments need to realize that there is more than one way of proceeding on the way to improvement.

Second, the major condition for sustainable improvement of public education and cultivation of democratically functioning nation-states is the kind of reform that is based on the principle of *development* rather than *creation*. In creation, according to Sarason (2002), new externally designed solutions are being introduced to solve the existing local problems. In development, on the other hand, the key questions are:

- What is the past of the system?
- What kind of institutions do we want the schools to become?
- What capabilities do individuals and the system need to implement the expected reform?

This tension between development and creation is visible in most education system reforms in transition economies and in most developing countries. More specifically, there are three education policy directions within more general structural adjustment of state economy and public service that are typical of today's large-scale education reforms. Each of these policies is often implemented in the spirit of creation rather than development in developing and transition countries. Moreover, the following policies are often used to promote market-based reforms and hence characterize the

essence of globalization of education: *decentralization*, *privatization*, and *increasing efficiency* of education (Adamson, Åstrand, & Darling-Hammond, 2016).

Decentralization is based on an assumption that stronger self-management allows schools to find optimal ways of responding to local needs and becoming more accountable for outcomes. Decentralization per se can neither improve the quality of education nor increase the productivity of schooling. Evidence shows that, for example, school autonomy alone, as a form of decentralized education management, has produced no significant gains in student achievement (Hannaway & Carnoy, 1993; OECD, 2013). Indeed, the rationale for decentralizing education is not to increase the autonomy of municipalities or schools, but to reduce the central government's responsibility for financing of compulsory education and aggregate responsibility for financing of education to local taxpayers and governments. Similarly, the cost-efficiency, competition, and impact of private schools have been constant topics of debate among educators. Evidence from the research literature is, however, controversial (Ladd & Fiske, 2003; OECD, 2013). Although cost-effectiveness in private schools may be greater than in public schools, private provision of education through vouchers does not itself improve student learning either. For example, data from recent education reforms in Chile show that a large-scale and systematic privatization of public school management has not made a significant contribution to school improvement in general (Adamson, Åstrand, & Darling-Hammond, 2016; Hsieh & Urquiola, 2003; Mizala, Romaguera, & Farren, 2002). Furthermore, research evidence from New Zealand, Chile, and even the United States indicates that the common belief that increased competition among schools due to parental choice and related financing structures leads to improved teaching and learning is unclear, or is simply not true (Ladd & Fiske, 2003; OECD, 2013).

Third, the spirit of educational reform thinking mentioned above resonates closely to the Second Way of educational change that is illustrated by Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) in their book, *The Fourth Way*. It is a way of market competition and educational standardization in which professional autonomy is replaced by the ideals of efficiency, productivity, and rapid service delivery. New economic terms such as "standards," "accountability," and "competitiveness" appeared in global education policy discourse and occupied much of the technical attention of the education development community. Market-like education service promised diversity and quality, but they were soon trumped by uniformity and standardization. Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) write:

> In the United States, statewide high-stakes tests were increasingly administered to all students – even those who were newly arrived from abroad without the barest rudiments of English. Standards were easy to write, inexpensive to fund, and they spread like wildfire. They were revered in administrative and policy circles but bypassed or resisted in classrooms. However, as scripted and paced literacy programs were then imposed in many districts and on their schools, the bureaucratic screw tightened with increased ferocity. (p. 9)

The spread of market-driven education reforms was boosted also by the prevalence of the Internet and electronic global communication in the 1990s. English had become the international language in education development, and the early lessons from the Anglo-Saxon education reforms were openly available to all. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist Eastern European bloc opened education export at the same time from the more developed West to the less developed East. In these countries, education policies began to focus on parental choice for their children's schooling, market-like competition between schools over enrollment, use of student performance data to determine good and poor schools, and the western-like educational standards. In the absence of universally comparable data about the performance of education systems, most reform efforts in these countries and beyond that relied on Second Way reform thinking were not judged but rather by their effectiveness remained a matter of opinion. When the popularity of reforms became the only criterion of success, the way for the global educational reform movement was open.

TYPOLOGIES OF GLOBAL EDUCATION REFORMS

Countries that need to improve educational performance often redesign their policies by benchmarking current practices to what they believe to be international best practice. Demand for technological literacy, flexibility of knowledge and skills, and ability to adjust to new labor market needs require teachers to teach new things in new ways to new generations of young people. However, the thinking behind these reforms varies greatly from one system to another.

First and foremost, there is no one common denominator for these reforms, but a closer analysis identifies some typical trends. Earlier models of global educational thinking include those presented by Martin Carnoy (1999) and Michael Fullan (2011), for example. Some aspects of types of reforms may overlap and this categorization is not necessarily comprehensive. The four education reform categories are: equity-oriented reforms, restructuring-oriented reforms, financing-oriented reforms, and standardization-oriented reforms.

The main intention of *equity-oriented education reforms* that were typical in the 1960s and 1970s, for example in Finland, was to promote social equity and increase economic opportunity. In most countries, educational attainment determines individuals' social status as well as their capital earnings. This allows for the equalizing of access to good education to be an important factor in closing the gap between the socioeconomic groups in society. Equity-oriented reforms often emphasize strengthening the political role of education in building democratic justice, social mobility, and equal opportunities for all citizens. In general, these reforms focus on shifting public spending from higher to lower levels of education, establishing rural/urban balance, highlighting gender issues, broadening the conception of educational quality beyond knowledge and skills in core subjects, and moving towards a more integrated curriculum and inclusive organization of teaching.

Consequently, popularity of equity-oriented education reforms has increased recently because of the emerging evidence from national research and international Big Data (i.e., OECD's PISA) that shows how the most successful education systems are those that combine quality improvement and strengthening equity in their reforms simultaneously. Market-based solutions have often been seen as potential alternatives to conventional public education in improving the quality, equity, and cost-effectiveness of educational provision. Some fear, among them teachers, that in this race for higher standards using market mechanisms, including privatization, only the fastest and strongest will succeed while the weak either fail or lose their hope when left behind.

Restructuring-oriented education reforms that emerged in 1980s, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, are based on structural alignment that aimed to "normalize" the current system with international practice. The basic assumption of such reforms is that all education systems that function effectively and produce high-quality learning should share the same core values, assumptions and operational principles. The most typical indicators of economically and administratively adjusted education systems are pupil-teacher ratio, class size, school size, time allocation per subject, education expenditure per capita, and length of compulsory education. Recently, as a consequence of restructuring reforms especially in transition economies, several institutional rearrangements have occurred, such as the emergence of independent assessment and examination centers, privately managed education institutions and accreditation agencies.

Financing-oriented education reforms typically aim at reducing the share of public financing of education by looking for ways for users to pay for their education. These reforms became prevalent as a consequence of austerity actions following the 2008 global financial downturn. As globalization increases competition among nations, national economies have to adjust themselves to the new global economic structural reality. In practice, since education is a significant proportion of public sector spending (ranging from 10-25% in developed countries), reducing public spending inevitably means also shrinking education budgets financed from public funding. This, in turn, leads governments to seek financing outside public budgets or to reduce the unit costs within the education sector, or both of these.

Standardization-oriented reforms that have appeared since the 1990s first in Anglo-Saxon countries were based on the assumption that in the competitive economic and social contexts the quality of education and productivity of labor can best be improved by setting high performance standards for teaching and learning and then measuring whether these standards have been met. Standardization-driven reforms were a catalyst for the introduction of international test comparisons. Students' test scores in TIMSS, PIRLS, and PISA have raised public interest in performance of education systems globally. A consequence is that the complex interconnections between educational achievement and economic success are oversimplified. In competition-intensive global markets, schools have been urged to reach higher standards. This has led to focusing on education reforms that are based

on greater standardization and related micromanagement of teaching and learning. As Hargreaves (2003) has argued, the most commonly used reform strategy is:

– a closely scripted curriculum with predetermined attainment targets or learning standards,
– aligned testing mechanisms that measure the extent to which these standards have been achieved,
– tightened external inspection to control teachers' and schools' performance, and
– performance-related compensation among other reward-sanction structures.

The types of education reforms described here rarely occur independently from each other. The internal logic of that typology indicates increased market-orientation of education reform as one moves from the first to the fourth. Therefore, it is normal that two or more of these reforms are implemented simultaneously in large-scale, system-wide efforts to align education to new economic or political situations and thereby improve the quality of education and increase the productivity of labor. Moreover, similar changes may occur within each of these reform categories but for different reasons. For example, changing the curriculum has been almost a fit-for-all cure in education reforms of any type, teacher in-service training is proposed as a means in most reforms, and resource implications of reforms have often impacted on the financial arrangements of education.

A more recent effort to conceptualize globalization of education reforms is the Global Educational Reform Movement, or GERM (Sahlberg, 2016). It builds on the earlier typology presented herein and has, as its predecessors, several manifestations that vary from one education system to another. Four distinct features have been dominant in GERM-type educational reforms.

First, and perhaps the most common feature, is increased parental choice that leads to *competition* between schools for student enrolment in schools. Almost all education systems have introduced alternative forms of schooling to offer parents with more *choice* regarding their children's schooling (OECD, 2013). The voucher system in Chile in the 1980s, free schools in Sweden in the 1990s, charter schools in the United States in the 2000s, and secondary academies in England in the 2010s are examples of faith in competition as an engine of advancement. At the same time, the proportion of more advantaged students studying in private schools or independent schools has grown. In Australia, for example, nearly every third primary and secondary school student studies in non-governmental schools. School league tables that rank schools based on their performance in national standardized assessments have further increased competition between schools. OECD data show that, according to school principals across OECD countries, more than three-quarters of the students assessed by PISA attend schools that compete with at least one other school for enrolment. Finally, students, especially in many Asian countries, experience stronger pressure to perform better against their peers due to the tough race to be accepted to the best high schools and universities.

The second is *standardization* of teaching and learning in schools. Shifting the

focus from inputs to outcomes in education in the 1990s led to the popularity of standards-based education policies, especially in the English-speaking part of the world. These reforms initially aimed to have a stronger emphasis on learning outcomes and school performance instead of content, curriculum, instruction time, and structures of schooling. It has been an unquestioned belief among policy makers and education reformers that presence of high performance standards for schools, teachers, and students is a precondition to improved quality of teaching and better overall performance of schools. Standardization draws from an assumption that all students should be educated to the same learning targets, which has led to prevalence of prescribed curricula and homogenization of curriculum policies worldwide.

Too restrictive standardization, which narrows the freedom and flexibility in schools and classrooms, may be harmful to creativity and more personalized learning. It prevents teachers from experimentation, reduces the use of alternative pedagogical approaches, limits risk-taking in schools, and thereby reduces professional capital. Research on educational systems that have adopted policies emphasizing steering education through external standards on core subjects, suggests that teaching and learning are narrower and teachers focus on "proven methods" and "guaranteed content" to best prepare their students for the high-stakes tests. The consequence is that the higher the stakes of student tests for teachers and students, the lower the degree of freedom and risk-taking in classroom learning.

The third common feature of the global education reform movement is an *increasing importance of reading literacy, mathematics, and science* in schools. This often happens at the expense of arts, music, physical education, and social studies. The dominance of these disciplines means that they also are elevated as prime targets of required improvement in national education reforms. According to the OECD and research by Breakspear (2015) and Ball (2012), national education policies in a number of countries are increasingly influenced by the international student assessments, especially PISA.

Literacy and numeracy strategies that increased instructional time for the core subjects in England, Ireland, and Ontario (Canada), for example, are concrete consequences of the global educational reform movement. *No Child Left Behind* legislation in the United States has led most school districts in the country to shift teaching time from other subjects, especially from social studies, arts, and music, to teaching reading, mathematics, and science so that schools are better prepared for tests that measure student performance and hold schools accountable in these subjects. The strategic focus of core subjects also comes at the cost of eliminating unstructured playtime for our youth in these assessment-heavy environments. Children need this outlet to explore the outdoors, build social skills, and form relationships. When literacy and numeracy time is prioritized above all else, other necessary aspects of school and child development are ignored.

The fourth characteristic is *test-based accountability* – holding teachers and schools accountable for students' achievement through external standardized tests. School performance – especially raising students' measured achievement – is

intimately tied to the processes of evaluating, inspecting, and rewarding or punishing schools and teachers. Performance-based pay, data walls in teachers' lounges, and school rankings in newspapers are examples of new accountability mechanisms that often draw their data primarily from external standardized student tests and teacher evaluations. The United States' growing infatuation with the performance-based pay scale and test-based accountability relies upon two erroneous ideals. First, teachers will work harder for extra pay. Second, test scores are the largest factor in determining effective teachers. Using this logic, if a teacher is boasting stellar student test scores, she must be working diligently, teaching successfully, and worthy of higher pay. It is this thinking that contributes to the undermining of the teaching profession in certain countries across the globe.

The problem with test-based accountability is not that students, teachers, and schools are held accountable per se, but rather the way accountability mechanisms affect teachers' work and students' studying in school. Whenever school accountability relies on poor-quality and low-cost standardized tests, as is the case in many places, accountability becomes what is left when responsibility is subtracted.

GERM-infected educational reforms often lead to *privatization of public schools* (Adamson, Åstrand, and Darling-Hammond, 2016). Parental choice that has brought various providers of education alongside public schools is an idea that became commonly known as a consequence of Milton Friedman's economic theories in the 1950s. Friedman maintained that parents must be given the freedom to choose their children's education and thereby to encourage healthy competition among schools so that they better serve families' diverse needs. This spirit of school choice is very much alive today. Typically, school choice manifests itself through the emergence of private schools where parents pay tuition for their children's education. Today, there are scores of various types of alternative schools other than fee-based private schools to expand choice in education markets. Charter schools in the United States, free schools in Sweden, upper secondary school academies in England, religious schools in the Netherlands, and various for-profit private operators in developing countries are examples of mechanisms to advance parental choice. Privately funded schooling ideology maintains that parents should be able to use the public funds set aside for their children's education to choose the schools – public or private – that work best for them.

SCHOOLING IN TIMES OF UNCERTAINTY

Three decades of globalized education reforms have led to rigid standardization, punitive accountability, market-based schooling, teaching for tests, and external control that has casualized teachers in many countries rather than empowered them to teach better. Prominent global education discourse views teaching as the means to prepare young people for the workplace, and the purpose of education is judged by its effectiveness and fit for economic progress. In times of uncertainty and rapid change, however, an important question is: What really is the purpose of school

education? Teaching, as it once was, is not able to serve either its old purpose to prepare the younger generation for future life, or equip people with the knowledge and skills to cope with an emerging complex world. One potential way is to rethink teaching (and learning) by challenging conventional beliefs of what society and a sustainable way of life require from schools. This rethinking could constitute three dimensions:

- schooling *in* the uncertain world,
- schooling *for* the uncertain world, and
- schooling *beyond* the uncertain world.

As schooling *in* the knowledge society (or economy) is self-evident, let us look at the dimensions of schooling *for* and *beyond* it.

Schooling for the uncertain world is concerned primarily with cognitive learning and is based on three necessary elements. First, schools need to step back to being flexible institutions where *carpe diem* is the guiding principle of teaching and learning. Innovation economies and the urgency of saving our planet through sustainable development require individuals who can use knowledge, can think outside of the box, know how to adapt to new situations, and are ready to explore the unknown in collaboration with others.

Second, a creative atmosphere in the classroom is a key condition for emergence of curiosity and new ideas during the teaching and learning process. The innovation economy and sustainable development as learning systems are dependent on new ideas and energy that people can generate. Innovation requires creativity and there is no creativity without risk-taking. Across the curriculum, students should learn to develop attitudes and skills that are necessary in social interaction, problem-solving, and continuous self-development and learning. Third, individuals should be encouraged to develop collective intelligence and ingenuity in and out of school. No one person can master all the knowledge and skills that are required to solve complex problems or invent new solutions to improve what we do. Successful corporations and communities build on shared knowledge and competences, not only individual mastery.

Schooling beyond the uncertain world means teaching ethics, empathy, leadership, and a sense of global responsibility. It is based on four elements that go beyond the bounds of the innovation economy. First, schools should help young people to develop values and emotions as part of their character development. Second, teaching in school should focus on learning the principles of democracy and belonging. Third, students should be guided to commit themselves to group life and become active members of various communities instead of only learning to cope with short-term teamwork. And fourth, as Giddens (2000) proposes, teaching should cultivate a cosmopolitan identity, which means genuine interest in and understanding of other cultures, humanitarian responsibility towards self and others, and caring of excluded groups within and beyond one's own society.

Schooling in the era of globalization is a challenge to teachers and to education

systems. We argue that public education will play an even more important role in social and economic development in the coming years than it does today. Reactions to these challenges have remained so far rather ineffective. There is no education system in the world that would be fully redesigned to meet the educational challenges we face now. Instead, education vouchers, standardizing teaching and learning, more frequent testing, technological solutions to replace teachers in schools, and holding teachers accountable for students' achievement, have not raised the quality of education as expected (Sahlberg, 2015). If governments want to narrow the learning gap between the more advanced and those who lag behind, to expand educational opportunities for all people, and to improve student learning in general, systemic efforts that are backed up by coherent education policies are required. At the time of globalization this means a stronger role for education, and more public spending on education as well as more effective use of resources allocated for schooling. The evidence shows that those education systems that have strong public education are likely to be more successful in terms of efficiency and quality.

CONCLUSIONS

The need for new thinking about educational reforms and school improvement is worldwide. The rhythm of change remains fast and often haphazard. Insecurity and uncertainty that are typical by-products of globalization create new challenges for schools to prepare pupils for new world realities such as sustainable ecologies or knowledge economies. Schools, when governed and managed well, may provide hope for better security and well-being for many more than they do now. As described previously, schools have faced the following global phenomena:

Increased standardization of teaching and learning. The new global educational reform orthodoxy together with competition-based education policies has led to *over-standardization* of teaching and learning. Standardization-oriented reforms that set unified and predetermined expectations in the form of performance standards underestimate the complexity and dynamics of knowledge economies. Standards are by definition static. Standardized testing and measurement systems that are integral elements of standardized education systems diminish the curriculum and limit teaching to cover the core subjects and specific content areas that are tested. As experience from highly standardized school systems suggests, teaching becomes the technical implementation of predetermined sequences and learning a game of memorizing what was taught until it is externally tested. Further, in some privatized systems, standardization has reached new levels of automaticity. Bridge International Academies requires its teachers to follow completely scripted lessons from a tablet device, allowing for virtually no personalization, creativity, or deviance from the curriculum. The art of teaching cannot be simplified to mere words on a screen.

Public resources for education are not likely to increase. The global fiscal crisis has put many education systems up against the wall. Increase in international economic competition has put pressure on decreasing public spending in state

budgets. As a consequence, education ministries have been forced to look for more efficient and cost-saving arrangements for delivering required educational services. Teachers' salaries have been cut and remain lower than salaries of similarly educated professionals in many countries. In Finland, for example, class sizes and school sizes are increasing, and financing of teachers' professional development is shifting from public authorities to schools and teachers. At the same time, the development of new teaching and learning technologies requires larger budgets than before. Finally, cultural diversity through recent global migration in schools and the widening spectrum of children with various special needs call for intensified human development and appropriate provision of support to these individuals.

Demoralization among teachers and decreasing motivation for schooling among pupils. According to recent studies and surveys done by national teacher associations, teacher burn-out, dissatisfaction with work, lower morale, and increasing early retirements have been consequences of tightening central control over teachers' work, expanding competitiveness within and among schools, and weakening teacher autonomy (Symeonidis, 2015). It may not be fair to blame globalization for all these problems in the teaching profession but as a consequence of the adopted educational reform models, especially "the new educational orthodoxy" and thus intensified competition among schools, *deprofessionalization* of teaching has become a progressively global defect in education systems that will have serious future effects in medium- and long-term perspectives (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Some countries are increasing the degree requirements to become a teacher while others are taking steps to raise salaries. Unfortunately these steps alone will not raise the morale or the perception of the teaching profession. Teachers need adequate time for collaboration, research-based degrees, and a sense of trust and autonomy from their supervisors. GERM, with a rushed focus on improving test scores, contradicts these best practices at creating a valued profession with long-lasting teachers.

In order to cope with these impacts of globalization on schools, alternative directions are needed. Often inconsistent education reforms are due to the misinterpretation of the essence of globalization and its impact on education. Some of the proposed educational responses to globalization, such as standardization of teaching and learning, privatization through alternative education provision mechanisms, and promotion of open competition between schools, have only recently been more widely questioned. Education policies and reform designers need to pay closer attention to the issues that have been suggested by many of the leading thinkers of educational development (Cuban, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Ravitch, 2013; Sarason, 2002).

There are three different dimensions that schools have to consider when planning their roles in the globalizing world. Schools need to find the most effective ways to teach their pupils *in* the uncertain and increasingly fragile world. Then they have to design their curricula and pedagogical arrangements to help pupils to learn *for* the sustainable world and innovation economy. Finally, school should help young people to protect themselves from the negative sides of globalization, such as

marginalization and inequality between rich and poor, by educating them *beyond* economic competitiveness and innovation society. This entails cultivating in the young humanist values and emotions, empathy, understanding, and commitments to families, communities, and group life, and cultivating a cosmopolitan identity.

Furthermore, school improvement should make better use of teachers' professional communities. Instead of standardizing teaching by creating more barriers to teachers' genuine creativity, emotional involvement in their students' development, and collegial professionalism, teachers should be helped by providing them with time and resources to learn, plan, and reflect together about their work in school. Some governments, such as Alberta in Canada, Singapore, and Scotland, are now shifting the focus of their policies and education reforms from standardization of teaching and learning towards developing professional learning communities of teachers and towards emancipating the professional potential of teachers and principals who are able to find new solutions to maintaining the quality of learning. Promotion of such professional communities may happen by strengthening the following four elements:

- collaborative work and conversations among the teachers and principals in school;
- focus on teaching and learning as professional acts in collegial settings;
- collecting authentic data from classrooms and schools to complement available Big Data in order to understand the progress and challenges in the educational process; and
- rearranging time and curricula in schools so that children have opportunities for both instructional (pedagogy) and unstructured (recess and free time) play, and teachers have time to collaborate daily.

It is obvious that globalization provides new opportunities to solve worldwide problems and at the same time it creates new challenges that need to be recognized. Many governments are currently searching for optimal ways to respond to these challenges. According to the experts, the future scenarios are not particularly promising for education. It seems like public education is still the most powerful means to secure the development of democratic civil societies, productive and sustainable economies, and global security. Each of these national and global educational goals can be achieved only when education truly serves the public good and provides learning opportunities for all students.

Teaching and learning that are based on values of democracy, common good, and equal opportunities can cultivate these features of our societies. The evidence from large-scale education reforms suggests that improving student learning or expanding opportunities for good education requires systematic efforts and coherent policies by the public sector. According to these experiences, to do that means not only bigger, but also more effective, public education spending. To do this successfully flexibility, creativity, and risk-taking will be the key qualities of both institutions and their individuals.

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EDUCATION FOR CRITICAL-DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

Autonomy and Social Justice in a Multicultural Society

INTRODUCTION

Education prepares young people to participate in society. When civic participation is the explicit aim of learning, it is known as citizenship education. For educators, this is not a new task. Education has always been a formative influence in teaching students how to behave in society. When positively formulated, students learn how to participate in society; or students learn how they can contribute to society. As we will demonstrate in this chapter, people differ in their ideas about the role of education.

Education impacts the identity development of students. Even if schools do not want to intervene in the personal development of students, they influence students' development by their educational practices and discourses, as there is a socializing component to education. Schools generally communicate explicit pedagogical goals. Teachers and other educational professionals, like school leaders, have ideas about what they want to develop in students and in their practice they try to realize these goals.

The ideals and the goals of teachers are affected by many discourses, including political ideas about the role of education, conceptions of religions and worldviews, philosophical thinking about the "good" life, pedagogical theories about personal and social development, etc. Each teacher, like any individual, has theories about what is desirable in human development. These theories can change over time (historically) and over cultural and political boundaries.

Education is a situated practice. Education is the dynamic interplay of ideas and practices; even in a specific context, teachers think and act differently about what is important in education. Given the fact that education always socializes students and that educational ideas and practices are historically, culturally, and politically situated, it is important to analyze which educational goals people find important and to reflect on these goals.

In this chapter we develop a theoretical framework on critical-democratic citizenship education that is a balance between autonomy development and the advancement of a social orientation. We analyze the educational practice of citizenship education in the Netherlands and show how the social orientation can be made stronger and more justice-oriented.

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Citizenship

The modern identity of persons is expressed through the concept of citizenship. The concept has, in recent decades, both broadened and deepened (Veugelers, 2011a). The broadening refers to transcending national borders. Citizenship is now not only connected to the national state, but also to regional or supranational associations (e.g., European citizenship, global citizenship, etc.). The deepening of the concept of citizenship implies that in addition to political citizenship, social and cultural capital also belongs to citizenship. Citizenship is about how to live together with each other and what we have in common.

In particular, the deepening of the concept of citizenship implies greater interference in the personal lives of people. The development of citizenship and a personal identity become more and more intertwined. It is surprising that governments try to control civic education and civic development at a time when neoliberal market forces and an ideology of individual responsibility prevail in policy. In the rationale of governments on citizenship, the constructive spirit of society-building seems very present, even if the same neoliberal politicians speak ironically about the naïve ideas of old socialists who wanted to make a more just society. The neoliberals' "philosophy" is about letting the market regulate society; if the market cannot reach its "moral goals," education should help. The dominant ideology is individual freedom, framed in a specific neoliberal context of competitive responsibility for the own life. We even can argue that in modern society education is a very crucial ideological institute, perhaps now more than ever.

Government Policy and Space for Schools

In general, in democratic countries, the government regulates education, and, in turn, citizenship education. Even if some populists make a distinction between government and society, the government in our democracy can be viewed as the expression of what society all together wants; it's formally the expression of the majority. The government in democratic countries is, however, cautious to pursue overtly a certain type of citizenship and citizenship education. Otherwise this would mean that education is very strongly dependent on the majority, who tries to transfer their worldview to all citizens.

Especially in education, and particularly in the Netherlands, the government is reluctant to prescribe in detail the content of citizenship education. They have to balance between the educational role of the state and that of individual parents. In the Netherlands, this is even more complicated by the strong positions of religions in civil society. Two-thirds of the Dutch schools are religious (mostly Catholic and Protestant). These religious schools are fully financed by the government and have to follow the national curriculum, except in relation to the subject of religious studies and topics related to religion. For these religious schools citizenship is associated with religion. This compartmentalization of Dutch education results in creating a

generous amount of space for schools to give their own interpretation of education in topics that concern the identity of the school, particularly in citizenship education.

In their policy the Dutch government does apply some fundamental general concepts such as active participation, social integration, and activities like social competence training. In addition, the government asks for attention to the Dutch traditions and heritage in the canon of history education and to the cultural and religious diversity in the Netherlands. But the government does not prescribe the curriculum in detail; it gives schools some latitude in the chosen goals and activities, and challenges them to develop their own pedagogical vision of citizenship education (Veugelers, 2011a).

Different Pedagogical Goals

Schools have different educational goals. In research projects (both quantitative and qualitative), we asked teachers, students, and parents which educational goals they find important. Statistical analyses show three clusters of educational goals: discipline, autonomy, and social involvement (Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008a; 2008b).

- *Discipline*, for example, has to do with listening and behaving well. These are goals that are emphasized especially in the educational movement that is called "character education" (Lickona, 1991). It is about promoting good behavior and following norms. In socialization research, like in the work of the sociologist Emile Durkheim (1923), disciplining is considered an educational task. Specifically, education teaches you how you should behave.
- *Autonomy* refers to setting pedagogical goals as personal empowerment and formulating your own opinion. These are goals that are central to the moral development tradition of Kohlberg (Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989; Zizek, Garz & Nowak, 2015) but also in the structural sociology of Giddens (1990), with the emphasis on "agency". Autonomy can be defined as the experience of freedom, and giving meaning to your own life. In the Western world and in modernity, autonomy-development of people is considered very important.
- The third cluster, *social involvement*, shows a broad spectrum of social goals: from an instrumental coexistence, a social-psychological empathy, to a social justice-based solidarity and combating inequality in society. Under the social spectrum, different scientific orientations can be found: the justice approach of Rawls and Kohlberg, the concept of care of Noddings (2002), and empowerment of the Brazilian pedagogue Freire (1985). Social involvement can vary greatly in political orientation.

The three clusters discipline, autonomy and social involvement are found to be important in both quantitative and qualitative research, and with teachers, students, and parents.

TYPES OF CITIZENSHIP

Further analyzing our data we can construct three types of citizenship, which express different orientations. The first type is *adaptive* citizenship. This type scores high on discipline and social involvement – socially involved not in a political sense, but in a moral commitment to each other, especially your own community. For autonomy, though, the scores are not so high for the adaptive type. The second type, *individualized* citizenship, scores high on autonomy and fairly high on discipline but relatively low on social involvement. This type has a strong focus on personal development and freedom, not on the social. The third type, critical-democratic citizenship, scores high on social involvement and on autonomy. On discipline this type scores low. We call this type critical-democratic because of its focus on the social and on society, with a critical engagement that leaves room for individual autonomy.

In a survey of Dutch teachers in secondary education, with a representative sample, we could conclude that 53% of teachers are pursuing a critical-democratic citizenship, 29% an adaptive type, and 18% an individualizing type. This variety is not the same on the different levels of education: in pre-university secondary education we see more support for the individualized type and in the pre-vocational education for the adaptive type. A reproduction of social class power relationships becomes visible in these citizenship orientations (Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008a).

Types of Citizenship and Civic Education

These three types of citizenship each correspond to a specific practical operationalization of citizenship education:

- *Adaptive*: much transmission of values and attention to standards and norms. Teacher-directed education and students seating in rows.
- *Individualized*: great attention to development of independence of students, and to learning critical thinking. Students work a lot individually.
- *Critical-democratic*: focus on learning to live together and to appreciate diversity, and on active student participation in dialogues. Cooperative and inquiry-oriented learning is practiced often.

Of course, the types of citizenship and the corresponding practical classroom interpretations are ideal-typical constructions and we find in the views of people and in educational practice many hybrid forms. But these three types demonstrate that citizenship is not a matter of bad or good citizenship and that different orientations in the political nature of citizenship are possible. It also shows that schools can make choices in their educational goals and in their practice of citizenship education.

Goals, Practices, and Experiences of Civic Education: A Different View

Until now we talked about the goals that teachers want to pursue. Do teachers realize these goals in practice? Teachers say that they are often unable to realize these objectives entirely. This is particularly true of the goals of autonomy and social involvement. It is striking that teachers, as well as parents, indicate that discipline in education still receives relatively a lot of attention and is also fairly well developed in students. They realize that it is much more difficult to develop good autonomy, where students take real responsibility for their own actions and deliberate on alternatives in a grounded manner. The social orientation, and especially to realizing the attitude in it, gets much less attention in educational practice and is also more difficult to achieve.

You could argue that in traditional education the disciplinary mode gets attention. In more modern ways of teaching and in more child-centered pedagogical perspectives the individual is more central. This individual development is further strengthened in a specific manner by the competition and selection that is strongly embedded in many educational systems. The social seems to be less intertwined in education. Given these discrepancies it is very important to make a distinction between goals, practices, and effects of citizenship education.

International comparative studies like the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (2010) show how adolescents think and act in the area of citizenship. In particular, many youngsters support democracy and individual freedom on an abstract level. But these studies also show that in many Western countries the social involvement of youngsters is not very strong. For example in Northwest European countries like the Netherlands, Great Britain, and Belgium, youngsters indicate a lack of interest in being involved in politics or the common good; however they do express certain political opinions such as restricting rights and support to immigrants. In our own research with the three types of citizenship, we find a strong focus on autonomy, and a social involvement among youngsters which is more psychological and focused on their own communities rather than global and social-justice oriented.

PREFERRED CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: A STRONGER SOCIAL ORIENTATION

Many scholars have written about democracy. Dewey (1923) argued for a “lived democracy,” Barber (2003) for a “strong democracy.” Democracy is not a product but a process that needs to be supported permanently. Referring to our types of citizenship, a democratic society requires adaptation, autonomy development, and social involvement, and each in good balance (Veugelers, 2007). All three clusters of pedagogical goals are needed to constitute a democratic society.

In the Dutch and international political discourse on citizenship education, there is much attention to adaptation, in the sense of good and active social integration. Sometimes there are also calls for the more positive side of social behavior (e.g., the focus on others, society, public affairs, democracy, etc.). This social engagement

gets much attention in the international (Western) academic discourse on citizenship education (e.g., Parker, 2004; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

The position of autonomy development figures ambiguously in citizenship education. In Western thought, autonomy is apparently so strongly intertwined that it receives no special attention in pleas for citizenship education. Autonomy does get some attention when scholars argue for strong personalities who can draw resilient against dogmatic movements (Arendt, 2005; Nussbaum, 1997). From a humanist perspective, there is also a calling for a connection between autonomy and social involvement (Aloni, 2002; Veugelers, 2011a). This view supposes a more situated social self in which a balance between the personal and social is pursued.

Outside the Western world there is a strong focus on the social. In Latin America, in the tradition of the Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire, there is an emphasis on empowerment and social change (Freire, 1985; Teodoro & Guilherme, 2014). In Asian publications on citizenship education (Kennedy, Lee, & Grossman, 2010; Sim, 2011) scholars ask for more attention to be concentrated on autonomy development within a traditional social orientation. From a different starting point, based on more collective-oriented worldviews, they also search for a balance of autonomy and the social.

The Social in Citizenship Education

In Western countries, and in particular in the Netherlands, many youngsters develop a personal-oriented identity. In educational policy and practice there is a focus in education on discipline and autonomy, and the attention to the social is mainly reduced to an instrumental social behavior. From a critical-democratic perspective a good balance between discipline, autonomy and social involvement is desirable; and more precisely, a social orientation that is driven by engagement and by moral values as social justice is preferable.

Herein, we explore the social orientation in Dutch education in more detail and argue for a more justice-based social orientation.

In the Dutch citizenship policy we see great attention to adaptation, good conduct, and participation in society. Attention to social involvement is in a very specific way part of it, in four areas:

- Volunteering social work (“service learning”)
- Bridging different social and cultural groups
- School as a playground for citizenship
- Promoting democracy

We discuss these four areas as follows.

Volunteering social work (service learning). In Dutch society, with its relatively strong civil society, volunteerism is considered to be very important. The government wants to introduce students to volunteering and tries to develop a positive attitude towards volunteering. Political leaders introduced service learning, in which

students from secondary schools participate in society, as part of the curriculum. In that context, many good initiatives have been developed, such as contributing to the social, cultural, and environmental development of the neighborhood, charity actions, organizing activities for children, and helping elderly people use their mobile phone and computer. In this "reverse pedagogy," young people teach the elderly.

Initially all students had to spend 60 hours of service learning during their secondary education. This was first reduced to 30 hours and now the obligation of service learning in secondary education has been canceled. The schools received additional funds for the organization; these funds have now been cut. Yet many schools go on with service learning. They have good experiences with service learning; many students appreciate it and some students develop a commitment to provide a contribution to civil society.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) investigated service learning projects in the US. They found that most projects were mainly focused on cooperation and participation. Some projects also tried to teach students how to organize such voluntary activities. Only one project focused on the problems of society, the political interpretation of those problems, and the search for alternatives. Westheimer and Kahne argue for this third, more "social justice"-oriented, form of "service learning." In the Netherlands research on "service learning" shows the same pattern (Veugelers & Schuitema, 2012). "Service learning" is however often embedded in a political context and oriented to social justice; such learning includes political and justice orientations and can be an interesting practice for linking school and society and for making education more transformative.

Bridging different social and cultural groups. The Netherlands is not a sizable country and Dutch society looks, from the outside, relatively homogeneous. But there are major religious, social, and cultural differences. Social class differences still exist and are even growing. The elite and the middle class often develop a cosmopolitan orientation and the lower social class a more nationalist orientation. Traditional religious differences continue, especially between Protestant and Catholic. The Jewish population nowadays is small, but Dutch society is still aware of the Holocaust of World War II. After the war the humanist worldview became more important and gained the same formal rights as religions. In the last decades immigration has contributed to the growth of the Muslim community. The Netherlands is strongly divided by religious-driven cultural differences. The different groups often have their own institutions, including schools, and live in separate neighborhoods.

The Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Bureau regularly indicates the separation between different social and cultural groups and warns against divisiveness or even greater fragmentation of society. Learning to connect with other social and cultural groups is an important part of the formal policy of citizenship education. These ideas reflect the work of the American sociologist Robert Putnam (2000). Putnam states that each person needs a form of bonding, the feeling of belonging to a group. This is

a normal psychological mechanism of belonging, for example, to your neighbors and your friends. A society also needs bridging, that people connect with other social and cultural groups: that they know other groups, can collaborate with these groups and appreciate them. This bridging is essential for a modern democratic society; it can contribute to social cohesion and reduce segregation, exclusion, and radicalization.

Bridging takes an important place in the policy for citizenship education. The government called upon schools with socially or culturally homogeneous student populations to organize activities with other schools and other groups. The intention seems good, but many schools indicate that the governmental policy itself contributes to this social and cultural segregation. The freedom of school choice, the existence of religious schools, the strict separation of school types in secondary education – these all stimulate segregation. If bridging is so important for civic education, the government should promote public education for all students and – in secondary education – for comprehensive schools with multiple types of streams.

Some schools try to acquaint their students with different groups of youngsters. We researched the collaboration between an Amsterdam school with many immigrants and a rural school in the east of the Netherlands with traditional native Dutch students. Students were particularly surprised by the many similarities they had (Schuitema & Veugelers, 2011): they were listening to the same music, had similar kinds of humor, and liked to "hang out." Of course there were differences as well as many similarities

Leeman (2006) rightly points out that differences between people should not be exaggerated and that one should look for what Parker (2004) calls "communalities in differences." Thinking in concepts such as searching for similarities and connections is different from integration. Integration is a static concept related to adapting to the dominant group. Even when a culture remains quite dominant, living together is a dynamic process in which identities are constantly changing. Educational bridging projects can contribute to a more just and inclusive society, but more fundamental is combating forms of segregation in education. Integration of different social and cultural groups in public schools should be a part of a more democratic and social justice policy prioritized above the rights of individual groups in their own schools.

School as a playground for citizenship. Following Dewey (1923), it is often argued that the school can function as a training ground for citizenship. What type of citizenship will be developed depends on the way the school is organized and its living culture. For example, a traditional school is a training ground for adapted citizenship. As a vibrant community, however, schools can also support students in their active and involved participation. Ideas about educating students as critical-democratic citizens through the school organization and the school culture can be found in different pedagogical traditions: for example, in the "just community schools" of Kohlberg (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989), the "democratic school" of Apple and Beane (1995), the "children's community" of Freinet in France and Belgium, and the "werkplaats" (working place) of Kees Boeke in the Netherlands.

Students perform a variety of tasks in schools, such as helping in the canteen or the print room, or mentoring or tutoring young students. The change from a passive to an active participation of students does take time. Students should realize that they are not only consumers in their education, but together create a learning environment. Generally, the active participation of students concerns the organization of the school and the school culture. Active student participation is also possible in the curriculum. Students have the opportunity to contribute to the curriculum with ideas on what they want to learn and codecide on how it will be (Bron & Veugelers, 2014). Student participation in the curriculum can be an authentic way of active engagement for students in a democratic school because it really concerns students' learning.

Thinking about school culture and school organization is often led by a focus on homogenization: one policy, joint agreements, a clear profile, etc. Many publications on educational change and leadership are oriented towards homogenization. A school organization, as noted, is a vibrant community with different views, behaviors, and identities. Of course there must be some binding, basic agreements. But if we want students to learn to deal with differences and appreciate these differences positively, we then should not conceal these differences. Indeed, schools should organize differences for students instead of avoiding them, and offer students the opportunity to learn to work with differences. In interviews, students expressed that they like it when teachers differ; they value that people are not the same. However most schools are afraid of taking risks in making a more open and democratic school and classroom climate. The school inspectorate and many parents prefer a strictly organized school with a strong culture in which everything is clear, fixed in rules, and under teachers' control. Schools want to know where everybody is, what they are doing, and which effects are assessed. A simple Taylorism still dominates the organization of schools. Such a school organization and culture influence citizenship development of students, in a particularly implicit and adaptive way.

Promoting democracy. Many scholars have long been arguing for the centrality of the concept of democracy in civic education. In its guidelines on citizenship education, the national curriculum institute (SLO) lists democracy as a central concept, alongside participation and identity (Bron, Veugelers, & Van Vliet, 2009). Democracy is a concept without a fixed identity; it can be interpreted differently, for example from "thin" to "strong" (Barber, 2003; De Groot, 2013), or by formal participation, or as a tool for fighting for greater equality and social justice (Freire, 1985; Veugelers, 2011a; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Democracy is also, echoing Dewey (1923), often considered a "way of life," a lifestyle. This meaning of democracy implies that you focus on living together and solving problems in daily life in a nonviolent way, and that there is room for free speech and concern for minorities. These are elements of democracy relevant in the political and sociocultural domains of citizenship.

Educational learning outcomes can consist of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Knowledge of political structures and political parties, and views on political issues are important contents of citizenship education. Democratic skills such as voting

and voicing opinions are relevant. Democracy, however, also involves seeking agreement, deliberation – politics is giving and taking. This searching for agreement is a good example of the link between skills and attitudes. One should have the will to seek agreement, or put more generally, the will to be democratic. In recent political philosophy a simple notion of agreement and consensus in democracy is challenged. Mouffe (2005) argues for an "agonistic pluralism" as part of democracy. This means that one recognizes differences in society and that not all differences can be solved. Part of an agonistic democracy is to live with differences. For a critical-democratic concept of citizenship this means that differences are recognized and that there is no simple idea of deliberation.

Debating is seen as an important element of democracy, and learning to debate as part of citizenship education. Playing "House of Commons" is very popular in Dutch education. It is seen as an important tool for civic education. Nevertheless, questions are raised about the effects of debating in schools. Debating is opposed to dialogue, not aimed at seeking cooperation on the basis of arguments for a better answer. Debating reinforces the competitive element of politics and a further propagating of your own opinion (Nollet, 2013). When using debating in education, the opportunity for reflection should not be missed.

CONCLUSION

Even when schools pay attention to the social, this is not done in a very critical sense and not oriented to social justice. Mostly the focus is on social behavior and a kind of empathy that is helpful for a democratic and decent society, not for a critical engagement in democracy and a transformative practice of social change. It is more a moral orientation than a political one (Veugelers, 2011b). From a critical-democratic perspective we would argue for more attention to the moral values of social justice and political power relationships. Citizenship education should include more justice and more transformative ideas and practices.

Critical-democratic citizenship education always requires reflective, dialogic, and democratic learning processes (Veugelers, 2011a, pp. 31-32).

Reflective learning

- Articulate one's own interests, feelings, ethical and aesthetical concerns, meaning making, and moral values
- Inquire into one's own identity development and reflect on one's own learning process
- Regulate one's own learning process and take responsibility for one's own autonomy and giving meaning

Dialogical learning

- Communicate in an open way with other people

- Analyze and compare different perspectives
- Analyze the social, cultural, and political power relations involved

Democratic learning
- Concern for others and appreciation of diversity
- Openness to jointly building agreements (developing norms)
- Standing for your own autonomy, critical thinking, and action
- Involvement in enlarging humanity and in building democracy as a permanent process

Finally, we would like to highlight two issues. First of all, in citizenship education the emphasis is on special projects, active participation, and school culture; the school subjects are underexposed. Second, learning is often seen primarily as a cognitive process, but in value-laden education, attitudes are essential.

The Role of School Subjects, Values, and Different Perspectives

In moral development and civic education, it is important that young people learn to study a topic from different perspectives, to identify underlying assumptions, and to formulate their own opinion and substantiate it. Such knowledge, cognitive skills, and attitudes can be developed in these special projects, but also in the normal classes, in the school subjects. And then not only in social studies, history, philosophy, and worldview studies, but also in geography, economics, language teaching (especially culture), science and biology and physics (think about the use of nuclear energy), visual arts, and physical education. In all these subjects, moral and political values are embedded in the content, and students can develop moral reasoning and participatory citizenship skills. In physical education (gym), qualities such as empowerment, supporting each other, and adapting to rules and standards can be practiced excellently. The formative action of the school subjects and their contribution to civic education is still insufficiently investigated and problematized. More materials and knowledge on civic education should be developed by teachers, curriculum institutes, and subject specialists.

Attitude Formation and Psychological Effects

In citizenship education, knowledge and skills are important but attitudes are most relevant. They determine, to a large extent, the opinions and behavior of citizens. Developing and influencing attitudes is not easy, and certainly not linear. It is a very personal process of meaning making.

Attitudes may then be most relevant in education, especially in civic education; they are the least tested. Assessing values, attitudes, and behavior does not take place in formal education. Only “non-educational” students’ behavior is condemned with

serious consequences for participating in school. Yet this paradox is more complex. Adopting less restraint in assessing values and attitudes is a great thing in an open and democratic society. Within democratic boundaries, dialogue between people should be as open as possible. With broad and deep knowledge, from multiple perspectives, and with highly developed civic skills, students can develop their own attitudes. The school can pursue certain orientations but needs, from a democratic point of view, to leave room for a personal articulation by students of values and attitudes.

Strongly tied to attitudes are some other psychological phenomena. In research on civic education, a distinction is made between internal and external "efficacy" (De Groot, 2013; Haste, 2004). Internal efficacy in citizenship is the judgment that the person has about their own capacity to participate in society and to influence the development of society. External efficacy is about how the person thinks about the possibilities offered by society to participate and influence society. Similar psychological mechanisms play a role in other aspects of citizenship, such as valuing others and the willingness to bridge. Strong emotions can be part of these mechanisms. Experiences, especially their interpretation, play a major role in these processes.

Citizenship education is more than knowledge and developing skills. Precisely the forming-values element is meaningful for the person and society. This is an important pedagogical task for education. The fact that governments often assign a major role for schools in the socialization of youngsters emphasizes the social and political importance of education. The challenge for critical and engaged educators is to make the moral, in an educational sense, more political and social-justice oriented.

Real critical-democratic citizenship should reduce segregation, stimulate intercultural dialogue, make schools more democratic, and engage students in more reflective, dialogical, and democratic learning processes.

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EDUCATORS WORTHY OF THE NAME

Intellectuals, Generous, Master Dialogicians

> To educate educators! But the first ones must educate themselves! And for these I write.
> – Friedrich Nietzsche

> Education worthy of the name is essentially education of character.
> – Martin Buber

In this chapter, I offer my views with regard to the preparation of good teachers, those worthy of being called educators. I begin by portraying some principal qualities of good and worthy educators, through referencing feedback articulated by students in a teachers training college. I then present a discussion on the humanist premise that education amounts to cultivation and empowerment of the art of living and success in education, as Montaigne (1976) argues, should be judged not by the student's memory but by his or her life. As beautifully phrased by A. N. Whitehead, "there is only one subject matter for education…and that is Life in all its manifestations" (1967, p. 6-7). In line with this humanist tradition, I argue that education's chief aim is to facilitate youth to lead worthy and flourishing lives: an autonomous and full life in which one realizes one's inner powers and participates meaningfully and justly in the natural, social, and cultural realms of life.[1]

On the basis of the holistic and humanist approach to education, and addressing the predicaments and challenges of our globalizing reality, I offer a conception for educators worthy of the name. This conception consists of four pillars or chief qualities: (a) shifting the self-image of teachers, in line with the ethics of the education profession, from conformist and functionalist agents of socialization into *active advocates* of human flourishing, social justice, democratic citizenship, and world betterment; (b) going in the cognitive and academic domains beyond learnedness, scholarship, and mastery of subject matter into cultivation and demonstration of the qualities characteristic of *engaged intellectuals*; (c) demonstrating ethical and relational conduct that transcends good manners, politeness, and friendliness, and accomplishes the virtue of *educational generosity*; (d) developing a dialogue-based pedagogy in which teachers become *masters of manifold forms of educational dialogues*.

There exist many different ways to present and discuss the professional virtues of excellent educational practitioners. One approach consists in attending to models and

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doctrines conveyed in the books of great ethical and educational thinkers. Another option is to focus on a functionalist characterization of the full range of roles and skills that constitute effective teaching. Still another, recently discussed in American academia yet hardly humanistic, is to measure effective teaching by reference to the "earnings profile of graduates" (Schwartz, 2015, p. B7). Still another, and the one I use briefly here, consists in taking note of students' feedback statements, in which they characterize the educational virtues of their teachers and praise them for the edifying effects of their educational work.

The following are three examples of such statements, collected from feedback sheets of students regarding the work of a few teachers:

1. "I learned how to make demands of the students and to believe in their ability to meet those demands; and the most important thing: you taught me how to stick to my own personal credo, even if it should come under attack and does not exactly conform to the views of those around me… You left an impression of an educator that I hope I will succeed in emulating, at least in part, when my time comes to stand in front of a class."
2. "The light in your eyes at the start of every lesson, your warmth and love for the profession, turned every one of your classes into an outstanding experience… I have no doubt that you will remain part of me for many years to come, and if I can recreate the joy of learning that you planted in me in my students, I will be satisfied."
3. "The discussions were productive and thought provoking; they brought to the surface feelings, thoughts, insights, and frustration from inside me… The lectures introduced me to fascinating texts and took me to places that I could never have reached on my own… The course was riveting, enriching, and challenging… It gave a sense of 'home' and its main pursuit was building a personal identity and developing a philosophy."

Now, it should be clear that in presenting these statements, I do not claim that they are valid in any statistical sense; nor do I contend that the group of students who uttered them is a representative sample. They should, however, be taken as authentic, vibrant, and sometimes poetic explications from students of genuine inspirational and edifying educational processes. They are testimonies about the riches of the professional personalities of their teachers, beyond any set of teaching techniques or refined curricula, by which they succeed to excite their students emotionally, empower them intellectually, awaken their moral sensitivity, refine their tastes, and ignite in them motivation for the demanding and creative life of educative self-fashioning.

Such educational practices have often been identified with Pedagogical Eros and Poetic Teaching (Hansen, 2004; Zabar, 2014), and traditionally considered to constitute the very core of humanistic liberal education. Education of this kind is guided by intrinsic aims – as an end in itself. It is "the art of living" that it seeks to cultivate (Rousseau, 1979, p. 41), and may be defined, in Whitehead's

formulation, as “the guidance of the individual towards a comprehension of the art of life… [towards] the most complete achievement of varied activity expressing the potentialities of that living creature in the face of its actual environment” (1967, p. 39). Good education worthy of the name then amounts to holistic cultivation and empowerment of youth, to enable them to realize their potentialities, develop their personal autonomy, and lead full and worthy lives in the various natural, social, and cultural spheres of life.

TEACHERS AS ACTIVE ADVOCATES OF HUMAN FLOURISHING

Let us now move to the first pillar of the paradigm presented here. It consists in a call to shift the self-image of teachers, in line with the ethics of the education profession, from conformist and functionalist agents of socialization into practitioners with a greater sense of *professional sovereignty* – to become active advocates of human flourishing, social justice, and democratic citizenship. Maxine Greene powerfully set forth our educational challenge:

> Education does not occur in a vacuum, and the value of what educators intend or achieve is to some degree a function of the contexts in which their work is done. If a given culture is thought by many people to be deficient in fulfillments, is it truly valuable to guide all the youth into membership? If the experiences associated with adulthood in the society are widely considered to be restrictive or meaningless, might it not be preferable to sustain innocence, to permit the flowering of the natural and childish men? If the community is clearly unjust and inequitable, should not the educator be concerned primarily with social change? Why transmit a heritage conceived to be sterile or sick? Why keep a declining culture alive? (1973, pp. 3-4)

Underlying Greene’s critical questions, there appears to be an understanding, as Thoreau eloquently phrased it, that most people “serve the state not as humans but as machines” and therefore “they are likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as God” (1962, p. 238). Moreover, when examining human history and the roles educational systems have played in it, one realizes that teachers have acted almost always as agents of socialization and normalization, and that they unfortunately often turned out to be, as Freire (1970) put it in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, mechanisms of robbing people of their humanity. Such dehumanizing processes vary greatly: religious and ideological brainwashing, racial discrimination and oppressive political tyrannies, wretched poverty and social exclusion, slavery and economic exploitation, sexist chauvinism, reduction of culture into entertainment, and many other mechanisms of dwarfing individuals into fanatic soldiers, submissive job holders, or addicted consumers.

We shouldn’t put up with it, argues Krishnamurti: We must no longer collaborate with an education system that “is geared to industrialization and war, its principal aim being to develop efficiency [and that normalizes us into] this machine of

ruthless competition and mutual destruction" (1955, p. 13). In criticizing the predominant trends, he contends that it is not love, fraternity, and understanding that are the building blocks of our young people's education, but rather social hierarchy, competition, and control. No wonder the result of such corrupting influences is the appearance of selfish, aggressive, and manipulative motivations among young people – to subjugate, control, and view others as no more than a means to attain profit.

The importance and relevance of his call cannot be exaggerated – especially after the mass atrocities committed by humanity in the twentieth century and the fact that over one hundred million people have been victims of murder, torture, ethnic cleansing, and forced displacement. Perhaps it is time for us educators to attend to Adorno's dictum that "There can be no poetry after Auschwitz" (1981, p.34), and to rephrase it for our own professional practice: implementing this insight in the praxis of education, committing ourselves that after Auschwitz there should be no more "business as usual" in education.

Such professional undertaking of educating "against the current" is not a simple matter. As Emmanuel Kant argued in his *On Education*: "Children ought to be educated, not for the present, but for a possibly improved condition of man in the future; that is, in a manner which is adapted to the idea of humanity and the whole destiny of man" (1966, p. 14). But he notes that such professional sovereignty involves great difficulty: the parents mostly want their children to advance and succeed along the paths of the given reality – even if it is ugly and corrupt – and "the political leaders generally view their subjects as no more than means to fulfill their own ends" (p. 15). From this it follows that worthy education – committed to the promotion of human flourishing, just societies, and world betterment – must (almost) always be carried out "against the current."

Hence I would like to suggest a formula that should become a central element in the ethics of the education profession and may guide teachers in their professional deliberation regarding how best to serve their educational calling. This formula contends that as humanist educators, we should abide to a professional hierarchy of principles: the first one amounts to commitment to the universal ideals of humanist ethics and democratic culture; the second consists of a commitment to excellence in pedagogical practices; the third being a commitment to socialization and acculturation to the traditions and norms of the nations and communities to which one belongs.

The suggested formula, emulating in a way the commitments medical doctors take upon themselves in the Hippocratic Oath, is introduced here not to negate the almost natural commitment of educators to transmit knowledge, values, habits, and norms to the new generations – in each society and culture according to its unique heritage and characteristics. It is rather insisting on a professional hierarchy according to which humanist and democratic principles, as well as core pedagogical principles, should override particular cultural or societal principles.[2] Hence, in cases of conflicts of values or principles, especially in facing tyrannical, fundamentalist,

racist, sexist, or any other dehumanizing and oppressive forces, educators would oppose them and be reluctant to collaborate with them (Aloni, 2008). In agreement with Kant's Categorical Imperatives (of universalization and of humanization), the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and Kohlberg's psychological theory of moral development, educational practitioners should hold fast to the core moral values of dignity, equity, and solidarity. As phrased powerfully by Albert Camus in the face of humanity's darkest moments: "there are means that cannot be excused… I don't want any greatness [for me or for my country] that is born out of blood and falsehood," and "I chose justice in order to remain faithful to the world" (1974a, pp. 5, 28). And as Martin Luther King most clearly and concisely presented in his Letter from Birmingham Jail: "Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality" (1963, p. 4).

Practical implementation of the suggested formula in the daily work of teachers – humanist ethics, pedagogical excellence, and enculturation to one's community – requires further concretization by complementing pedagogical regulative ideals. It seems to me that to support human flourishing and world betterment, such pedagogical regulative ideals should be informed by two kinds of considerations. The first is to attend to different humanist conceptions of flourishing lives, such as Dewey's notion of Growth, Maslow's Pyramid of Needs, the UN Index of Human Development, and Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach. The second kind of consideration consists of being keenly aware of the global and local predicaments and challenges that are bound to shape the living conditions of youth, and which they will have to deal with in their adult life. I wish to suggest here five categories in which such major issues of our present age can be presented: (1) The challenges of human rights and democratic culture; (2) the challenges of social justice and equal opportunity; (3) the challenges of healthy development – physical, emotional, intellectual, and moral; (4) the challenges of global citizenship and cherishing intercultural diversity; and (5) the challenges of peaceful coexistence in the realm of neighborly relations as well as in the realm of environmental sustainability.

I wish to conclude this section with the words of Maxine Greene, whom we cited in the beginning, to pose the question of the true mission of educators:

> Most commonly, [teachers] behave like clerks, subject to a remote authority that issues orders, supervises and asks little more than conformity to custom... [Others] become critically conscious of what is involved in the complex business of teaching and learning... no longer content to be a mere cipher, a functionary, a clerk... no longer simply accept what is transmitted by experts... breaking with fixed, customary modes of seeing... taking responsibility for his pursuit of norms and meanings...; realizing his thinking in judgments, in *praxis*, particularly if he is a teacher concerned with discovering what the known demands. (1973, pp. 7-21 with omissions)

TEACHERS AS INTELLECTUALS

The second quality proposed as characteristic of educators worthy of the name consists of going beyond scholarship, learnedness, and mastery of subject matter into becoming *engaged intellectuals*. This quality comprises a strong passion for truth, broad learning, justice, and beauty, as well as the philosophical habit of critical and reflective thinking and a commitment to consider knowledge not divorced from real-life experience, but rather in the service of furthering humanization and the quality of life.

In light of humanity's recent history, this quality of teachers as engaged intellectuals is not only academically or cognitively important, but urgently needed socially and politically. Considering Russell's depressing observation that "most people would rather die than think," the mass atrocities fueled by ideological propaganda and the constant stupefaction through obsessive consumerism and mass media, these and similar real-life issues together form a meaningful context and urgent need for a drastic improvement of the intellectual education offered to our students. Knowledge, as the saying goes, is power; hence, it must be cultivated by educators not only for effective realization of one's goals, but also as the capacity to identify misuse of power, restrain it, and offer desirable alternatives. To this end, teachers who are merely learned individuals and masters of instrumental reason will not do; needed are intellectuals who will passionately exemplify and cultivate the merging of cultural and critical literacy in the service of constructing engaged democratic citizenship and of promoting human flourishing and world betterment.

I wish to clarify the alternative I am proposing first by offering some critiques of the deficiencies of the current situation and later by means of reference to some options for change. Consider, for example, T. S. Eliot's complaint in "Choruses from the Rock": "Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?" We may likewise note Whitehead's criticism of the deterioration of modern education from rigorous occupation with wisdom, ethics, and the arts to satisfaction with the mastery of "textbook knowledge of subjects" (1967, p. 29). Another example, linking our linguistic capacities to our liberties and political realities, we find in Orwell's now classic *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: societies in which most people read only "rubbishy newspapers containing almost nothing except sport, crime, and astrology, sensational five-cent novelettes, films oozing with sex;" no longer able to distinguish between war and peace, slavery and freedom, ignorance and virtue (1949, Ch. 1.4). And the last example, this time criticizing the imperialism of technocratic reason and the resulting decline of thoughtfulness, comes from Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition*: "If it should turn out to be true that knowledge (in the modern sense of know-how) and thought have parted company for good, then we would become the helpless slaves, not so much of our machines, but of our know-how, thoughtless creatures at the mercy of every gadget which is technically possible, no matter how murderous it is" (1958, Preface).

There are countless critiques, resembling those listed earlier, carried out from different and even conflicting points of view: neoclassicist, progressivist, and radical. I am of the opinion – especially in the face of the current regression in linguistic competencies, the dominance of moral relativism, and the declining interest in liberal arts education – that we would be wise to draw on all such resources; namely, to cultivate in our teachers cultural and critical literacies, combined with a passionate commitment to merge the "tree of knowledge" with the "tree of life." It is precisely the familiarity with manifold perspectives in the "conversation of mankind," combined with open-mindedness, reflective thinking, critical autonomy, moral conscience, respect for truth, and a passionate urge to utilize knowledge in the practical service of world betterment that forges the mind of engaged intellectuals. We are in urgent need, as Nicholas Maxwell argues in his *Global Philosophy* (2014), of shifting the orientation and dedication of our educational institutions from the acquisition and inculcation of disciplinary knowledge to the development of wisdom: "realizing what is of value in life" (p. 103) and "making progress towards as good a world as possible" (p. viii) by means of cultivating the moral and intellectual capacities for grappling fruitfully with our most real-life pressing predicaments and challenges.

There are, however, a few specific elements I wish to emphasize: Firstly, as argued by Aristotle and Isocrates in classical Athens and by Gadamer and Wittgenstein in the twentieth century, one cannot exaggerate the centrality of linguistic competencies in the education of the intellect: "Language is the fundamental mode of operation of our being-in-the-world" (Gadamer, 1976, p. 3); and "The limits of my language mean the limits of my world" (Wittgenstein, 1922, sec. 5.6). Secondly, to understand the complexities of life, decode social phenomena, and elicit meaning and joy from nature and culture, one has to have broad learning and reach proficiency in the multiple forms of knowledge. In such matters we should follow Aristotle's dictum that "it is the mark of an educated man to look for precision in each class of things just so far as the nature of the subject admits" – enabling us to appreciate the manifold types of truths in the manifold spheres of human experience (1980, p. 3). The third element, as introduced by Nussbaum's model of liberal education for world citizenship, complements the more cognitive capacities of "Socratic critical examination" and broad knowledge of the human condition with the capacity for empathetic narrative imagination: enabling us to walk in somebody else's shoes and see the world through his eyes; "to be an intelligent reader of that person's story and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have" (2002, p. 299).

The fourth and last point I would like to emphasize has to do with activist energies and *personal example* in the employment of our intellectual capacities in social and political engagement. This amounts to nothing less than empowering our students to pose critical questions, show moral rage, and be engaged in social and political activism. This is similarly true in the personal example of the teachers' acting, in the words of Giroux, as "transformative intellectuals: making public schools democratic public spheres where all children, regardless of race, class, gender and age can

learn what it means to be able to participate fully in the ongoing struggle to make democracy the medium through which they extend the potential and possibilities of what it means to be human and to live in a just society" (1989, p. 186).

EDUCATIONAL GENEROSITY

Generosity is the third quality introduced in the proposed conception of educators worthy of the name. This quality may be defined as an individual's ability to empower others through his or her overflowing abundance of personality. Educational generosity, in other words, is a personality trait made up of an abundance of humanity and love of others, which are channeled in the direction of devoted and caring nurturing of students. Weaving together beautifully the "educative" or "edifying" quality with the qualities of altruistic generosity and personal example, Higgins locates this pedagogical virtue at the heart of the professional ethic of education: "Selfhood is contagious," he contends. "In order to cultivate selfhood in students, teachers must bring to the table their own achieved self-cultivation, their commitment to ongoing growth," and "the teacher's achieved self-cultivation is the catalyst in the educative process" (2011, pp. 2, 5). Hence, such educators both inspire and empower students in their own projects of perfectionist self-fashioning and developing their own worthy and meaningful ways of life.

Relying on educational theorists and practitioners such as Montaigne, Rousseau, Buber, Korczak, Freire, Maslow, Greene, and Noddings, I characterize this quality as going far beyond being nice, polite, friendly, or gentle. It is rather manifested in caring, trustful, empathetic, and empowering relations, the result of which is advancement towards fuller humanity, a stronger sense of self-worth, and more meaningful self-direction and self-realization. Generous educators, to use the beautiful allegory from the first chapter of the book of Psalms, wish their students to become "like a tree planted by streams of water, which yields its fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither – and in whatever he does, he prospers" (Psalms 1:3).

The sixteenth-century Michael de Montaigne appears to have been the first to introduce the importance of educational generosity: "I do not want," he writes, "to spoil his mind by keeping it, as others do, always on the rack, toiling for fourteen or fifteen hours a day" (1976, p. 71). Growth and empowerment require enabling the child to flex freely the muscles of his body and mind. Instead of making him miserable, funneling maximum knowledge into him, "I would have the tutor amend this state of things and begin straight away to exercise the mind that he is training, according to its capacities. He should make his pupil taste things, select them and distinguish them by his own perception" (p. 54). Of the students, contends Montaigne in his "parable of the bees," we must not expect anything less than "honey." We must offer them an abundance of intellectual nectar from various and sundry sources, teach them how to autonomously and productively process it so that they, each in their own way and according to their own skills, can produce a new "honeyed" work that is all their own.

Two hundred years later, Rousseau declared at the beginning of his book *Emile* that “Everything is good as it leaves the hands of the Author of things; everything degenerates in the hands of man” (1979, p. 37), and in *The Social Contract*, he wrote: “Man is born free, and he is everywhere in chains” (1968, p. 49). This, in the eyes of Rousseau, is a cultural scandal. He urges us not to comply with the corruption of children’s nature by means of defective values – greed, selfishness, and aggression. This leads (in *Emile*) to his defiant and stirring cry:

> Be humane. This is your first duty. Be humane with every station, every age, everything which is not alien to man… Love childhood; promote its games, its pleasures, its amiable instinct... Why do you want to deal with bitterness and pains these first years which go by so rapidly and can return no more?... Humanity has its place in the order of things; childhood has its place in the order of human life. The man must be considered in the man, and the child in the child. To assign each his place and settle him in it, to order the human passions according to man’s constitution is all that we can do for his well-being. (1979, pp. 79-80)

The third pedagogical doctrine to shed light on the characterization of pedagogical generosity is that of Friedrich Nietzsche. In his many books, and especially in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, he offers the figure of a philosopher-educator, whose work is clearly his own path to self-fulfillment, whose giving expresses the generosity of his effusive personality. His interest in the student is not to shape him in accordance with a given format, but rather to enable him to grow into an authentic and striking personality in his own right. “Companions the creator seeks,” says Zarathustra, “not herds and believers... Fellow creators, the creator seeks – those who write new values on new tablets” (1968, p. 136). And out of a great respect for the student’s unique fundamental creativity, he admonishes: “One repays a teacher badly if one always remains nothing but a pupil” (p. 190). “Become those we are…human beings who are new, unique, incomparable, who give themselves laws, who create themselves” (1974, sec. 335). Finally, upon departing from his students, he challenges them: “You had not yet sought yourselves: and you found me… Now I bid you to lose me and find yourselves; and only when you have all denied me will I return to you… with a different love shall I then love you” (1968, p. 190).

The fourth figure who quintessentially expresses pedagogical generosity is that of the Jewish-Polish educator Janusz Korczak, the most exemplary of educational role models. He, like the most exemplary of philosophers, Socrates the Athenian, chose not to devote himself to theoretical writings, but rather lived the ideal of his life and died for that ideal. Korczak’s position was deeply embedded in love for children, in concern and total devotion to their welfare and dignity, their joy in the here and now, in the creation of concrete possibilities for personal development. “Children,” he writes, “should be assured the freedom necessary for harmonious development of all their mental powers, allowed fully to expand their latent powers” (1920, p. 205). And most importantly, especially with respect to children from marginalized populations,

educators need to know that "to understand means to forgive…Whoever is shocked, whoever is outraged, whoever bears a grudge against a child for being what he is, as he was born, or as his life story shaped him – is not an educator!... Sadness rather than anger. Sympathy rather than vindictiveness (2005, pp. 480-481).

From the second half of the twentieth century until our present time there have been many and diverse passionate advocates of educational generosity. For example, Rogers and Maslow from the perspective of Humanist Psychology, Maxine Greene from an existentialist vantage point, Paolo Freire as a critical pedagogue concerned with education of the oppressed, and Nel Noddings from the perspective of feminist Care Ethics. It seems to me that to sum up this discussion of educational generosity, the following remarks by Maslow would serve us best:

> The chief goals of the ideal college would be the *discovery of identity*, and with it, the *discovery of vocation*… You learn to be authentic, to be honest in the sense of allowing your behavior and your speech to be the true and spontaneous experience of your inner feelings… If we were to accept as a major educational goal the awakening and fulfillment of...self-actualization, we would have a great flowering of a new kind of civilization. People would be stronger, healthier, and would take their own lives into their hands to a greater extent. (1971, pp. 180-195 with omissions)

MASTER DIALOGICIANS

The fourth and last pillar or principal quality that I would like to introduce here, cardinal for the emergence of educators worthy of the name, is the mastery of manifold forms of pedagogical dialogues. In recent years, dialogue has come to occupy a central position in mainstream educational theory and practice, partly due to the growing frustration at the dehumanizing effects of the standardization approach and the emphasis on high-stakes tests. But the centrality of dialogue in humanistic education goes back to the classical cultures of east and west (Aloni, 2013).

The most renowned context is Plato's philosophy, in which dialogue is present as Socrates' principal educational and teaching method. The second distinct context brings us into the heart of the twentieth century and includes the existential philosophy of Martin Buber and the critical counter-hegemonic pedagogy of Paulo Freire. Other forms of dialogue that are held to be inspirational and relevant to education include the following: of the classical models, most notable are the Confucian and Talmudic dialogues, and in the modern age, the existentialist Nietzschean dialogue, the pedagogic dialogue of Janusz Korczak, the therapeutic dialogue of Carl Rogers, the hermeneutic dialogue of Hans-Georg Gadamer, the care dialogue of Nel Noddings, the Habermasian deliberative dialogue of communicative action, the ethical dialogue of Emmanuel Levinas, as well as the dialogic practices that developed in the context of democratic education and education for a culture of peace and shared life.

As evident in every school in every corner of the world, all teachers dialogue with their students – in the narrow sense of speaking, conversing, and talking with them. Very few, however, are engaged in educational dialogue – with that form of conversation that is commonly associated with the positive and pleasant qualities of intimacy, trust, respect, empathy, and mutual uplifting. Let us explicate the difference by offering five indications that distinguish dialogue from other forms of discourse.

Dialogue is:

– Not small talk or a casual conversation held in a cafeteria or in the street. It always involves significant content or statements.
– Not a shouting match or a confrontational and vocal argument, in which each side tries to call attention to itself at the expense of the other. It is pleasant and respectful, open to hearing different views and conceptually flexible.
– Not authoritative, such as the speech between a master and subject or a commander and a subordinate. It displays a non-hierarchal approach and a spirit of democracy, reciprocity, and solidarity.
– Not the impartation of some form of knowledge and the testing of the extent to which the students have internalized it. It is a form of shared learning, both about the world of the other and of new content.
– Not functional or technocratic performance-oriented speech, the entire purpose of which is to produce results. Its achievements should be measured by its success on bringing about mutual enrichment and inspiration through the widening of the capacities to better understand one's own life, the lived reality of the other, and the circumstances they share.

Now, by way of conclusion and to complement the three principal qualities presented above – teachers as active advocates of human flourishing, engaged intellectuals, and generous – it should be stressed that this fourth principle of becoming master dialogicians would realize its potentiality only if educators would develop their capacities in the manifold forms of educational dialogue – utilizing them in a kind of pedagogical toolbox to reach children of all kinds and with different traits and needs. In other words, by the employment of diverse forms of educational dialogues – at the right time, in the right place, and to the right students – we may significantly enhance our pedagogical mission of creating avenues to the souls and minds of all our students and introducing them to varied educative experiences in the emotional, intellectual, moral, social, cultural, and political spheres of their lives.

NOTES

1 On various conceptions of human flourishing as the goal of education, see Brighouse, Nussbaum, Maslow, and Higgins in the list of references.

2 On the priority in pedagogical deliberation of humanist universal morality and the "primary responsibility for the intellectual and moral health of the next generation," see Aloni, 2002; Anderson, 2009; Brighouse, 2008; Gardner, 2004; Higgins, 2011; Noddings, 2010.

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OCCUPY WALL STREET IN THE CLASSROOM

Cultivating Political Consciousness in Teachers

In the summer of 2011, the United States and Israel experienced a flood of powerful social-justice protests. In the United States, large groups assembled in city squares under the slogan "Occupy Wall Street," and in Israel, activists built tent cities to chants of "The people demand social justice!" Some four years later, in the course of 2015, interracial tensions erupted into protests in both countries. In the United States, the African American community, which had pinned hopes on the Obama era, was disappointed by continued displays of racism, exclusion, and discrimination, and during the same period in Israel, the Ethiopian immigrant community erupted in protest against the racist treatment to which it has been subject in Israeli society.

American and Israeli society share a multiplicity of common attributes, as do the waves of protest the two countries experienced in 2011 and 2015. In both countries, scholars and activists have considered the degree of success and the social and political impact of the protests. Some credit them with legislation, policy changes, and judicial rulings that have advanced social justice and equality. Others lament their quick decline and the fact that their rich color has been diluted and washed away by the waves of the existing social order, which, for the most part, has remained fundamentally unchanged.

In a speech delivered during the 2011 social protests in New York, Naomi Klein (2011) commented on the difficulty of sustaining such initiatives:

> It is a fact of the information age that too many movements spring up like beautiful flowers but quickly die off. It's because they don't have roots and they don't have long term plans for how they are going to sustain themselves. So when storms come, they get washed away. (para. 9)

Such an ability to sprout roots and a horizon depends, among other things, on the ability of the education system to serve as a sheltered and productive environment for engaging in social and political issues (Yogev, 2014, pp. ix-xx). An essential condition for the education system to fulfill its role in cultivating democratic citizenship is the creation of a broad foundation of socially and politically conscious teachers who are committed to fundamental democratic principles and willing to contend with the daily complexity of educational work (Michaeli, 2014, pp. 87-104).

Over the past decade, Kibbutzim College of Education, the largest teacher training college in Israel, has been running a holistic model of teacher training designed to equip future teachers with the cognitive and practical tools they will need to

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advance this pedagogical goal within the Israeli education system. In this article, we offer an account of the theoretical and applied aspects of this model. The article is divided into three main sections. The first considers the Israeli political, social, and educational context in which teacher training is conducted, and this context's impact on the formation of the professional identity of its graduates. In this section, we highlight the increasing lack of tolerance for difference in Israeli society and the concrete dangers this intolerance poses for Israeli democracy. Our analysis of this context suggests the need to intensify education for tolerance and democratic culture in teacher training and to imbue teachers-in-training with a consciousness of social solidarity and an inclination for pedagogical activism. The article's second section sketches the theoretical contours of the educator as an "organic intellectual," and utilizes concepts advanced by the Italian philosopher, writer, and political theorist Antonio Gramsci in justifying an approach to teacher training that strives to develop and deepen a sense of professional capability.

Outlining the attributes of the teacher-as-organic intellectual requires us to address the epistemological dimension of the training process, which structures the conception of political orientation as a critical component of the professional identity of teachers-in-training. In the third section, we discuss the model for the training of involved educators that has been developed by Kibbutzim College of Education over the past decade, as well as its organizational policy. This section presents the major changes that have been introduced to teacher training at the College in three parallel realms of implementation: (1) introduction of a component of social involvement to the mandatory program of study; (2) increased student involvement in campus life; and (3) college-wide learning events dealing with a variety of concrete social and political issues. Together, these three components fuse to form an integrated conception of training aimed at cultivating teachers as educators who play an active role in the communities in which they live.

THE NEED FOR EDUCATION FOR TOLERANCE AND INCLUSION IN A MULTICULTURAL REALITY

As a dynamic country of immigrants with a population composed of different national, ethnic, and community groups that has become even more diverse in recent years, Israel is fundamentally a multicultural society. However, although the existence of multiple cultures is a necessary precondition for the emergence of multicultural education, it is by no means the only one. Throughout its years of statehood, Israel has witnessed the construction of numerous institutions designated to serve the many different cultures that populate the country, including the evolution of separate educational frameworks. Thus far, however, it has not witnessed the emergence of a broad public consciousness that lends legitimacy to the multicultural situation. The absence of such legitimacy, and the realities of a difficult everyday life in the shadow of an ongoing bloody conflict, has intensified the intolerance of Israelis, as reflected in the marked decline in the Israeli tolerance index in recent months. What

began with harmful incitement in the social media against groups characterized by ethnic, religious, social, or political difference (ultraorthodox groups, Jews of Ethiopian origin, Arabs, labor migrants, gays and lesbians [the LGBT community], people associated with left-wing political views, settlers, etc.) graduated to intolerant legislative efforts in the Knesset and demonstrations in cities calling for a pure Jewish population, the burning down of bilingual schools, and vandalism of Christian and Muslim religious institutions. On the day of the 2015 general elections, Israeli Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu even permitted himself to portray the country's Arab population as a threatening collective in his efforts to win votes, and in the social media, death threats were made to the president of the state and to all those who dared speak out against displays of racism.

A survey conducted in September 2015 by the Midgam Institute[1] of Dr. Mina Zemach and Mano Geva found that 69.5% of Israeli citizens believe that Israeli society is racist. According to this survey, 85% of Israeli Jews surveyed indicated that they would oppose having their children marry an Israeli Arab, and 66.6% of the country's Arabs specified that they would oppose having their children marry a Jew. At the same time, 42% of the Jews surveyed expressed an unwillingness to have their children marry a Jew of Ethiopian origin, and another 15% were unwilling to have a Jew of Ethiopian origin as a neighbor in their residential building. With regard to tolerance for homosexuals, 39.9% of the Jewish Israelis surveyed and 80% of the Arab Israelis surveyed stipulated that they would be unwilling to have homosexual neighbors living in their residential building. And finally, 34% of Jewish respondents reported being "unable to stand left-wingers," and 40% reported being "unable to stand the ultraorthodox" (Plotzker, 2015, p. 8). These statistics speak for themselves.

As noted, opposition to basic democratic norms also developed in the Knesset, Israeli legislature. Over the past five years, we have witnessed a series of legislative initiatives aimed at empowering Knesset committees to examine the integrity of the funding of left-wing organizations and human rights groups, which have reviled left-wing opponents of the government as "traitors and collaborators with terrorism," and that have called for imposing limitations on their freedom of action. In Israel, intolerance in the broad sense of the word is becoming an extremely problematic social norm.

Israeli teenagers' conceptions of democracy confirm and exacerbate these troubling findings. A study conducted in Israel (Citizens' Empowerment Center in Israel, 2011, 77-115) explored Israeli teens' views on various issues pertaining to Israeli democracy. The study's findings revealed that Israeli teens are in favor of a democratic political system, but, at the same time, more than half believe that Arabs should not be permitted to be elected to the Knesset (a trend reflected twice as frequently among religious high school students than among their secular counterparts). Moreover, one out of every six students surveyed indicated that he or she would prefer to not have an immigrant from Ethiopia or the former Soviet Union in his or her class, and 21% viewed the slogan "death to the Arabs" as legitimate. Another survey conducted for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Macro Center

for Political Economics found that 60% of Israeli teens between the ages of 15 and 18 believe that strong leaders are preferable to the democratic rule of law in Israel (Tzameret-Kertcher, 2011).

These extreme statistics also offer insight into the troubling and increasingly common phenomenon, attested to by teachers and teacher supervisors alike, of high school students abruptly silencing home room and civics teachers (as "leftist Arab lovers") each time they attempt to discuss the possibility of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ("two states for two peoples") or equal rights for Israeli Arabs. Interactions of this kind are occurring in more and more schools, with teachers' names appearing on social networks and in the televised media (shaming). Ultimately, this has caused many teachers to begin engaging in self-censorship in order to prevent unpleasant confrontations with students and their parents.

The attributes of democratic citizenship are not congenital. Rather, they are acquired through hard work and viewed as a cultural achievement of the highest possible level. That being the case, and in light of the rising trend of intolerance currently threatening Israeli democracy, the Israeli education system has the responsibility to institute an urgent nation-wide campaign of education for democratic citizenship. Clearly, the education system is not the sole actor in the arena, and it is critical that legislative, legal, and government authorities also take concurrent operative action to ensure the resilience of democracy in Israel.

The intensifying displays of intolerance, and government authorities' attempts to shirk their responsibility for their citizens, together constitute a true danger to democracy in Israel. The distance that has emerged between the realm of politics and the majority of the population, and the lack of a critical public culture, has left the field vulnerable to the control of powerful minority groups and has intensified the underhanded opportunism of the few who are engaged in politics. The result has been an increasing level of alienation between politicians and powerful interest groups on the one hand, and the general public on the other. Teachers, principals, and scholars of education are concerned at the lack of political orientation among the younger generation and are therefore seeking to usher social and political education back into schools (Yogev, 2014, pp. ix-xx). It is in this context that Kibbutzim College of Education has been working to develop an approach to teacher training that instills and reinforces a professional conception of teachers as involved in society and in the communities in which they live.

THE TEACHER AS AN "INVOLVED INTELLECTUAL" IN SOCIETY

At the outset of this article, we posited that the educational approach employed in teacher training has a decisive impact on the formation of its graduates' professional identity. The training methods employed by the majority of colleges in Israel perpetuate the conventional approaches and methods that exist in the Israeli education system and thwart any attempt to change them. The majority of teachers in these institutions perceive their role in the system as training their students for

efficient and beneficial integration into society as it exists today. The education system refrains from addressing social and political issues and cloaks itself in a mantle of false neutrality acquired at the cost of separating social critique from educational endeavor.

In order to train teachers to function as involved intellectuals in society, we must first consider the epistemological aspect which structures the perception of political orientation as a vital component of the professional identity of the teacher-in-training.

The Epistemological Aspect of Teacher Training: Educating for Sociopolitical Awareness

Antonio Gramsci spoke of the need for "organic intellectuals" who strengthen the dimension of knowledge within the public sphere (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 5-23). Gramsci states that a philosophy becomes prevalent when certain ways of life become the natural way of observing reality and accepting it as it is. At the same time, other methods of interpretation are removed from the compass of public legitimacy and presented as inconceivable. For any social group to become predominant and acceptable, it must adopt a perception. To achieve its objective, the dominant group positions itself at the center of social life as a kind of "core" of society and fills the entire space of public consciousness.

Cultural studies pioneer Raymond Williams emphasizes Gramsci's contribution to the formulation of the notion of hegemony (Williams, 1976, pp. 202-210). Williams contends that prevalence is distinct from ideology in that it completely overlaps with the experience of reality and thus precludes any possibility of conscious extrication from its grasp. This conscious grasp blocks all practical aspirations to changing social reality, and in this way, he maintains, "this notion of hegemony as deeply saturating the consciousness of a society seems to me to be fundamental" (Williams, 1976, p. 206).

Following Gramsci, Williams argues that the education system is a central force in the creation of a dominant culture. Schools are the most effective agents of a selective prevailing tradition, as they instill in their students a solid perception whereby the economic and cultural reality they know is the only one possible. Such an educational process emphasizes the "individual" as an entity detached from social contexts, thereby contributing to the nurturing of individualist ethics that weaken economic and political sensitivity (Williams, 1961). One condition for the advancement of social change, therefore, is rupturing the totality of the consciousness to whose entrenchment the education system contributes. This requires intellectual activity, which Gramsci assigns to the mediating class of organic intellectuals.

> The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions, but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer, "permanent persuader" and not just simple orator… From technique-as-work one proceeds

> to technique-as-science and to the humanistic conception of history, without which one remains "specialized" and does not become "directive" (specialized and political). (Gramsci, 1971, p. 10)

The Gramscian approach offers an optimistic and practical angle for analyzing social reality. Unlike Williams's somewhat desolate approach in light of the power of prevalence, Gramsci offers a loophole through which prevailing consciousness can be breached, and paves a practical path toward achieving it. Since Gramsci assumed that every human being is a potential intellectual and that such potential can be fostered in the weak strata that lie outside the bounds of established social philosophies, there is no field more appropriate for achieving this aim than education (Gramsci, 1971, p. 323). But to lay the foundations for change, he maintains, educators must abandon their role as lackeys of the ruling hegemony and assume the responsibility to act as organic intellectuals within the community and national systems (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 26-43; Smith, 1994, p. 127).

The idea of the "organic intellectual educator" was reinforced by the epistemological-existential elements that constitute the basis of the critical pedagogical perception. Like Gramsci, leading critical pedagogy thinkers such as Paolo Freire (1970), Henry Giroux (1988), Peter McLaren (1989), and others view the formal education system as a clearly political locale that plays a decisive role in the shaping of public consciousness, whereby the prevailing political philosophy can reproduce itself. In his book *Teachers as Intellectuals: Towards a Critical Pedagogy of Learning*, Giroux proposes a critical conception of education in the sense of the educational praxis incumbent upon the intellectual, as articulated by Gramsci. He views educators as being responsible for raising an involved, critical citizen with a developed sense of justice and concern for others. Critical education should empower learners to decipher the language of the prevailing philosophies of society and to develop appropriate skills and an informed direction to enable them to lead their lives for their own benefit and that of their community (Giroux, 1988).

Our difficulty with American critical pedagogy lies in its postmodern tendency to suspect each and every "truth," which, in turn, causes it to distance itself from any attempt to structure a commitment to a formulated, concrete system of values (Rorty, 1998). As all educational programs aspire to the realization of a positive worldview, suspicion of and objection and opposition to reality are not in themselves sufficient. In addition to the critical approach, learners must be provided with the building blocks for constructive thinking and the formation of a civil-social identity. The original Gramscian concept was a product of the socialist world into which it was born, and its critical approach was directed toward the fulfillment of the social values of that world. From the Gramscian concept, we have taken its positive element and translated it into the agenda of a welfare state universally committed to social and civic equality.

We now seek to translate this worldview into an educational program whose core is social literacy and political thinking. Accordingly, teacher training for this

educational approach will seek to enhance future teachers' awareness regarding the multiplicity of paths of knowledge, their interpretative alternatives, and the partialness of their understanding. It will also nurture critical reading and emphasize learning that examines the creation of various patterns of "local" and "official" learning, as well as systems of consciousness that prevent alternatives from challenging hegemonic rule. This critical literacy will to some extent neutralize the attempt of the official education system to construct a fictional reality that presents itself as the only truth and obstructs any desire for change.

TRAINING TEACHERS TO BE SOCIALLY INVOLVED ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS: A DESCRIPTION OF THE MODEL

Based on the epistemological aspect, scholars at Kibbutzim College of Education designed a broad and comprehensive policy for teacher training aimed not at creating a defined boutique program but rather at bringing about fundamental change in teacher training in general. To this end, a teacher training model encompassing all the College's training programs and all the College's students engaged in undergraduate teaching programs was designed to effect the policy on an organizational level, and a Social Involvement Unit was established with a full-time project manager, a professor to provide academic support and guidance, and a research team.

The College's teacher training model[2] translated the above pedagogical vision into three primary realms of implementation: (1) incorporation of community involvement into pedagogical training as part of the regular program of practical experience, and establishment of a program of social involvement in NGOs; (2) expansion of student opportunities for active involvement in campus life; and (3) implementation of special college-wide learning events on ethical, political, and social issues. All College students are required to take part in these three aspects of training, which are put into operation in all fields of study.

Community Involvement as Part of the Regular Program of Practical Experience

Based on recognition of the centrality of pedagogic instruction in the training process and on approaches to training that emphasize reflectivity, knowledge construction, and community exposure (Fullen, 2001; Hargreaves, 1994), we have sought to expand the borders of pedagogic instruction to the social and community arenas.

To enhance the social sensitivity and awareness of teachers-in-training as involved organic intellectuals, it is necessary to expose them to society's "backyard" by providing them with greater knowledge about social disparities, poverty, unemployment, and ethnic discrimination. This approach is based on the premise that most students have not been exposed to social realities that differ from their own upbringing and that a direct encounter with a harsh and unfamiliar reality can have a formative impact that complements their theoretical study.

In this spirit, every student at the College is required to perform 60 hours of work in a social organization. At the same time, they are required to take an academic course related to their work that provides them with an arena for conceptualizing and processing the practical experiences of their social involvement. This component is awarded academic credit, which has required the College's various departments to restructure their schedules to make it part of the core curriculum rather than an addendum to it.

Within this framework of social involvement, students are placed in a variety of organizations engaged in economic and civic issues. The organizations are selected based on specific criteria, including size, the scope of their work, and their ability to monitor and support their students. For example, students have been placed in organizations that work to promote the rights of disadvantaged populations, to mentor the children of migrant workers and other minorities, to advance workers' rights, and so forth. The required concurrent courses impart knowledge regarding Israeli society as a nation of immigrants comprised of diverse cultural and social groups, and involve the study and analysis of current macro-economic data, welfare, privatization, neoliberalism, civil society, organized labor, and other relevant subjects. In these courses, students are given the opportunity to link their experiences in their social involvement in the field with theory and concepts studied in the classroom. On this basis, their experiences and feelings are conceptualized, and the theory and concepts undergo a process of personalization and are translated into faces and names. The concurrent courses also incorporate encounters with social activists and tours of disadvantaged neighborhoods, which are also designed to link the theories studied to everyday social realities.

Increasing Student Involvement in Campus Life

In accordance with the concept of "the hidden curriculum" (Apple, 1971), a wide range of opportunities has also been developed for active student involvement in the academic, administrative, and social spheres of the College itself. This component of the program provides students with firsthand experience of involvement, initiative, and influence, based on the expectation that such a range of experiences will enhance both their personal and professional orientation and their leadership skills.

This activity, we emphasize, goes beyond normal Student Union activity and involves students in additional realms of activity and decision making, including the academic sphere, as reflected in student participation in the College Teaching Committee. As the formal body responsible for advancing and developing the College's core program, the College Teaching Committee addresses fundamental issues of teacher training and of teaching and learning. Although it consists exclusively of College lecturers, it was decided to recruit student representatives from all fields of study to participate in its general discussions. For example, when the Teaching Committee formulated new teaching regulations that included rules that were binding on the administration, lecturers, and students alike, the student participants were

partners to every stage of the process – from study, to discussion and draft writing, to decision-making. In addition to this work, joint lecturer-student steering committees were set up in each track to address issues of teaching and learning.

In accordance with this policy, the College encourages and approves a variety of student projects. One such example was a group of students who called for placing the environmental crisis on the College's agenda. Following a period of focused activity by the group, a "green council" consisting of students, lecturers, and administration members was established with the intention of transforming the College into a "green campus," and ultimately resulted in the College's official certification as such by the Ministry of Environmental Protection. Another group of students initiated an examination of the terms of employment of the College's outsourced cleaning and security staff. Based on their findings, and following a subsequent struggle over the issue, the College administration replaced the company that had supplied the staff and called for changes in the contractual terms of subsequent providers of these services.

The kind of student activism reflected in the examples provided here helps cultivate self-efficacy and leadership orientation. It is based on an understanding that in the everyday reality of the Israeli education system, teachers are perceived and often function as production-line workers limited to the blind implementation of content, requirements, and expectations dictated from above. For this reason, the process of cultivating teachers-in-training as organic intellectuals must include measures to build their self-confidence as leaders and as individuals capable of exercising influence and making change (Hall & McGinity, 2015; Fujita, & Starratt, 2005; Lieberman, Moore Johnson, Neumann, Jones & Webb, 2012).

College-Wide Learning Events Regarding Concrete Social and Political Issues

Another essential element of the model is the component of vision and the need to formulate positions on concrete political and social issues. An individual's formulation of positions on current issues may be based on his or her comprehensive ethical, social, and political worldview, but also serves to construct and maintain this worldview. Concrete positions and overall worldviews serve as internal motivating forces stimulating the work of the educator, who aspires to influence reality and create change.

Based on this conception, Kibbutzim College of Education provides its students with a wide variety of opportunities to learn about social, political, and ethical issues on the public agenda. These opportunities enable students to expand their knowledge regarding current affairs, to learn about as wide a variety as possible of approaches and positions, and to take active part in open discussions using the dialogic-workshop format of the "round table." The goal of these learning events is twofold. First, they enable students to increase their knowledge and to formulate or refine their positions on controversial issues on the public agenda. Second, in the spirit of Marshall McLuhan's phrase "the medium is the message," they provide

students with an educational model for introducing such issues to the institutional agenda, which they will hopefully adopt and incorporate themselves as teachers in the future.

Below are a few examples of such learning events that take place regularly at the College:

– *Politics Week*. During this week-long event carried out in cooperation with the Student Union, lectures, panels, and discussions are held across campus. During the week, the campus is filled with the information booths of political parties and social change organizations from across the Israeli political spectrum that are engaged with a large number of issues. The week is conducted in two primary settings: in regular College courses, in which lecturers devote their class time to relevant social and political issues of their choice; and in special, specifically designated classes on sociological, philosophical, and artistic subjects and other issues on the public agenda, taught by outside guest lecturers or lecturers from other institutions. All the lectures and workshops are open to all students.
– *Anti-Racism Education Day*. This event is conducted in conjunction with the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and is devoted to learning about the realities in Israel and to providing a clearer understanding of the role of the education system in addressing civil rights injustices in the country.
– Each year, the College also hosts a *Jewish-Arab Conference* devoted entirely to the analysis of different aspects of the Palestinian-Jewish conflict (historical, cultural, economic, and political) and to identifying ways of resolving the tensions and to constructing a shared life based on trust and cohesion. Also invited to this day of study are hundreds of Arab students from Arab colleges, who participate in all parts of the day with the objective of facilitating a human encounter and a joint clarification of sensitive issues. The Jewish and Arab students engage in discussion over round discussion tables and are given the opportunity to conduct an open and equal dialogue.

These college-wide learning events are also directly linked to the student activism component, as in the organization of these events (and many others) students play a key role, from preliminary planning and the formulation of goals to application as workshop mediators and leaders.

By linking these three components of training – community involvement as an integral component of the syllabus, on-campus student activism, and college-wide learning events regarding social and political issues – the College has produced an all-encompassing model for training teachers as engaged organic intellectuals.

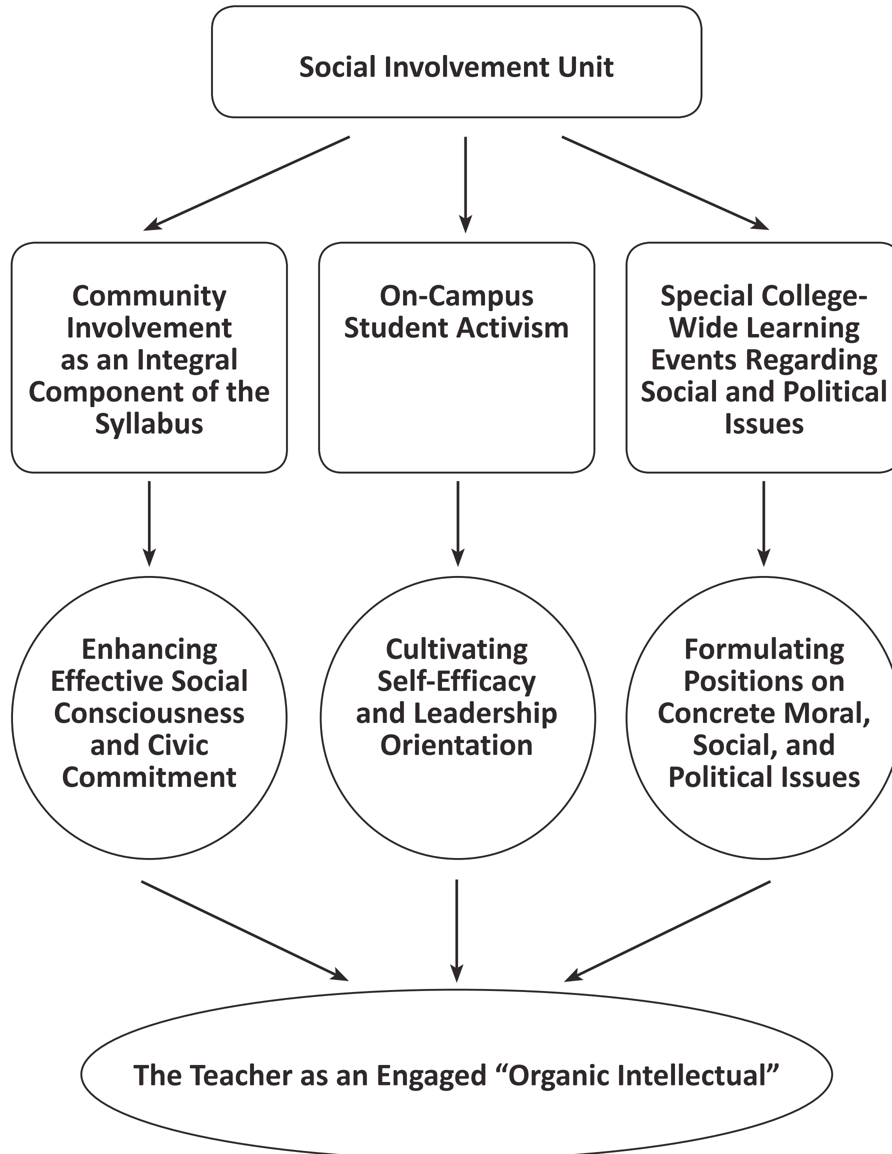

Figure 1. Organic intellectual teacher training model

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS AND INSIGHTS

This article presents a conceptual and practical model for training teachers as involved intellectuals in society and in the community. The model was constructed in light of the educational challenges posed by the technological and competitive global world in which we live, and by Israeli society in particular, with its mounting violence and increasing schisms. The purpose of the model, outlined in this chapter, is to produce teachers equipped with a critical approach to reality and a willingness to seek change.

On the basis of our cumulative experience and published studies, we offer a number of concluding points regarding this model. The first is recognition of the importance of combining practical experience with active social involvement and intellectual theory, particularly from the fields of political philosophy, cultural studies, and critical sociology. Indeed, it is this intellectual element that transforms students' experiences from fleeting emotional episodes into meaningful events of informed conscious observation.

The second is the importance of the mandatory status of all the different components of the program within one overall integrated curriculum. The fact that each student is required to devote a substantial portion of his or her studies to social learning and experience conveys a powerful message regarding the professional identity of the teacher as an organic intellectual.

Our third concluding point has to do with the manner in which, in our view, teacher training institutions should view their unique role – that is, as bodies bearing responsibility for the enhancement of education in particular, and of democratic society in general. Such a self-perception subverts hegemonic expectations of the education system. It also has the potential to bolster intellectual self-confidence and nurture pedagogy of subversion in teachers-in-training. Training along these lines equips the teachers of the not too distant future to also act as social leaders in their communities and in society.

In our view, there is no more fitting way to conclude this article than with excerpts from the testimony of three students attesting to the importance of the program.

– I studied in the education system for twelve years and served in the army. I consider myself an involved and intelligent person, yet I was completely unaware of all the issues we learned about in the course…Why has no one told me about them until now?
– I took part in a study conference organized by the Unit for Social Involvement. The day began with a panel of social activists who lead struggles and initiatives in a variety of areas. The activists discussed their activity and explained how they started doing things and moving out of a state of "non-involvement" and "unawareness." In actuality, they described how they had once conducted themselves in the world as an "island" of sorts, focused on itself and detached from the mainland of social reality…That day strengthened my understanding that being socially active and involved and taking initiative means leaving your

own bubble, who you are, your skills and abilities – and connecting with others and using all of these things to give to them. I could have remained indifferent…

– There is something in critical thinking that fascinates me, because it forces me to confront and to not be dogmatic or stigmatic, someone who simply goes with the flow. I remember seeing the whole mass and power of the demonstration of the Ethiopians. It moved me – not just because I am easily moved, but because I chose to be moved. I chose to be moved by the fact that people were sticking to their opinions. I was scared to be moved by the fact that they were not scared. I chose to be moved by the fact that they understood that only power and unity could lead them to social change.

NOTES

[1] Midgam Institute of Dr. Mina Zemach and Mano Geva.

[2] The program is monitored by a special ongoing study conducted by the Kibbutzim College Research Unit (see Arviv-Elyashiv & Shavit-Miller, 2012; Levi-Keren, 2015; Shemer-Elkayam & Eitan, 2009).

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RELATIONSHIPS INFORMING PROCESS

Reframing the Foundation of Civics Education

> A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experiences. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which have kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity
> – John Dewey (1916, p. 87)

INTRODUCTION

For the past century, education scholars, teachers, and politicians have attempted to respectively theorize, practice, and institutionalize descriptions of democracy. Today, however, modern cultural and societal realities create special challenges for taking up this work. The ways in which mobile technologies have penetrated all aspects of life have altered the ways in which we associate with each other; while these technologies have made business more efficient and communication between people easier, technology provides us with a number of paradoxes in terms of the ways we associate with others. We currently inhabit a world where our technology is fast but our ability to trust others is slow, a world where we know more tidbits of each other's lives but less about what each other values, a world where we have more friends than ever and fewer people that we can rely on. We are a more globalized society, able to interact with people from various parts of the world in seconds, but are more narcissistic in the ways we use our technologies to self-promote and demand token affection from others (Turkle, 2011).

Within these paradoxes is both an attempt by people to come closer to Dewey's (1916) original insight on democracy and a reality that drives us further away from each other. By connecting with more and varied peoples, there is a potential to develop what Martin Buber (1971) referred to as the I-Thou relationship by keeping in constant relationship with others, the type of relationships that educators committed to meaningful interpersonal connections should encourage. Instead, research and personal experience suggest that the reality of those technology-facilitated connections objectify "the other" and ourselves; we use our online "friendships"

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and create avatar selves (e.g., online profiles) to leverage social position rather than to support, care for, and understand those to whom we are virtually connected (Andrews, 2013; Ito et al., 2009; Turkle, 2011). Rather than building relationships through Dewey's (1916) "communicated experiences," which can lead to greater empathy between two "I"s (Buber, 1971), technology-facilitated connections seem to be inhibiting our abilities to form the types of relationships that are a precondition for his "mode of associated living." To use an old AT&T advertising quote, while we can "reach out and touch someone," those we touch are increasingly those we do not know (or care to know) in anything but voyeuristic (e.g., "Facebook stalking") and rudimentary (e.g., "update statuses") ways.

Dewey's (1916) insight into democracy is still relevant despite our current social reality. If we are to develop youth's civic capacities to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century, we need to adhere to his notion of democracy now more than ever. Our current reality does, however, require a re-examination of what is needed to more closely reflect Dewey's vision. In this chapter, I offer an appeal to teachers to rethink the ways they approach their own civic leadership, an essential step in their efforts to develop the civic capacities of their students. I am particularly interested in how we encourage meaningful interpersonal connection in the twenty-first century. At the outset, I explore the rapid changes to and myriad pressures on teachers, as the field of education faces a globalizing reality that it has, until now, largely been able to avoid. Drawing on the philosophies of Martin Buber (1971) and Nel Noddings (2013a, 2013b) as foundational to explaining the types of associations needed to realize John Dewey's (1916) vision, I contrast the ways that many interpersonal connections are realized today with the types of interpersonal relationships needed for a vibrant democracy. I argue that teachers must shift their own paradigm of their relationship with their students and communities in order to continue to provide authentic instruction suitable for students to develop their own civic leadership capacities. Specifically, I argue that teachers must shift from a paradigm of "civic process that builds connections" to one of "relationships that develop civic processes." I further argue that such a paradigm shift may make the work of developing students' civic capacities more congruent with its philosophical foundations (Buber, 1971; Dewey, 1916; Noddings, 2013a), mediating the impact of the globalizing reality that youth face in our networked age. I conclude by providing three principles around which teachers can conceive of such a reframing: (1) interacting with diverse groups of people, (2) building both instrumental and non-instrumental relationships, and (3) creating dialogic interactions.

OLD SYSTEM, NEW REALITY

It is obvious that we are not preparing today's youth for the same world anticipated by many current teachers. It is even more obvious that the institutionalized education system prevalent throughout the world does not mirror the "real life" outside of school. Today, both adults and youth have access to a whole world of information

and connections via a device that they carry around in their pockets. Most of us have "friends" that we have only met in passing and substitute text messages for actual conversations on a daily basis (Turkle, 2011). These new realities of connection and interaction are just some of the ways in which life has been dramatically altered in the last three decades.

In part because of these new realities, the discourse about our current industrial education model suggests that it is outdated and out of touch with the needs of a new generation (Robinson, 2011). Although educators continue to tackle some of the same issues as educators of the past (e.g., exploring ways to educate all students, to cultivate a good society, to develop economic opportunities, etc. and thinking about ways to cultivate more cooperative citizenries), the globalized political, social, and economic systems require a more flexible and student-responsive system of education (Wagner, 2008). In practice, this new system has often required teachers to integrate more and newer technologies, assess students more often, and adhere to more prescriptive curricula than they have in the past (Noddings, 2007; Ravitch, 2014; Sahlberg, 2011).

Interestingly, some of the "new" realities that education systems face, as part of a globalized world, were shared in Dewey's (1916) times. As the Progressives fought against a decontextualized, industrialized curriculum, Dewey's philosophy was born of a more globalizing reality as well (Berube, 1994). He wrote at a time when the United States was undergoing an influx of immigrants while emerging from the First World War. Dewey's call to provide students with educative experiences in their communities via relationships with others, in response to the conditions of his time, is instructive for our own examination of today's education landscape in two ways:

1. Communities around the world are grappling with shifting populations. As Dewey realized, such migration shifts offer youth, in particular, the opportunity to practice cooperative skills in real life contexts that enable them to be better stewards of the next generation. Today, the same opportunities and hope for facilitating a more peaceful world are present in even more locations around the world (Damaine, 2004).
2. While Dewey's focus on a cooperative spirit amongst people was framed in the needs of a democratic society, today we are seeing the expansion of the idea that cooperation is a skill that all students need to learn. Instead of mentoring youth to cooperate in civic life and compete in the world of business, our current global realities are suggesting that cooperation is needed in both spheres (Noddings, 2013b).

Yet, the similarities of context do not mean that Dewey's (1916) ideas of establishing the conditions for "a mode of associated living" can be scaled to meet the needs of all democratic and career curricula. When Dewey's idea was examined as an educational model in the past (and its popularity has ebbed and flowed over the last century[1]), it was always an ideal, practiced in different measure across various education initiatives. Instead, these similarities point to an opportunity for educators

today to explore the ways in which such a mode of life (what I am referring to here primarily as *meaningful interpersonal connection*) might be fostered given today's reality, one in which we are "alone together" more than we are physically, mentally, and emotionally in each other's company (Turkle, 2011).

Connected without Connections

Before *cooperation* was a term that extended beyond civil society, the ways in which schools prepared students to cooperate were two-fold: (a) through an extensive study of national history, which would prepare young minds to think logically and instill them with good models of character (Labaree, 2010) and (b) through a description of the political system, also known as the Civics class (Evans, 2004). Throughout much of the world, this continues to be the model that students encounter (Hahn, 1998).

To be sure, while this structure has remained the same, some educators have tried to incorporate a more critical lens to such courses. In the United States, for example, Harold Rugg wrote social studies curricula intended to lead to social change; such curricula were deemed by politicians to be too socialist and anti-American for schools in the mid-1900s (Evans, 2004). Later, in the early 1990s, Gary Nash and Charlotte Crabtree's constructivist method of history education would come under the same critique (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). Thus, while cooperation might have been a named outcome of education, it was supposed to be a cooperation that would not upset the political, social, and economic structures; curricula that would cause students to question the ways in which the construct of power and privilege limited full cooperation between peoples was frowned upon by those interested in maintaining such structures.

In the context of the United States, a prescribed social education, where cooperation was rarely practiced in the ways that Dewey suggested, was acceptable. What youth may have lacked in educative social experiences taught at school was often counterbalanced at home. Since the time of Tocqueville's (1835) writing, the United States was world-renowned for associational living. Unlike many countries throughout the world, Americans frequently joined together in community to collaboratively solve problems. In doing so, youth often witnessed their parents cooperating with other adults, engaging in such civic learning through personal experience. Thus, they were being mentored with regard to meaningful interpersonal connection.

Unfortunately, associational membership has been a continuously declining phenomenon in the United States since 1975 (Putnam, 2000). Where once there was community, even in the mundane form of the weekly card game, Americans have increasingly isolated themselves from each other. This isolation has been exacerbated by the rise of mobile digital technologies. Whereas youth claim that they are hanging out online with friends and even learning new skills (Ito et al., 2009), scholarship is increasingly documenting the negative social repercussions of social media interactions (Andrews, 2013), while suggesting that such interactions

are qualitatively different from the ones that might be experienced at a face-to-face poker night (Turkle, 2011).

In place of associational memberships that facilitate meaningful interpersonal connection, adults and youth alike have accepted membership into "the network." As a network, the number of connections that can be made are exponentially greater than those found in one's neighborhood. On the network, no longer are relationships bounded by time and space. While individuals are able to communicate more easily with others around the world, they are also more disconnected from the meaningful noninstrumental relationships that anchored the old poker game and associational organizations. As Turkle (2011) explains:

> Networked, we are together, but so lessened are our expectations of each other that we can feel utterly alone. And there is the risk that we come to see others as objects to be accessed – and only for the parts we find useful, comforting, or amusing. (p. 154)

Indeed, the network enables youth and young adults in particular to objectify relationships to the point where the most intimate of human acts are arranged in the same manner and attitude as ordering take-out. As one young professional said while discussing hook-up culture on Tinder, a popular dating app, "It's like ordering Seamless... But you're ordering a person" (Sales, 2015). Philosophically speaking, the I-Thou has become the I-It (Buber, 1971); people are explicitly and intentionally objectifying each other. The globalized, networked world in which education must now occur is a far different place than the one in which Dewey (1916) wrote; instead of parents ordering coin cans for an American Legion fundraising drive, youth are ordering people for hook-ups.

"Doing" Earlier

While these contemporary conditions certainly paint a grim picture of the influences that mobile technology and network have had on a generation of citizens, it would be inappropriate to suggest that "the good ol' days" were in some way better. Indeed, today's globalized, networked world has shattered the old thinking that adults need to slowly develop youth into citizens. Rather, as witnessed in a plethora of YouTube videos and organizational testimonials, today's youth have the opportunity to *be* civically active as they continue to develop their civic skills.[2]

Over the last few decades, there has been an increase in the influence of *constructivism* on school curricula. From mathematics to science to social studies, researchers and teachers are applying constructivist theory in the development of more experiential learning opportunities (Fosnot, 2005). This work has begun to bring about Dewey's (1916) ideas about creating "educative experiences" for students in the classroom because partnerships with people outside of the students' immediate classroom are often a happy by-product of such work. Echoing Dewey's calls, Vygotskian notions of social constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978) have fostered an

emphasis on cooperative work with real-life problems in schools around the world.[3]

Some civics educators have extended this work, encouraging students to learn and practice their civics skills in their communities rather than discuss civic action only in their classrooms. In this model, known as *action civics*, students select issues important to them and take collective civic action to address them within a context that promotes reflection and skills development (Bass, 2012; Pope, Stolte, & Cohen, 2011). While the specifics about action civics programs vary depending on local resources, school district permissions, and time allotted for such work, through this model students have been able to pursue some impressive civic actions. For example, Schultz (2008) describes an action civics project that his elementary students led, where they petitioned the school district for money to renovate their dilapidated school. Although ultimately unsuccessful, Schultz was able to chronicle the cooperative, interpersonal skills, political knowledge, and civics skills (e.g., accessing media, petitioning, etc.) that the students learned to develop through the project.

Such experiential learning, what Dewey (1916) called "educative experiences," are more accessible to youth today than they were within the last century, largely due to the findings of cognitive psychologists (e.g., Bruner, 1986) who argued that actively engaging in the process of an action (in this case, civic action) helps individuals of all ages to learn. Thus, although it has taken a century, our current understandings of the brain and learning seem to finally be coming around to the ideas that Dewey described.

A Different Reference Point

While action civics provides a model for teachers to engage their students in meaningful construction of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions (Fitzgerald, Cohen, & Ferman, 2014), it does not do so with a recognition of youth media culture and the way in which it erodes meaningful interpersonal connection. As Table 1 illustrates, while action civics programs vary in terms of who leads learning sessions and the ways in which students select and achieve their civic goals, action civics educators structure their curricula on the same process: (1) community analysis, (2) issue selection, (3) issue research, (4) planning for action, (5) taking action, and (6) reflection. In this process, students use their own organization (that of their classroom cohort) to begin thinking about their civic interests and how they might be able to use and work with the community to solve their identified civic problem.

Table 1: Summary of Sample Civic Action Model Components

Components	**Project Citizen** (taught by teacher using provided materials)	**Generation Citizen** (taught by democracy coaches in coordination with teacher)	**Mikva Challenge** (taught by teacher after training in action civics)
Issue Selection	Select issue	Community analysis Select focus issue	Profile community Community mapping Select an issue
Research	Gather data Examine solutions	Analyze evidence ID root causes	Consult experts ID root causes Traditional research Survey research
Planning	Develop a public policy Develop action plan	ID decision makers/ forces Analyze best tactics Create plan	ID decision makers/ forces Create plan Think about media Get money
Take Action	Implement plan Assess action	Lobby Mobilize influencers	Implement plan Evaluate results
Reflection	Present work Reflect on next steps	Present work Reflect on next steps	Reflect Showcase work

To be sure, there are some advantages to involving students in a predefined action civics process. Much like teaching budding scientists to employ the scientific method, this process provides guidance to students who are just beginning to (1) explore issues that occur outside of their classroom experiences and (2) grapple with creating change within a community. As noted earlier, engaging students in this process has produced some good learning opportunities as well as some real-world change in communities.

There are, however, some important pieces that this process does not address: (1) learning to form collective power, (2) refraining from epistemic isolation, and (3) building upon relationships in the community. For example, each of these programs uses pre-arranged classes as the basis for action civics work. While this structure helps to organize the work quickly and enables teachers and school administrators to make more direct connections between action civics projects and traditional school learning, it does not encourage students to form their own collectives for actions. Civic action requires leaders to find and/or convince others that their cause is important and to join it; action civics' use of pre-arranged classes limits this critical learning opportunity for students. When students are no longer in a formal school setting, they may not know how to find and encourage others to collaborate and cooperate.

As my colleague Sarah Andes and I (Fitzgerald & Andes, 2012) found when working with students doing action civics, the practice of having students engage with their classmates also leads to epistemic isolation. For example, in one project, students at a New York City high school decided that they wanted to get the lead cleaned out of the soil at a local park. The park was located next to an elementary school where children played before and after school every day. Knowing that ingesting lead could result in learning issues, they were committed to the project. As they toured the neighborhood asking for support from the residents, one of them asked, "Why don't you focus on the drug problems around here? That is a much bigger problem!" The students' analysis of the community had certainly identified an issue, lead in the park. However, since the students were really only talking within and amongst themselves, there was not a lot of diversity of knowledge on which to make decisions about the civic needs of the community.

In addition, since action civics projects are explored within the cooperative space of classes, the research that students bring to bear on their projects is not contextualized with the knowledge and emotions of the community. In other words, it is missing a crucial dimension of meaningful interpersonal connection. In a recent study exploring the cognitive processes that civic leaders engage in when planning to take civic action, all of the study's participants explained that they would call together a group of local experts to explore the impact of hypothetical civic scenarios. Interestingly, these civic leaders were able to name the people that they would want to speak with and knew their contact information without needing to look them up online. As one participant explained when speaking about how she would begin taking action against a local company's bid to conduct hydraulic fracturing in her neighborhood, "Look, this is an issue that is going…is going to affect everyone. I mean you have to start talking to everyone to find out what they are thinking" (Participant 1, Lines 155 &156); she went on to explain who she would call to get the conversation started. Importantly, the action civics process does not encourage such conversations and, as such, the projects are not contextualized within the needs and wants of the community.

In order for the participants to have such discussions, though, they had to already be involved in the community, often as a member of an organization, as Participant 2 repeatedly stated. Knowing people by name was an important theme across the data; these civic leaders' action depended on these relationships. Through the action civics process, students might be able to meet community members and cultivate such relationships. However, this practice seems to be secondary to the act of "doing" civics; in none of the three programs in Table 1 does "relationship" appear as a process or goal.

Thus, action civics programs teach students to participate actively in a process for making change in their communities with (maybe?) a hope that they will begin relationships with other civic actors in their communities. This process does not address the larger concern, though, that youth tend to not have deep interpersonal relationships in the community to begin with so they cannot leverage those

relationships to create change as civic leaders tend to do. Much like the scientific method teaches students to enter into the process of science without necessarily engaging them in the spirit of discovery, the action civics process encourages students in a process without the spirit of collaboration and community. The latter can only be accomplished via relationships.

A CALL TO REFRAMING CIVICS EDUCATION

As noted, the intent of this chapter is to call for a reframing of civics education, from a paradigm of "civic process that builds connections" to one that builds "relationships that develop civic processes." The specifics of such a shift must be explored in the individual contexts of classrooms, schools, and systems of education. While it is not my intent (nor is it possible) for me to outline a method for making such a shift, I would like to offer three principles to guide our thinking about the structure and nature of such relationships between the community and students. These principles have emerged from my work with civic leaders as well as with students who have engaged in action civics. The first two are principles of structure, those that can be used in developing "how" such a shift might look. Principle 3 regards the nature of the relationships to be formed, enabling thoughtful, respectful interactions once they are structured.

Principle 1: Interacting with Diverse Groups of People

The homogenizing forces of both community demographics and curricular control have the potential to influence the convenient relationships that might appeal to teachers and students. For example, a class in a region known for mining might find it fitting to meet with local mining officials and less fitting to meet with environmentalists. In another example, it might be more useful for a group of students to meet with local Christian organizers rather than Muslims. Or it might be more appropriate for a class to meet with predominantly white-led groups than with organizations with strong minority constituencies. Of course, the reverse of these situations might be true in other locations and there are many more potential dichotomies that might be created. Thus, for two reasons, it is important for students to meet with and learn about those who might not look like, think like, or act like those in the majority. Indeed, this is a principle directly from Dewey's (1938) work that still applies today.

First, there is often more difference within groups than between groups; this is a statistical fact. By interacting with "diverse others," students have the opportunity to explore both the complexity of their own thoughts and opinions as well as the complexity of the term *diversity*. In this way, the single-story narratives that students might articulate about "the other" can be challenged and new relationships can be explored that value the similarities and differences between both groups.

Second, as discussed earlier, the culture of social media creates epistemic isolation. Today, youth (and many adults) are simply not "friends" with those who share different cultures and beliefs. At the same time, their own cultures and beliefs are distilled into one-hundred-forty character Tweets and ironic memes. Enabling conversations with diverse others allows students to interact with those that they will have to collaborate with at work and in civil society, whether they will develop such relationships as youth or not.

In increasingly polarized political climates (in which, for example, the United States finds itself), it is easy to suggest that there are simply two sides of any issue. Social media provides a platform for such climates and, coupled with culturally and intellectually isolated populations (e.g., race, class, religion, education, etc.), "opposing sides" are divided that much more. Any reframing of civics education must confront this false "either/or" notion and expose the complexity of individual thought and experience. By engaging students in interactions with diverse groups, such stereotypes can be questioned and new relationships formed on common ground rather than on speculation about what "the other" is like.

Principle 2: Building Both Instrumental and Noninstrumental Relationships

Both the prevalence of "mastery learning" (Bloom, 1956), where teaching is valued if students can demonstrate that they have mastered a fact or skill, as well as the trend amongst youth to "use" others for emotional support, knowledge, and services (Ito et al., 2009; Turkle, 2011) produce the conditions by which the relationship formed in this proposed reframing could be instrumental. That is, it is possible for teachers and students to develop relationships with diverse others in the community to answer specific curricular questions and/or to facilitate some action civics goals. To be sure, such instrumental relationships are important; the business sector successfully uses such relationships when they talk about "networking."

However, it is also important for students to develop noninstrumental relationships, those that bring people together around mutual appreciation for similar things as well as through one another's character, lifestyle, perspectives, beauty, etc. I have been calling these meaningful interpersonal connections. These relationships do not have curricular or project-oriented goals attached to them but are important to the experience of being human, which in turn is important to civil society (see Noddings, in this volume). Thus, building students' civic capacities is not only about the work of civics but also about celebrating with, supporting, and being with others in the community. As Pope Francis recently stated, "We know that millions of men and women, even children, are slaves to work. The obsession with economic profit and technical efficiency puts the human rhythms of life at risk" (Pope Francis, 2015). In order to build a healthy society, students need to be a part of a community that is human, not just technically efficient or product-oriented, as education tends to be today (Sahlberg, 2011). At times, even non-instrumental relationships may prove

to be instrumental in some work. However, even when a relationship serves an instrumental purpose, its non-instrumentality should continued to be valued as well.

Principle 3: Dialogic Interactions

It is important to recognize that the purpose of building relationships that develop civic processes is not to provide case examples of others' civic work, as community members might present in a "show and tell" fashion. Rather, as a paradigm of civic education, the relationships formed should be on more equal grounding, where the life experiences and humanity of everyone involved is recognized. This is what I have referred to as meaningful interpersonal connection. In this way, the nature of the relationships should be dialogic in the way that

> Those involved are attentive to one another and exhibit a mutual interest on the basis of their shared humanity and individual personalities; out of a shared sense of trust, respect and openness, they jointly advance to a more comprehensive understanding of themselves, others, and the circumstances they share. (Aloni, 2014, p. 2)

While the community members involved will certainly have a wealth of experience in addition to unique, informed perspectives, so too do youth. In dialogue, all participants can have a voice through deep, mutually enriching interactions that respect difference and seek common ground.

In practice, such framing encourages a shift in the power dynamic that can occur when adults talk with "students" or "youth." Rather than building relationships within a power structure that suggests that the young are "not quite civic actors" or "developing civic actors," dialogic interactions recognize the fully-human nature (Buber, 1971) of youth and enables their engagement as co-civic actors, even if they are still in the process of developing their skills. Such a framing validates their experiences, insights, and ideas along with those of community members, setting a condition where everyone can be heard.

REDISCOVERING ASSOCIATED LIFE

For a century, civic education has had as its ideal a method by which youth develop their civic skills through Dewey's (1916) "educative experiences." As educational systems and institutions are drawn closer to such an approach through service learning, experiential learning, and action civics models, individuals have drifted farther apart from each other psychologically. If Turkle (2011) is correct that "We are psychologically programmed not only to nurture what we love but to love what we nurture" (p. 11), then it is clear that today's global society increasingly loves and nurtures its digital connections and, in turn, its physically, emotionally disconnected experiences. We are simultaneously so close to being able to realize Dewey's vision and yet so far.

In order for youth to develop the civic leadership skills that they need to usher in a better world, they need the opportunity to experience "associational living." They need to know those in their communities, share meaningful dialogue with them, and dream together of a common world, a better world. In order for that to occur, teachers need to reframe civic education, focusing first on building relationships between their students and community members, and allowing those relationships to then define and delimit civic action. In this way, youth can develop their civic capacities in ways that are authentic to the community, to themselves, and to their work, making action civics not just an exercise but a way of life in community.

NOTES

[1] Dewey's (1916) writings are contentious because they ask us to explore the purpose of education. Especially in the United States' educational context today, where standards-based education has become a rallying cry for neo-liberal, positivist education reform (Ravitch, 2014), the ideas of E. D. Hirsch's (1988) "cultural literacy" continue to stymie conversations that relate to a more cosmopolitan view of education.

[2] Throughout this book, a number of authors include stories of youth who have been active citizens in ways that previous generations would not have been able to be. Such civic participation from individuals who are so young demonstrates my point.

[3] *The Finland Phenomenon: Inside the World's Most Surprising School System* (Compton 2011), a video researched by Harvard University's Tony Wagner, presents a powerful story of how Finland has integrated social constructivism into its schools, even though the phrase is never used in the documentary.

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PART 2

GLOBALIZATION, IMMIGRATION, AND THE CHALLENGES OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

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GLOBALIZATION: DEFINING THE TERRAIN

Globalization can be a nebulous term. It often roots itself on a continuum where definitions range from economic partnerships to a focus on human capacity to embracing principles of equity and social justice both locally and globally. While globalization has developed different connotations and nuances across various fields, what remains constant is the importance and potential it carries with it. In our increasingly internationalized world, globalization has the potential to represent the move towards interconnection, collaboration, and intercultural understanding.

Inherent in the process of globalization is the need for sustained and systematic exploration of education that encompasses notions of social justice, international-mindedness, and global awareness, including the construct that global is local. Exploring globalization begins with an examination of global influences in the local domains and extends to connecting those influences to the larger world, developmentally increasing understanding, experiences, and knowledge through engagement. Essential within this framework are considerations of how educators can leverage globalization as a paradigm for learning, thinking, and doing, and, specifically, how this can be done in a thoughtful and meaningful way that is both positive and impactful. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine how humane education can provide a platform for understanding and utilizing globalization within a teaching context. To unpack this idea, this chapter explores the fundamentals of what globalization is, to contextualize globalization within the domain of humane education, and suggest pathways to build capacity of globalization into the teaching context.

GLOBALIZATION: A BRIEF EXPLORATION

Globalization has been defined as a series of processes – economic, political, and cultural, which together "liberalize trade and global flows of capital, labor, information, and culture" (Lipman & Monkman, 2009, p. 525). Rizvi and Engel (2009) focus attention on the ideological foundations inherent to the global spread of policy where the markets dominate the various spheres of everyday life. This emphasis on market forces of globalization has been contested (see Ayers, Quinn, & Stovall, 2009; Sen, 1999), yet, unfortunately, the phrase coined by Friedman (2007) that the "world is flat" has become in some ways an unquestioned cliché that limits our understanding of the visible and invisible problems that exist in a world that is still desperately uneven.

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The purpose of this book is to explore educational leadership for a humane culture in a globalizing reality. Sen (1999) argues that there is no clear way to escape the reality of globalization. With the growth of communication, trade, and markets, there is no stopping the movement of people to engage and be involved in others' lives across borders of various kinds. In the ten years between Sen's work in the book *Development as Freedom* (1999), and the publication of Ayers, Quinn, and Stovall's *Handbook for Social Justice in Education* (2009), there is a growing recognition that certain rights for people and realities of injustice continue to manifest themselves in a globalized reality.

With globalization, there has emerged "the idea of the people of the world being connected and unified in multiple ways" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 529) and what seems to be evident is a list of attributes or dispositions manifested by individuals who have predetermined ease in a globalized world. A primary attribute is the ability to communicate in a common language, with the dominance of English as the language of economic globalization. The evolution of preparing people to live in a globalized world has traversed the spectrum of language preparation to cross-cultural training and currently focuses on intercultural competence (Bennhold-Samaan, 2004). Yet the arguments for the need for intercultural competence also are rooted in ideas of international trade and competition as well as travel and study abroad (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). This focus on living in an economically globalized world hinders the ability to truly transform our educational practices to a more humane and just world. This is evident in our experiences with teachers who participate in a State Department-funded program called Teaching Excellence and Achievement (TEA). In this program, teachers from all over the world come to the US, where they spend six weeks enhancing their pedagogy. One of the most critical debates for teachers from countries as diverse as Cameroon, Poland, India, and Ecuador is the role and place of education. How can educators enhance their teaching while also trying to ensure the focus on learning is not just for their students to be workers in a global marketplace, but for these students to have access to ideas and information that allow them to actively engage in their own agency?

Such questions are echoed by Robertson (2009), who suggests that as national systems of education are being transformed by globalization, there are "significant democratic deficit(s)" (p. 543). These democratic deficits spill over into a need for those involved in international education to ensure that the impact of economic globalization is understood in the context of those who are marginalized by such processes (Kolar, 2012).

If a humane education is to be reached, the forces of globalization need to shift from practices that are modeled on business development, corporate success, and inter-country trade. Globalization must be removed from a singular focus on economic success to return to what Sen (1999) describes as instrumental freedoms, which are concerned with how "different kinds of rights, opportunities, entitlements contribute to the expansion of human freedom" (p. 37). Offering five types of instrumental freedoms – political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities,

transparency guarantees, and protective security – Sen (1999) provides a deeper framework for globalization that goes beyond the focus on rising incomes which so far has lead to continued and deep economic inequalities.

Fostering such a humane education requires confidence to contest traditional and relatively neoconservative models of globalization. Globalization can and must be defined more broadly so that the engagement of people, policies, and practices are designed in a just and peaceful manner. Educators will need to ensure that education focuses on those drivers of globalization that upend injustice, inequity, and oppression. The focus on education to help foster equity might in fact provide new ways to express opportunity for vulnerable and transient populations (Baily, 2012). This means not only teaching skills of empathy, respect, and international-mindedness, but also increasing courage, resiliency, and resistance. Fortunately, as we will see in the next section, there are ways through which globalization can be integrated into the teaching context.

Contextualizing Globalization Within Humane Education: Pathways to Integrate Globalization Into the Teaching Context

Humane education can broadly be defined as both a body of knowledge and a set of tools and strategies for teaching in a just society. Humane education focuses on developing a mindset of thinking rooted in social justice, critical thinking, and global stewardship. Its aim is to not only instill the desire and capacity to live with compassion, integrity, and wisdom, but also to provide the knowledge and tools to take action in meaningful ways so that we can find solutions that work for all (Institute for Humane Education [IHE], n.d.). If we assume globalization is, or has the potential to be, the engagement of people, policies, and practices in the pursuit of justice and equity, globalization lends itself to be comfortably situated within the construct of humane education. Humane education then is a pathway, a framework that allows us to instill notions of social justice, international-mindedness, and global awareness into teaching in thoughtful ways that encourage learners to see globalization as a means to work towards positive and fair interconnection, constructive collaboration, and intercultural understanding.

We suggest that there are several core features pivotal to teaching within and for humane education that can be intrinsically interwoven with the concept of globalization: developing knowledge and understanding of the world through multiple lenses; fostering curiosity, creativity, critical thinking, and courage; instilling responsibility and resilience; and developing strong problem-solving skills that are embedded within a framework of intercultural understanding. What follows is an elaboration of what these four component pieces entail, and a look at how teachers can focus on instilling each through purposeful instruction.

Developing Knowledge and Understanding of the World Through Multiple Lenses

Fundamental to humane education is knowledge; there is an essential need to provide students with opportunities for a substantive focus on knowledge, facts, and realities, but also upon providing students with various lenses through which to view and understand this knowledge.

Strategy in action: developing knowledge and understanding of the world through multiple lenses. There are two important considerations for educators to consider in terms of developing knowledge and understanding through multiple lenses: what are the significant ideas, issues, and concepts that students need to understand, and how can they be examined meaningfully from various perspectives in a way that will allow students to develop a rich understanding of each issue and, equally as important, see the multifaceted ways in which the issue can impact thinking and action? For example, an educator may choose to explore the issue of immigration. It is important for students to develop a deep understanding of what immigration is, how and why it happens, and the impacts it has on society, but it is likewise as important for educators to provide opportunities for students to understand immigration from multiple perspectives: those immigrating, those in the new community, those in the old community, and so forth. Offering various opportunities to examine perspectives, for example, through different readings, interviews, or guest speakers, invites students to develop not only an understanding of immigration from a surface level, but ways in which they can better understand the complexity and impact of the issue from multiple perspectives. So it is not only the concept or the content being explored, it is also the deeper opportunity to understand the concept and content from various lenses, perspectives, or mindsets. In a world steeped in globalization, knowing concepts is only part of the equation. Students must also be able to consider how these concepts impact themselves, their community, their country, and the world.

Fostering the 4 C's: Curiosity, Creativity, Critical Thinking, and Courage

Equally important to humane education is the need to foster curiosity, creativity, critical thinking, and courage so that students have the tools necessary to meet the challenges present in today's world. These four components can be well situated in the context of globalization. Learners are encouraged to be *curious*, not just about the nature of learning, but specifically about the world, peoples, and cultures. They are supported in developing their *creativity* so that their ability to be open-minded and see issues from different perspectives allows for new and innovative approaches to solving problems. *Critical thinking* becomes a paramount focus as it allows learners to critically engage with global problems and develop their capacity to make reasoned, fair decisions based on facts, fairness, and the future. This focus on critical thinking empowers students to "assess the credibility, accuracy and value

of information; to analyze and evaluate information; to make reasoned decisions; and to take purposeful action" (Roberts & Billings, 2012, p. xi). *Courage*, likewise, is equally as important, as humane education necessitates that students develop the fortitude to act rightly to support their convictions even in the face of challenges.

Strategy in action: The 4 C's: curiosity, creativity, critical thinking, and courage. Situating our thinking about humane education within the realities of globalization can create space and opportunity to develop these dispositions in learners. Engaging students in explorations of intercultural education provides a multitude of ways in which to encourage active development of the 4 C's. An educator, for example, might choose to examine issues of energy conservation with students. Looking at this issue from a global context enables students to not only develop their knowledge and understanding of the issue, but it opens avenues for students to foster curiosity, creativity, critical thinking, and courage. Examining how other countries and cultures have responded, or not, to energy conservation allows students to actively inquire into how others approach common global issues, the opportunity to learn about and consider other approaches and perspectives, take into account how various decisions and policies on energy conservation impact the global community in terms of energy access, environmental considerations, or economics, and reflect on what their own actions could and should be to support their learning and beliefs. Such explorations encourage the development of the 4 C's in an authentic way: it enables students' ability to be flexible in their thinking, to consider multiple avenues, to examine their own local realities in comparison to others across the globe, and to understand how their voices and actions can impact the global society.

Instilling Responsibility and Resilience

Another core feature of humane education is to instill a sense of responsibility and resilience to ensure that students have the motivation to confront challenges. These components instill the idea of personal accountability for our actions, an understanding that our actions impact not just ourselves, but also others, and an awareness that setbacks and hurdles are challenges to be faced rather than roadblocks to progress. *Responsibility* calls upon students to be accountable for their actions and consider what their actions mean for all. *Resilience* requires we nurture students to form the skills and mindset to cope with challenges, confront adversity, and demonstrate perseverance to attain their goals.

Strategy in action: responsibility and resilience. Humane education offers a lens to explore global issues while developing responsibility and resilience. For instance, through an online organization such as the Global Issues Network (GIN), http://globalissuesnetwork.org, an educator may ask students to consider how sustainable development can be achieved for all while addressing the problem of global climate change. Such explorations provide students with opportunities

to consider the importance of global ecosystems, how intricately connected they are, and how human actions are impacting them across the globe. This provides a rich opportunity for students to examine a significant issue that has important implications for the global population, while developing understanding of the need to respond to local and global needs, and consider accountability from individual, community, state, and global levels. At the same time, this exploration allows students to examine how they can interact and negotiate with others and move in a positive trajectory to overcome challenges and adversity.

Developing Problem-Solving Skills Rooted in Intercultural Understanding

The final core piece of humane education rests in offering positive choices and tools for problem solving so that students are equipped to resolve challenges. If we are striving toward globalization that supports political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security, developing *positive problem-solving skills* is fundamental. Students need to learn to identify problems, examine possible options, consider the consequences, and act on the plans they develop.

Strategy in action: developing problem-solving skills rooted in intercultural understanding. Educators can address a myriad of global issues, but equally as important as examining these issues is the need to foster students' abilities to think about solutions, consider actions, and create realistic plans that can tackle global challenges. For instance, an educator may choose to examine the issue of ethnic conflict with students. Time and dialogue needs to be invested in considering potential ways to provide solutions to ethnic conflict, how these solutions would impact communities, and the formulation of ways in which solutions could be practically and pragmatically pursued. Moreover, students need to be given agency and voice in thinking through these issues and considering how they could be part of a solution.

USING HUMANE EDUCATION AS A GATEWAY TO GLOBALIZATION

As Sen (1999) reminds us, we are moving into a globalized world, and if we want to ensure that our students are ready to move into this reality both prepared and equipped to meet the challenges of a global world in a meaningful, just, and positive way, it is important that we thoughtfully consider how to teach them and to prepare our teacher educators to engage and support student learning. Humane education presents a framework, or a lens that enables us to move teaching and learning in just, fair, and thoughtful ways – and to leverage the potential of globalization as a positive, constructive, and optimistic reality. It provides students with opportunities to care deeply, to assess critically, and to choose wisely (Weil, 2006, p. 35). And as Suárez-Orozco (2007) reminds us, examinations of the dynamic relationship between globalization and education and its consequences for society at large, like

those found in this book, are critical to fostering "[a]n empathic vision of a more just, equitable, and humane global world" (p. 37).

Building Capacity

"Globalization is a powerful and emergent influence on education that has made its way into educational policies at both state and national levels and is influencing teaching practices and teacher education" (Wang, Lin, Spalding, Odell, & Klecka, 2011, p. 115). What complicates these issues is that defining globalization in terms of teacher education and teacher practice (K-12) is a complex and layered issue. At national levels, governments are engaged in focusing efforts on international education and engagement (US Department of Education, 2012) to "strengthen US education and advance our nation's international priorities" (p. 1).

The focus of the effort in the United States includes setting global competencies for students, participating in international benchmarking, and engaging in education diplomacy. These goals are aligned with globalization from a market and economic framework that encourages US students to become globally competitive for jobs, perform at the highest levels, and be able to communicate and work collaboratively with international peers to address problems of global significance. Other westernized governments also give attention to the need for internationalization and globalization of the teaching force, the content of the curriculum, and the experiences of students in the broader world (Tudball, 2012). In 2015 the Australian Department of Education and Training released their draft strategy for international education for review and feedback. The focus of this effort is to recruit more internationally mobile students to schools and universities in Australia, enhance the economy, and ally closely with the business and education communities.

In the US and Australia there is recognition of the value of the contributions (financial as well as cultural) to the receiving institution and the potential for exchange partnerships. However, in both examples the questions would still remain: Does importing or exporting students as a commodity reflect a humane approach to their education? Are students to be considered as "products," and if so, how does that influence how they are treated and taught? What is the relationship between the arrival of international students and the development of intercultural awareness, communication, or interpersonal skill development on the part of the receiving populations? There are many other examples of governments across the world engaging in globalization initiatives including, but not limited, to the European Union, China, Canada, New Zealand, Singapore, and Malaysia.

In higher education, where most teacher preparation programs reside, notions of globalization and internationalization are widespread, particularly in universities. However, as noted earlier, the definitions of what that specifically means varies tremendously. The programs range from the American Council on Education (www.acenet.edu), with an emphasis on "internationalizing" the campus, to the Andrew Mellon Foundation (https://mellon.org), supporting research on the challenges

facing the world with an interdisciplinary focus, to the Longview Foundation, which most specifically supports the internationalization of teacher education programs in the United States. Interestingly enough, few teacher education programs participate in the IHE initiatives to internationalize a campus and limited researchers engage in teacher education research on issues surrounding globalization in their programs (Merz, 2015). The Longview Foundation (www.longviewfdn.org) has specifically focused on the internationalization of teacher education programs since 2008, based on the report *Teacher Preparation for the Global Age: The Imperative for Change* (2008). Highlighting university programs that have successfully embedded international experiences, intercultural development, and world languages as well as in-country international experiences for teacher candidates is coupled with the attributes of hiring and sustaining a globally oriented faculty. Further, the report also explores the difficulty in preparing teachers for a global world when their teacher education faculty is not particularly global, international, or even fluent in a second language.

While there are increasing attempts to correct the discrepancy between faculty and candidates (Shaklee & Baily, 2012), there are also contradictory forces found in state and local teacher education certification, accreditation policies, and local politics that restrict the influence of the institution on the changes required in teacher education. Furthermore, the overall teaching force in the United States continues to be comprised of teacher candidates who seldom travel abroad, are rarely multilingual, and who have little exposure to models of education from non-western traditions. Even with the potential to connect internationally on university campuses, most teacher education candidates do not choose to participate (Cushner, 2011). This could be due to the increasingly stringent requirements from national and state levels for candidates and the limited availability of programs designed specifically for teacher education candidates.

At the K-12 level the implementation of content related to globalization or internationalization of the curriculum is also misaligned. Unfortunately, state-wide testing policies for public schools have severely restricted curriculum and learning opportunities for students of all ages and therefore the options that teachers can offer. The National Council of Teachers of English (2014) policy research brief notes "Standardized tests narrow the entire curriculum in many schools, often squeezing out subjects such as music, art, foreign languages, and, especially in elementary grades, social studies, because they are not included in tests" (p. 2). This is only one example of many US-based standards that reduce or eliminate teaching and learning around global issues and the global context. Nonetheless, there are schools that continue to work globally through the use of technology, such as e-Pals Global Community, Kidz Connect, or Tiger Eye Global Community (Sprague, 2012). Furthermore, new initiatives in global education are being created by innovative educators such as the Global STEAM Classroom Collaborative that links Virginia 5th-grade students to Costa Rican 5th-grade students and teachers for co-constructed and co-instructed curriculum (www.fcps.edu/CentrevilleES/).

So we are left with barriers from the highest of levels into the K-12 classrooms that inhibit learning about international and globalization. That is not to say that there are not premier examples throughout the world where initiatives have long been developed to assist the faculty and students, and design the curriculum around globalization. The International Baccalaureate founded in 1968 was established in part to "create a better world through education" (www.ibo.org). Focusing on a rigorous, inquiry-based curriculum, K-12 students and teachers are engaged in developing intercultural understanding to cultivate lifelong learners around challenging curricula. The United Nations has long offered global curricula and other learning opportunities to K-12 schools focusing on the current and future areas of crisis around the world. The National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS; www.nais.org) also hosts websites to support the development of global curricula, as do regional and independent school districts. And still, we would go back to the teachers and university faculty who serve as teacher educators: Who is teaching them to be global citizens, where is their preparation derived, what kinds of experiences do they have cross-culturally, internationally, or globally? Are we assuming transfer from teaching students and children to understanding and mindfulness of the teachers themselves? Cushner (2011), with his extensive writings on the topic of teachers education and globally competent teachers, argues that our historic focus on multicultural education and social justice in teacher education preparation has done little to effect change of orientation or disposition of our teachers toward a global world. In most instances it does little more than ripple the waters of a novice teacher's focus, particularly in school districts that require high achievement scores. His argument continues to address globally competent teachers by highlighting the need for the development of intercultural sensitivity and competence, beginning with novice teachers and continuing life-long learning with teachers through the acquisition of understanding, changing perspectives, and finally, genuine cross-cultural collaboration. Cushner's body of work challenges us to take a different pathway to inspire globally competent teachers and points to research that indicates our K-12 students are more interculturally proficient than their teachers are worldwide.

We began this chapter calling for the importance of decoupling the definition of globalization as one that is based in a neoliberal economic structure. The more that term aligns with that philosophy, the less we can use it to frame it around the more positive notions of social justice and equity. What we do find is that there is much to be done. Children and students cannot wait for the teaching force to catch up but we can combine our efforts and address issues of policy, accreditation, teacher education, and other demands on the field that are creating less than humane environments and teaching situations for our children and our teachers. We can raise our voices to address the over-testing of children and conserve space in the curriculum for the elements discussed here. We can argue for teaching and learning in our schools that is centered on inquiry and problem solving that generates awareness and respect for the challenges that we face worldwide. We can work with accreditation to insure

that these values of humane education and the development of human capacity are central, not an additive afterthought to the school day. And we can insist on teacher education programs that promote intercultural understanding and development, that foster cross-cultural collaboration, and that focus on world language acquisition. After all, if our teachers are not prepared as humane educators knowledgeable about the world and its issues, how can they possibly prepare our citizens of the future?

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WHOSE DREAMS?

Debates on Immigration in the Museum, Mosque, and Classroom

> We must recognize that difference is a reason for celebration and growth, rather than a reason for destruction.
> – Audre Lorde

> I think that every student should have the experience of going to a mosque like I did…I am lucky I had a chance to take this class. I have learned many new things I can carry for the rest of my life… It has taught me to be more open-minded.
> – R. M., Wagner College student, 2013

INTRODUCTION

Animus toward refuge seekers and unauthorized migrants as well as Islamophobia have propelled anti-immigrant forces, political parties, and candidates into unprecedented prominence in recent years in Western Europe, the United States, and other high immigrant-receiving countries. This intolerance has contributed to the rise of right-wing parties in France, the Netherlands, Hungary, Austria, and other countries, and has impacted the Brexit vote and the US presidential elections of 2016.

In the face of contemporary global trends of mass migration, civic and democratic engagement that challenges views of immigrants as "strangers" must be a priority of twenty-first century education. Young adults will inevitably encounter multicultural workplaces and other spaces of cultural diversity. As educators, we have an obligation to ensure that today's high school and college students are prepared to function in these settings. The UNESCO 2013 report on intercultural competences insists on the necessity of such skills in twenty-first century education. Learning how to navigate a diverse world is a critical skill that students should acquire. This is not only an economic but also a political and ethical imperative. Amidst a rhetoric of hatred, we must empower our students to develop respect for all individuals and to be more than bystanders.

In this chapter, we describe a series of pedagogical models for how to accomplish this by teaching our students skills that enable them to cross boundaries of difference. In doing so, we focus on a specific interdisciplinary course that is designed to promote intercultural dialogue through autobiography, public policy analysis, comparative immigration history, media analysis, and face-to-face encounters with

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those of different cultures. We team-teach this course; one of us is a historian and the other a political scientist.

Given our location in New York City – the great immigrant city! – we have the significant advantage of being proximate to a real world "lab" for our work. Being able to interact with new immigrants inside and outside the classroom, beyond what our students have read about in texts, promotes greater mutual understanding, respect, and communication. As shown in their reflections, these experiences have indeed empowered them to question media and cultural stereotypes, most notably regarding Muslims, unauthorized migrants, and other minorities.

We recommend that teachers in other communities around the world explore and study with students of all ages (kindergarten through college) their own ethnic neighborhoods, cultural centers, and religious sites as well as immigration history and policy. Alternating between discussions of individual life stories and the historical, legal, and political context, we argue, generates empathy within a well-informed framework needed for intercultural understanding. When site visits are difficult to arrange, inviting a speaker into the classroom, assigning students to do interviews with those of immigrant backgrounds, or listening to the struggles of foreign-born persons using digital media, is also effective. Engaging community members in a dialogue at a cultural festival, museum, or mosque can also be a first step toward linking reflection on local communities to global politics. This combination of action and reflection enables middle and high school or college students – and even the youngest children – to understand that diversity and global connections have deep roots and need not be feared.

PART I: DECONSTRUCTING RACIAL AND OTHER KINDS OF STEREOTYPES

Many, but by no means all, of our students come from racially and/or culturally homogenous communities, neighborhoods, and high schools, where they have rarely had any meaningful opportunities to interact with people who are considerably different from themselves. Consequently, they often have little or no familiarity with people from marginalized and/or vulnerable populations, such as those constituting communities of color, unauthorized migrants, or members of fringe/minority religions, disabled persons, and so on. Nor do most of our students at Wagner College have much real-life experience with individuals whose identities "intersect" (Crenshaw, 1991) with more than one of these categories of identification.

We routinely see that several of our students have assumptions about members of unfamiliar social groups that are premised on a mental mapping of an unfamiliar and strange Other. Imagery reinforced by popular culture, media stereotypes, and public discourse adds further complexity to the situation. Media stereotypes offer the Other, as Edward Said (1979) puts it in his canonical work on Orientalism, as "a living tableau of queerness" (p. 103).

Critical theorists like Nancy Fraser (1995) and Iris Marion Young (1990) call this kind of "misrecognition" a form of oppression and injustice. Some of this oppression

takes place in the realm of cultural imperialism, particularly in the form of media representations that routinely perpetuate dehumanizing imageries. Indeed, there is a vast scholarship that critiques the media's representation of black and brown bodies that help to sustain popular but misleading images of dependence, docility/ferocity, feminization/emasculation, and a presumed inferiority of an "orientalized" and inferiorized Other (see, for example, Miyao, 1998; Nowell-Smith, 1998; Palumbo-Liu, 1995; Pines, 1996; Shaheen, 2003; Shohat, 1991; Smith, 1997). As we teach about immigration, our efforts in this team-taught course are in part targeted toward debunking some of these misleading and stereotypical ideas of marginalized groups.

However, we must be careful. The somewhat problematic history of western audiences' encounters with the Other gives us pause. Encounters with the Other do not invariably lead to greater intercultural interaction. Instead, they can just as easily become reduced to an exercise in passive observation resembling a zoological excursion. While we want to provide our students with opportunities to meet with and interact with members of marginalized and minority groups, we are sensitive to the fact that one reaction for our students might be simply to retreat into passive observation. Therefore, throughout the semester, when we organize field trips and class visits by members of our community, we encourage our students to engage in substantive interaction with the people they meet. So, for example, during a mosque trip, our students engage in an extended Q&A session with members of the Staten Island Muslim-American community and share a meal with them. Similarly, during a Durga Puja (Hindu festival) trip, the students have an interactive session with Hindu-Americans who are in attendance at this religious event and we all eat together. In addition, we also encourage active reflection in class on the dialogues that they undertook with the members of the community during the field trips and class visits.

We also relate this examination of immigrant experiences to the larger ideology of democratic inclusion, captured by the term "American Dream" – a phrase crafted in the context of the Great Depression. Over three centuries, millions of immigrants have sought assimilation into the larger American social fabric, attracted by the promise of the American Dream. We take our students on a journey of the various tropes of this ideology and examine – together with them – its successes and its limits. We take seriously the adage: *Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose* (The more things change, the more they stay the same).

For educators outside the US, what we describe in terms of the American Dream can be translated as any immigrant's dreams for a better life for themselves and their families. What does it mean? And how does it relate to the risks immigrants take when they cross a border anywhere in the world? This technique illuminates repetitive patterns of discrimination as well as acculturation experienced by different religious or ethnic groups in different contexts. The idea is to bring this perspective into the present, examining contemporary debates on race relations, diversity, and immigration in light of historical experiences.

A comparative approach to teaching values related to multiculturalism and immigrant integration in a host country is often a useful heuristic. Richard Alba and Nancy Foner (2015) use exactly such an approach in their recent book, *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*. The assertion in the title of the book itself opens up room for discussion. "Since the presence of these groups extends back decades, we think it makes no sense any longer to refer to them as strangers, though they may still be outsiders in their societies," they suggest (Alba & Foner, 2016, p. 2361). The study compares immigrant integration experiences in six countries: United States, Canada, Britain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Significantly, they begin with a historical foundation, analyzing successive waves of immigration to each nation. We recommend a similar approach in teaching, along with reflection on notions of immigrants as outsiders and strangers, or not, in comparison with ourselves.

As we have suggested earlier, in a rapidly changing world, students must be trained to become more open-minded rather than passive and bewildered by those they may see as strangers. We now turn to a discussion of our specific pedagogical strategies to accomplish this transformation.

PART II: IN THE CLASSROOM: HISTORY AND POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION

Although they rarely see themselves as immigrants, most of our students come from families that have experienced geographic and/or sociocultural mobility. An autobiographical narrative that focuses on the student's family history is our first assignment. The task at hand is for the students to research the question of the origins of their own families and make connections to both the trends they have read about among similar immigrant groups and to the ideology of the American Dream. They focus on the evolution of their family's cultural heritage and language skills as well as social and educational mobility.

In order to find out details about their family's origins, we encourage our students to rely primarily on oral traditions such as talking to parents or grandparents. These inquiries often produce in them a better understanding of the motives for their ancestors' immigration and gives them a sense of intergenerational transformations. A direct quote from an interview with a family member is encouraged. Students may ask their parents, whether native-born or recent immigrants, how they define their American Dream. Their dreams may be of financial security, upward mobility and opportunity, or of freedom. Whatever they are, they appear not to be too different from the dreams of contemporary migrants.

During this exercise, our students also have an opportunity to link their own family history to the historical waves of migration to North America, whether Dutch, Chinese, Irish, Italian, Russian, Mexican, Pakistani, or Nigerian, from its origins to the present. They discuss contributions of immigrant workers in building railroads and skyscrapers, and in fighting world wars, as well as discrimination through the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the 1924 Johnson-Reed (National Origins Quota)

Act. They consider tragedies such as the 1911 Triangle Factory Fire (where 146 young immigrant women died, primarily Italian and Jewish) and the response of labor and political leaders. Students develop a basic vocabulary to write about migration in terms of push and pull factors, that is, economic or political motives for emigration, as well as issues of assimilation (language, education, skills acquisition, intermarriage) and overcoming prejudice.

Youth of all ages would benefit from writing this autobiography, with younger children perhaps accomplishing it through a short question-answer with their parents. One of us has also implemented this program for fourth graders at P. S. 57 in Park Hill, a local Title I school near the college in 2005-6. In New York City, fourth graders study local history, which incorporates immigration issues and African-American history. The youth interviewed their parents and shared their heritage and immigration journeys with the class and in an assembly with parents.

In his 1931 book, *The Epic of America*, James Truslow Adams offered this definition of an American dream "beyond motor cars and high wages":

> That dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement… regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position... (Adams, 1931, p. 214)

We ask our students to consider the tension between this promise of equal opportunity and the evolving historical reality of rising inequality. How does this vision connect to their own families and to immigrants today? We look at ways income and racial inequality continue to haunt the attainment of success (Putnam, 2013; Warde, 2014). The resonance of the American Dream has been felt even more strongly since the 1960s. Its most well-known and eloquent interpretation was Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech on the eve of the 1964 Civil Rights Law. King's rhetoric emphasized the ideals of political inclusion and social and racial justice that lay out of reach for many Americans despite the era of post-WWII abundance. It is also significant that the Civil Rights Movement in the US helped usher in the quiet passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act – a statute that ended national quotas for immigrants and now allows, approximately, one million legal immigrants to enter the US each year – a majority of whom are of Asian and Latino origin.

To explore the evolution of attitudes toward Latino and Asian immigration, we screen films or clips of films such as *West Side Story* (1961) and *Twelve Angry Men* (1957). In addition, we assign our students H. M. Naqvi's novel *Home Boy*, which tells the story of three Muslim South Asian friends in New York in the aftermath of September 11. It opens with the provocative line: "We'd become Japs, Jews, niggers. We weren't before" (Naqvi, 2009, p. 1). Naqvi powerfully raises questions of assimilation and racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice.

To stimulate critical thinking skills and debate, we also assign readings on immigration policy from across the ideological spectrum. Among these texts are Cyril Ghosh's *The Politics of the American Dream* (2013) and Samuel Huntington's

"The Hispanic Challenge" (2004). We ask students to consider Huntington's contention that America is "the product of the distinct Anglo-Protestant culture of the founding settlers" shaped by "dissenting Protestant values of individualism" (p. 30). They then compare that to Ghosh's presentation of the evolution of our nation's creed and commitments. We discuss a question Ghosh raises:

> But what kind of nation is an immigrant nation? If there are no blood ties to fall back on, no antiquity to share, and with a plethora of subcultures residing within the nation's borders, exactly how are Americans supposed to imagine themselves as a national community? (Ghosh, 2013, p. 12)

Ghosh documents the powerful, bipartisan unifying force of American Dream rhetoric in the US. He shows that it has been quoted over 230 times in major speeches by Republican and Democratic leaders from 1965-2010, compared to only 12 times in the first six decades of the twentieth century. In other words, one response to Huntington is to show how the quest for social mobility and opportunity, which affects those across the political spectrum and in every nation, binds citizens together as they actively reshape the national creed.

Etzioni (2007) demonstrates how often Latino, Asian, and other immigrants bring with them strong family and religious values, and a solid work ethic, despite media imagery to the contrary. In addition, students also read Noah Pickus and Peter Skerry's chapter in the same volume, *Debating Immigration* (2007), which seeks to shift the paradigm in the "legal-illegal" debate. The authors recommend going beyond the discourse on illegality, political status, documentation, or vertical integration, and instead ask the reader to focus on good citizenship and stronger neighborhoods or the horizontal integration of migrants. Shorter excerpts or alternate readings (e.g., op-ed pieces) could also be used, but we strongly recommend capturing both sides of the debate, including even extreme perspectives.

The second assignment is an analytical argument essay on a topic related to contemporary immigration that is open to interpretation and disagreement. In this, students are expected to draw from the various perspectives offered in the course materials, as well as do their own research on the subject to argue their position while supporting it through empirical evidence. In addition, they have to address at least one strong counterargument to their position. This training in argument-building enables students to value the questioning of unexamined opinions on sensitive questions, including their own.

Our final assignment in the course is a research paper that directly addresses the impact of the media on our attitudes toward race/ethnicity and diversity. Entitled: "American Dreams on the Screen," this paper pushes students to critically reflect on two films in terms of leadership on social justice issues, immigration, and the American Dream. They are asked to analyze issues of diversity along multiple axes such as class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, immigration status, etc. Issues of assimilation and conflicts linked to diversity are discussed, for example, through films such as *Crash* (2004), *The Namesake* (2006), and others, as mentioned.

PART III: BEYOND THE CLASSROOM: EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

One of the best ways to involve students in the immigration debate is to allow them to visualize the impact of immigrants on their local community. This can involve inviting speakers to campus to share their immigration history and capturing oral histories on video. We strongly recommend moving off campus into the community, to businesses and markets, religious or cultural sites, museums, monuments, immigrant enclaves, and other local resources that reflect the immigration experience. Educators outside of New York City and the United States may consider walking tours of ethnic enclaves or sites significant in the history of immigration to or from their hometown. Although teachers must arrange logistics of each visit, the rewards of these experiences are immense. Further, students can also visit these sites virtually, using internet tools, as we have done in other classes to visit slave trading posts in Ghana or Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

Place-based or place-conscious education, argue David A. Gruenewald and Gregory A. Smith, can create "acts of resistance to the ravages of globalization and rootlessness" (2008, p. xvii). As a component of what is sometimes called the "new localism," civic education utilizes unique local resources to promote learning as part of community life. New localism can refer to partnership of education, government, and not-for-profits at the local level that strengthens local communities. As Ken Estey (2014) writes of teaching about religious diversity in Brooklyn:

> Reconnection is the core of place-based education. This reengagement counters the emphasis on individualism, enhances the possibilities for solidarity and collective action, attunes students to diversity (within and between places), and fosters an ethic of collective well-being, wholeness, and life. (p. 126)

Hence, as part of the institutional commitment of Wagner College to community-based partnerships, our classes have visited Hindu religious festivals (Durga Puja and Diwali), Chinatown, a community center serving undocumented immigrants, a mosque and Muslim religious events, as well as museums centered on immigration history.

Wagner College is situated in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty, an iconic representation of immigration. It is located within reach of Ellis Island, another path to engage the immigrant journey of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, we recommend even more highly the walking tour of the Lower East Side, a gateway to America, and nearby Chinatown. Among the most famous immigrant neighborhoods in the US, these two areas were home to many European and Asian immigrants in the nineteenth century. Even today, half of the residents speak a language other than English at home (Russell-Ciardi, 2006, p. 72). Chinatown offers an opportunity for exploration of a neighborhood where food markets, restaurants, language, and music are often unfamiliar. Although rapidly gentrifying, this area still boasts authentic Chinese restaurants that immerse students in a unique aspect of American culture. Whether eating dim sum at large tables in a busy indoor setting or

sitting in the park among elderly Chinese doing Tai Chi exercise, the neighborhood is a reminder for our students of the diversity in their own backyard.

Two nearby museums facilitate dialogue with students on how immigrants have contributed and continue to contribute to their nation. The Lower East Side Tenement Museum offers many opportunities to relive the immigrant experience. Themed visits at the Tenement Museum include exploring garment industry sweatshops, public assistance during the Depression, and tavern businesses. We prefer the highly interactive living history tour, where the students take on the role of an immigrant family arriving to the Lower East Side in 1916. They engage with a costumed interpreter playing the role of 14-year-old Victoria Confino, a Sephardic Jew from the Greek Isles. The students are instructed to ask questions about education, lodging conditions, her father's and brother's work in the nearby factory, shopping, newspapers, or leisure time, and anything related to her family's adjustment to America. The excellent Museum of the Chinese in the Americas showcases powerful exhibits on discrimination, violence, and the resilience and contributions of the Chinese-American community. These museums cater to students of all ages.

Museum educators consciously draw parallels between immigrants who arrived in different waves. They point out a contradiction:

> In the United States, there is a great deal of nostalgia for previous generations of immigrants and, among many communities, a great deal of hostility towards recent immigrants. The museum hoped to challenge the assumption that there is something significantly different about today's immigrants. (Russell-Ciardi, 2006, p. 73)

While standing in the small tenement apartments that housed early twentieth-century immigrants, students become eyewitnesses to the challenges that face new immigrants today, such as organizing sleeping and work arrangements and lack of ventilation. The museum promotes an ethic of debate on contemporary issues such as affordable housing and immigration reform, and taking action, stimulated by historical reflection.

The most transformative experience of the course is the visit to a local mosque, a first-time experience for nearly all our students. There are eight mosques on Staten Island, differentiated primarily by the ethnic origins of their board members, and two are a short drive from Wagner College. We may visit the Albanian Islamic Cultural Center, one of the largest mosques in New York and also home to an Islamic school and a photo exhibit of Albanian Muslims who rescued Jews in the Holocaust. We often choose to visit the Masjid al-Noor mosque, located just behind the college. Their board members are of Pakistani origin, but there are also many native-born and émigré Africans who attend the mosque regularly. Our students learn important lessons about the Pakistani-American immigration experience during this trip. Students listen as community members speak about their upbringing and education in Pakistan, push-pull factors for coming to the US, and family life and politics in New York before 9/11, as well as tensions and discrimination post–9/11. This also

complements their reading of Naqvi's *Home Boy*. Students connect to the speakers first as individuals, but also as businesspersons and doctors, parents and community leaders. We then discuss basic information about Islam as a religion and finally enjoy a traditional South Asian meal.

After the visit, whether in class discussion or particularly in written reflection, students express strong emotions. Many confess to feeling scared before the visit about what they will encounter in the mosque, but these students also report leaving the mosque more open-minded. Their language expresses the power face-to-face contact has to transform prejudices, fight media representations, and inspire social justice. In a thank-you note to one of the organizers, a student from New Jersey wrote:

> This trip was one of the highlights of my first semester. It was an eye-opening experience for me. I have been a Catholic my whole life and never realized how similar our religions are…more than ever I am ready to fight the unjust racism in America…This visit is one I will never forget, both as a student and as a human. (M. S., 2014)

A senior History major, a football player, wrote:

> Before this class…Muslim-Americans, I did not like them one bit…The media always portrays all Muslims as bad people so I have always had a skewed vision of them. Taking this trip really just opened my mind not to be so quick to judge people of a certain religion. (T. M., 2013)

Yet another student wrote:

> This class was a real game-changer on how I see life. (E. L., 2013)

We encourage the speakers to offer a multi-generational perspective. For example, during one trip at the local mosque, when a Pakistani-American speaker shared that his son was a first-year football player at college, the bond with our class (that included 13 football players) was palpable, and any feelings of religious *difference* these students might have had appeared to fade away, at least for the time being. Another speaker explained to us how his daughter, while visiting Pakistan, once stopped on the street to pick up an American flag that was lying on the ground – a testament to her identity as an American.

Each of these stories helps our students to see the reality and indeed "normalcy" of diversity within our community and enables the generation of empathy. One speaker, a Ghanaian-American, shared how differently his three children approached their education, careers, and cultural identity. In that family, where there were cases of intermarriage between Ghanaians, Nigerians, and Italian-Americans, students could see varying levels of assimilation. Another speaker was the first Hispanic judge from Staten Island, who spoke of cultural issues involved in raising his son with his Italian-American wife. Interestingly, there are often similar examples of struggle or

achievement within our students' own autobiographies. These are worth sharing to better understand assimilation, identity, global history, and policy more generally.

During a visit to a Hindu Festival in Queens, New York, for Durga Puja, students were able to not only observe a traditional ceremony but also to speak to second-generation Hindu-American college students. These young Americans of South Asian descent explained to our students that they only dressed in traditional South Asian clothes for cultural events and religious festivals, but that their normal attire was no different from what our students were themselves wearing. They also answered questions about career choices, parental pressures to do well in life, to be upwardly mobile, and to assimilate without "losing" their South Asian identity. They also discussed, as young people often do, their experiences in dating both within the Hindu-American community and outside of it – a discussion that seemed to really resonate with our students. One student observed:

> During this field trip, I had many "first-time" experiences. Venturing into Queens, visiting a ceremonial Indian festival, eating Indian food, and learning about Durga Puja and Hinduism...I had a better understanding of the religion of Hinduism and how it is more a "way of life."…My best friend in middle school was Hindu but until now I knew nothing about her actual religion and religious practices. (M. S., 2013)

One conversation during our Durga Puja trip was particularly fascinating. An Indian-American speaker explained to us that his daughter, who was born in the US and grew up here, preferred to identify as American and not as Indian or as Indian-American (particularly when abroad), a fact that apparently provoked outrage from other community members. One of our students wrote of this encounter: "I could relate to the angry man in that she did not think of herself as Indian, but at the same time, I am also like the girl, because I often times did not consider myself as Japanese-Filipino" (M. C., 2013).

Holocaust survivors living in New York City, as well as survivors of civil wars and genocide in nations such as Liberia and Sri Lanka, also make powerful speakers in any immigration or history class, for all grade levels. Jews of German origin who escaped Nazism in the 1930s often faced considerable hurdles to securing a visa to the US. Their experiences highlight some of the unintended consequences of immigration policy and raise questions about how prejudice and discrimination shaped immigration law in earlier periods. The role of the US government in processing immigrants can thus be engaged in a class like ours too. In addition, like other refugees, Holocaust survivors often traveled through many nations before reaching the US, living several years in Sweden, Israel, Cuba, or the Dominican Republic. The mobility of immigrants and refugees offers valuable lessons in how migration has shaped the twenty-first century world and reshaped our own communities.

Through visits to Port Richmond, Staten Island, a community transformed by undocumented immigrants, we challenge students to think not only about

immigration as a vertical process linked to politics and legal status, but also as a horizontal process that impacts neighborhoods (as discussed in Pickus & Skerry, 2007). In a walking tour of the neighborhood, we emphasize how much each generation of immigrants contributed to the economic vitality of the area, while facing challenges and prejudice. For example, in the 1840s, the arrival of Irish laborers, who built the first Catholic Church on the outskirts of the area, triggered the rise of the anti-immigrant Know Nothing Party, headed by the local Police Chief in Port Richmond. Norwegians were drawn by the dynamic shipbuilding industry in the 1880s. Russian Jews, Greeks, and Italians brought their skills to the garment and shoemaking trade, and many set up stores and movie theaters along Port Richmond Avenue, earning the name: "Times Square of Staten Island." In the 1930s, this area was identified as a "League of Nations" by a local librarian. In the 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement also made an impact on the neighborhood as libraries and schools adopted Black Studies programs, local leaders emerged, and acts of discrimination by local businesses were challenged.

Today, Port Richmond is a neighborhood populated by descendants of European immigrants, African-Americans, and Hispanics. Undocumented immigrants make up over half the population. While they have made many contributions to the neighborhood, revitalizing it with new shops and small businesses, for example, they also consistently face discrimination. Several student responses questioned stereotypes of immigrants:

> Last Friday's trip to El Centro del Immigrante in Port Richmond changed my views on undocumented immigrants, specifically "day laborers." Prior to experiencing El Centro, I only knew limited facts about undocumented immigrants…I learned that many day laborers don't get paid after completing work…and that undocumented immigrants were out in the community volunteering after Superstorm Sandy devastated most of the Staten Island Coast. It was touching to hear that these non-citizens cared about their community…[In the readings we saw that] many Americans feel undocumented immigrants are worthless to America. My time at El Centro outlined just how much dedication and hard work undocumented immigrants put into the community and nation. (T. R., 2013)

> Being that I am from a place in Michigan that is not diverse, I am not exposed to diversity. Going to Port Richmond was an eye-opener for me…During the walk through Port Richmond…I noticed everything specific individuals have contributed to our country, which in return makes America a better place…[It reminded] me of Etzioni's piece "Hispanic and Asian immigrants will save America." (T. J. S., 2013)

Through encounters such as the ones we have illustrated here, our students come to interrogate the idea of immigrants as *strangers*. They learn not only about their religions, languages, or businesses but also about their daily lives, successes, and accomplishments, and about the humanity we all share.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The value of experiential learning to enhance the classroom experience has been proven to us through teaching many college classes and outreach with students in K-12. In arranging reflection, debates, assignments, dialogues, and visits outside our own cultural terrain, we model for our students the ways in which, as Audre Lorde[1] says, "difference is a reason for celebration and growth, not destruction" (as cited in Hall, 2004, p. 86).

In being able to interact with the new immigrants inside and outside the classroom, beyond what they have read about in texts, our students acquire greater mutual understanding, respect, and intercultural communication skills. As students learn from community members or from visits to sites, they see immigrants as leaders, as citizens, as ordinary folk just going about their lives. Stereotypes unravel. In effect, our students have a chance to apply theory to practice. They begin to see both themselves and others as civic actors in the democratic and collaborative process of strengthening America. They develop the courage, open-mindedness, and leadership skills to go beyond being bystanders and to become engaged human beings in a dynamic twenty-first century world.

NOTE

1 The Afro-Caribbean writer Audre Lorde described herself as a "black feminist lesbian poet warrior mother" (Hall, 2004, p. 143).

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PEDAGOGIES OF EMPIRE

Rethinking National and Global Citizenship Through Imperial Histories

> The civilization of the twentieth century cannot be universal except by being a dynamic synthesis of all the cultural values of all civilizations. It will be monstrous unless it is seasoned with the salt of *Négritude*, for it will be without the savor of humanity.
> – Léopold Sédar Senghor (1961)

INTRODUCTION: EXPERIENCES FROM THE PAST AS LESSONS OF HUMANISM

The biggest issues that challenge our global contemporary world are religious and ethnic tensions, the changing nature of global governance, political crises, social injustice, economic inequality, environmental issues, poverty, and hunger, among others. Globalization and global governance are hindered by multiculturalism. For example, the acknowledged failure of multiculturalism to achieve true tolerance and integration has created politicized forms of Islam, which in turn pose an obstacle to global security. Clearly, mapping out globalization's issues and obstacles remains a less arduous undertaking than proposing remedies for such challenges.

Rather than dwell on such obstacles, the present study focuses narrowly on one remedy, a more manageable task. This remedy, education, is drawn from the history of people who overcame colonial domination and themselves were faced with the challenges brought by this early form of globalization (i.e., colonialism). Based on our discussion of the past, we ask how education today might help the ills of globalization and inspire liberty, equality, fraternity, tolerance, and development. How might experiences from the history of empire in the area of education aid us today when we consider how best to tackle globalization's biggest challenges? Also, how might historians create a methodology for the study of empire that puts at its center those who witnessed the past as actors and who became historical subjects and objects?

This chapter offers such a pedagogical approach to teaching the history of empire from a global perspective. First, we present key global experiences that have bound together different cultural areas. Second, we discuss transcending notions of "colonialism" and "imperialism" through a methodology of "connected histories." We propose adopting Léopold Sédar Senghor's conception of "universalism" and "cultural *brassage*" (mixing). This second point requires bearing in mind that global history must be considered, first and foremost, as a history of contacts, of encounters,

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of acculturations, and of "*metissage"* (intersecting and fluid cultural spaces). Third, having challenged and rejected the notion of world history as a universal or compared history, we advocate for a greater global consciousness in education. With the goal of using the methodology based on connected histories, for the study of empire, this chapter examines the experiences of three historical figures in sequence: Mansa Musa (1312-1337), emperor of the medieval West African Mali Empire, Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001), and Nelson Mandela (1918-2013).

Coeval with the Arabo-Islamic expansion from the Arabian Peninsula to West Africa was the efflorescence of three major empires: Ghana, Mali, and Songhay. The story of Mansa Musa, the emperor of the Mali empire from 1312 to 1337, showcases how in this period of encounter between West Africans and Muslim empires, powerful West Africans used Islam as a diplomatic language to bolster their trade and educational systems. Mansa Musa seemed to view the Arab's presence, not as colonial subjugation, but as an opportunity for cultural contact between peoples, societies, and civilizations.

The second historical figure, Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001), was not only president of post-colonial Senegal from 1960 to 1981, he is also Africa's most famous poet. A cofounder of the Negritude cultural movement, he is recognized as one of the most significant figures in African literature. His election to the French Academy in 1983 marked yet another milestone in the fifty-year career of the poet and former president of the Republic of Senegal. He became the first African and the only black intellectual among the forty life members of the 349-year-old Academy. Widely respected in France as an association of the most distinguished intellectuals, the Academy monitors the growth of the French language by compiling a dictionary of acceptable new words and usage. Senghor's admission to this august body of writers and scholars represented more than the personal triumph of a single poet. It signaled the now irrefutable fact that the vitality of the French language was no longer the responsibility of Europeans alone but also of those who shape a living language wherever it is spoken and written, including parts of the Caribbean, Canada, Africa, and the Orient (Dixon, 1990, p. 1).

Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) was the first Black president of post-colonial and post-Apartheid South Africa. He was born on July 18, 1918. And as he himself put it: "The year of my birth marked the end of the Great War; the outbreak of an influenza epidemic that killed millions throughout the world; and the visit of a delegation of the African National Congress to the Versailles peace conference to voice the grievances of the African people of South Africa" (Mandela, 1995, p. x). Just as Nelson Mandela grew to understand the value of peace and the inhumanity of apartheid, he also realized what so many people failed to comprehend: that the oppressor is also a prisoner of prejudice and narrow-mindedness, and that the same chains bound all South Africans, no matter their skin color (Mandela, 1995). A historical analysis of the lives and philosophies of these three figures reveals the potential of education to solve the challenges that arise during moments of globalization, in particular. Their words, deeds, and struggles were shaped by a similar vision: that education can

provide individuals with the power to improve their lives and change the world. And, as Mandela stated, education is the most powerful weapon for changing the world.

The colonizers' original mission to universalize their own cultures and worldviews through colonial education was adopted and transformed by colonized peoples with unintended effects. Among them were intercultural contact and dialogue, a more tolerant universalism founded in freedom and economic development. Commenting on the role of his British education in Singapore's economic success, Lee Kuan Yew remarked that, like him, one could profitably be both internationally educated and yet deeply rooted in one's culture (Reuters, 2015). The founding prime minister of Singapore, Yew not only guided the tiny Asian nation to independence but also encouraged the construction of one of the best education systems in the world. Léopold Sédar Senghor believed that education was a platform for cultural dialogue between nations, ultimately leading to cultural *brassage* or intermingling and universalism as the future of humanity. For him, even though education was a tool of domination used by the colonizers, it also taught his people to assimilate to others' cultures and civilizations without being assimilated. These individuals' trajectories illustrate how, even within a system of domination that in effect imposed a kind of globalization, education emerged as a powerful tool for them to shape their own cultural, economic, and political agendas.

EDUCATION: A MEANS FOR CULTURAL "BRASSAGE" AND PAN-HUMANISM

In the light of these different experiences, built from histories of empire, this chapter also analyzes how these historical figures interpreted universalism and cultural *brassage*. These terms gained significance from their own experiences, not with what they saw as colonialism, but from contact between "different cultural areas." Their introspection and analysis of their own history and experiences enable historians to rewrite the history of empire as an *encounter*, which could be better studied and taught through the lens of "connected histories." The "pan-humanism" that is exhibited by their biographies is linked to a larger "planetarization" phenomenon, involving a decisive change of scale dating back to the African Middle Ages, and observable in domains as diverse as civilizations, cultures, forms of government and economic exploitation, social and religious organizations, philosophy, urbanism, literature, etc. As such, both Arab and European expansion and their encounter with West Africa could be viewed through the lens of education.

Both Mansa Musa during the fourteenth century and Senghor during the twentieth century, experienced education as a bridge and a language that connected West Africa to a culture and civilization of the universal, presenting them with a tool to build pan-humanism. Their vision and opening up go beyond the binary view of empire versus colony, advanced and civilized societies versus stagnant and primitive societies, or dominant versus dominated. Mansa Musa and Senghor, in turn, were animated by a political and intellectual vision of opening up. Their encounter with Arabs and Europeans was in fact thought of as shared experiences between several intertwined

and different cultural areas: “the mixed, mingled worlds” (Serge Gruzinski, 2001, pp. 85-117). Senghor’s conciliatory effort in relation to European penetration in West Africa wasn’t a unique experience. Lee Kuan Yew (1923-2015), first prime minister of post-colonial Singapore, and Nelson Mandela, first Black president of post-colonial and post-Apartheid South Africa, also are showcase studies. Like Senghor, whose vision of civilization of the universal is built on a give-and-take made in cultural *brassage*, Nelson Mandela saw in empire a site from which one could build a “rainbow nation” for South Africa. Thus, for all these historical figures a global humanist education became the means to achieve their ultimate goal.

This methodological approach, from a global perspective, using connected histories and cross-cultural encounters, takes into account the complex, multifaceted colonial interactions, including the cultural incomprehension and violence that might derive from these encounters. As Mamadou Diouf (1998, p. 672) notes, “colonial violence has always been considered capable of imposing the figures of its domination and hybrid nature by developing its knowledge of classification and its arrogance, which is rooted in the superiority of its civilizing mission.”

On another note, it is interesting to examine the cultural reconstruction of former colonies from a linguistic vitality perspective. For example, Salikoko Mufwene examines colonization and its impact upon indigenous languages. Mufwene states that language change reflects both the relocation of populations to new places and the domination of indigenous peoples by newcomers. He argues that:

> One cannot make sense of globalization without connecting it to colonization and articulating the different ways in which the latter proceed. Languages are affected because colonization and sometimes globalization entail the following: population movements; the spread of the migrants’ languages and the ensuing contacts of the latter with those of the indigenous, dominated populations. (Mufwene & Vigouroux, 2008, pp. 1-2)

Mufwene likewise remarks that it is even debatable “whether the colonial European languages that now function as official languages in Africa are threats to the continent’s indigenous vernaculars” (p. 1-2).

HISTORY OF EMPIRE: CONNECTED HISTORIES AND GLOBAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Historians start approaching pedagogies of empires from the perspective of shared experiences in a global context, within which different cultural areas came into contact and shared experiences. And the histories of empires in different parts of the world over the past 500 years have been effectively compared by historians in order to reveal their shared attributes. These historians have stated that imperialism and colonialism were all-encompassing experiences. They were not just political or economic; they also influenced social organization and cultural formation. As introduced earlier, the experiences of colonial subjects were integrated with those of people in the metropolis, creating a linked totality of empire. Indeed, both the

writing and the teaching of empires' histories cannot efficiently provide information from the past if scholars do not consider them from within a global approach using "connected histories." Only then can one build a pedagogy of empire within which colonial relations take shape on the basis of such dynamics as subjects' decision-making, accommodation, assimilation, acculturation, national and global citizenship, multiculturalism, cultural and identity creation, etc. As such, and most importantly, this pedagogy of empire must be purged of racist and condescending ideologies, which were, in effect, the ideological bedrock of empires' hegemony and a global history based on comparative history.

Mansa Musa: Diplomacy, Trade, and Education (1312-1337)

How did Mansa Musa, 1280-1337, react to the encounter between his empire of Mali (eleventh to fourteenth centuries) and the Islamic Arab Empire's expansion from the Arabian Peninsula toward the Maghreb and West Africa? Mansa Musa was the emperor of medieval Mali in West Africa from 1312 to 1337. He opened up his empire to Arab Muslims and their global economy, which then spanned the Middle East, North Africa, the Mediterranean, and Central Asia. Despite obvious Arab imperializing efforts toward West Africa, Mansa Musa adhered completely to these Arab incursions by transcending, like Senghor, and outgrowing the prescriptive colonial subjugation, along with the anticipated philosophy and sense of contact between peoples, societies, and civilizations. Mansa Musa's opening up to an early Arab globalizing expansion placed the West African empire at the center of the Arabs' international trading network, and goods, skills, and knowledge flowed over and through his followers' kingdoms. Yet, under his leadership, or that of his predecessors and followers, the history of the Sahara Desert, which was a bridge rather than a barrier between the Mediterranean region, Middle East, Maghreb (i.e., North Africa), and the Sudan, became vital for the understanding of economic, religious, and political development in West Africa. Among these fluxes, education was especially important.

The empire's new position as economic foothold supported a developing education system and high literacy rates. During the fourteenth century, *madrassas* (universities and schools) were developed and young Malian students were sent to further their education in the Middle East and in North Africa, particularly in the fields of science, theology, geography, medicine, cartography, architecture, philosophy, and jurisprudence. Jurists and intellectuals from the Middle East and North Africa were invited to the Mali Empire to participate in developing their educational systems, and Islam served as a diplomatic, inter-cultural dialogue, economic, and educational language among these peoples. Local West African languages were written into Arabic scripts, producing a new form of literature called Ajami. Alongside these educational developments, West Africa's domestic economy began to thrive as it partook of a global economy bridging the Mediterranean regions, the Middle East, North Africa, and the South of Europe.

Léopold Sédar Senghor: Theory of a Pan-humanism

The second historical figure, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was born in 1906 under French colonial rule of present-day Senegal. Cofounder of the Negritude cultural movement and African nationalism in the 1940s, he became the first president of post-colonial Senegal from 1960 to 1981. Politician and poet, he is recognized as one of the most significant figures in African literature. As a controversial figure, and often portrayed by his peers as being far too conciliatory vis-à-vis France and its civilizing mission, Senghor's acceptance of a culture of universalism still reveals an intellectual accommodation deeply rooted in his Africanity. Problematizing his vision of the civilization of the universal and philosophy on pan-humanism raises a few questions. First of all, which historical phenomena had united the world at the beginning of the modern period? How did such phenomena lead people around the globe, from diverse geographical origins and, despite their dispersal, to imagine for the first time the existence of events taking place on a worldwide scale? Historians have consistently brought forward answers and written many theses arguing that such phenomena were, for instance, the propagation of bacteria and disease epidemics from Eurasia or the development of precious metals from the Americas after its discovery and conquest (Subrahmanyam, 2001, p. 52).

Along with these valid examples of worldwide historical events, another one, the Renaissance, with its political, cultural, social, and economic characteristics, also had global repercussions. It took place in Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The Renaissance was chosen as a focal exemplar by Senghor; he described it as a great historical event, a revolution, and a conqueror. For him, the Renaissance was personified as a conqueror, but one which exported not only merchants and soldiers; with professors, physicians, engineers, administrators, and missionaries, it also exported ideas and techniques. It not only destroyed, it built; it not only killed, it cured and educated; it gave birth to a new world, an entire world of our brothers, men of other races and continents. The Renaissance is known as a cultural, political, and social surge as well as a dominant economic ideology, which desacralized the world and opened it fully to the European's feverish quest. So, why was the Renaissance chosen by Senghor as the founding principle of empires and driving force of European imperial ambitions, and yet also an upsurge of consciousness of the world? Senghor foresaw globalization in the civilization of the universal as collective consciousness drawn from the Renaissance.

His choice of a Renaissance – also symbolizing conquest – derives from "common sense" and "*raison, cette chose la plus partagée*" (reason, the most shared thing). For him, transcending colonization to achieve pan-humanism as global consciousness, guided by common sense and reason, signifies taking from the conqueror Renaissance its humanistic principles. This is because, according to Senghor, the Renaissance itself, which stemmed from a social surge, was stimulated and achieved by the confrontation of revolutionary ideas and techniques. It is Revolution, and any revolution worthy of the name is, however, an upsurge of

consciousness, consciousness of oneself and of others – consciousness of the world, like the earlier great revolutions of Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism – and, like the subsequent French Revolution and capitalism, which were mingled within it, the Renaissance was a conqueror (Senghor, 1964, p. 81). Senghor's intellectual view on European expansion with its feverish quest for a Eurocentric and universal history is very provocative. However, it offers a theoretical framework that is far more interesting than a comparative history. His call for a civilization of the universal addresses the question of acculturation and helps to better make sense of a historical methodology of connected histories involving processes that belong to multiple worlds simultaneously.

As such, Senghor's thoughts, as an actor and a subject of colonial history, have crossed the intellectual path of some contemporary historians such as Sanjay Subrahmanyam (2001) and Serge Gruzinski (2001). These historians, and particularly Sanjay Subrahmanyam, see the history of empires from the angle of connected histories. This implies that histories which are multiple and plural and minuscule are in no way anodyne; all of them are linked with one another and communicate between themselves. (Gruzinski, 2001, p. 87.) Senghor's call for a civilization of the universal seeks to promote the opening up of all civilizations and cultures.

In that same spirit, Fernand Braudel, in his classic book *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1995), stood up against the deformations imposed by nationalist and comparative histories. Looking profoundly at both works, their approach intimated breaking away from the notion of the "Nation-State." Because of the Eurocentric escalation in the writing of the history of empire and global history, in particular through the lens of nationalist histories emphasizing the "Nation-State," both intellectuals praised a "planetary opening of the history of civilizations and cultures" (Gruzinski, 2001, p. 88). Thus, West Africa represented to Senghor a place in which different civilizations, cultures, forms of government, and economic exploitation – as well as different social and religious organizations – have spread, intersected, and interacted with what the Mediterranean was to Braudel. It was a planetary place of interaction between Islam from the Middle East and North Africa, between Christianity, Westernization, and African cultures and religions, between African sites of negotiation and diplomatic spaces, where Islam and Christianity became diplomatic languages.

Both Braudel's and Senghor's approaches to Arab and European expansions are applicable to our contemporary world and to our vision of globalization, in the sense that globalization represents an ineluctably changing and modifying process in our thought framework and approaches to revisiting the past. We are daily confronted with many circulations of all sorts between and from different parts of the world. And thus, we are bound to think about questions of contacts, encounters, and intermingling between peoples, societies, and civilizations.

Senghor saw in the early forms of globalization not only a connection of multiple histories, but also acculturation and pan-humanism that led to a civilization of the universal. The origins of worldwide revolutionary events such as the Renaissance,

political millenarian movements, or Islamization are not important for Senghor. What really matters was how these events led to a pan-humanism by connecting multiple histories (transcending a universal history), and creating a consciousness of the world. An effective humanism must be open; it obviously excludes not only nationalism and "Pan-ism" but complies with the one "Pan-ism" that meets twentieth-century requirements – a humanism that includes all men on the dual basis of their contribution and their comprehension.

In that task, historians should make a salutary effort of reflection and construction that transcends comparative, nationalist, universal, and colonial history in favor of connected histories: that is, an historical processing of the world which includes and integrates the psychoanalysis of resentment experienced by those directly affected by the three-dimensional connection of histories. Through this lens, colonization would appear, at first glance, as a general fact of history. As such, it would be better for historians to transcend such a restrictive and comparative concept, with its prescriptive "mission to civilize" in favor of connected histories or "mixed worlds" best suited to the idea that races, peoples, nations, and civilizations have always been in contact, and therefore, in conflict (Senghor, 1964, p. 81). To be sure, connected histories from the Senghorian perspective, be they in the history of empire-building, conquest, or rivalries, reveal that Europe did not lose out from the Roman conquest, nor did India from the Aryan conquest, nor did the Middle East and North Africa from the Arab conquest. For Senghor, the Negro African is not finished for having been under European colonial domination and instead must now craft from it an independent nation, which should help to build the civilization of the universal. This must be partly achieved by education as a component of improving humanism (Conklin, 1997, p. 76).

The importance of a humanist education as a means to build a civilization of the universal, as expressed by both Léopold Sédar Senghor and Nelson Mandela, along with their conciliatory attitude toward the European educational system being used primarily as a means of domination, is very interesting to explore. And, it must be understood from a perspective that takes into account what Africans picked up from it in casting their own history and identity within the empire. Both of them maintained their own traditions and yet recast the history of their societies in parallel and in relation to the history of the empires. Bantu, British, and Afrikaners in South Africa, and French, Wolof, and Serer in West Africa shared the same civilizational aspirations for the future of humanity, at least through their attitude of imposing access to education, or of refusing any access to it, limiting access to it, or simply absorbing it. But with Senghor's vision of pan-humanism, or Nelson Mandela's aspirations for a rainbow nation in South Africa, and likewise Mansa Musa in Medieval Mali: all three had some commonalities in seeing the potential of retrofitting the education used as a means of domination, into a means of forging a civilization of the universal.

Many historians, some notable American academics in particular, have criticized the principles of schooling brought to Africa, especially under French colonial rule.

They understand the French educational system as an incarnation of the civilizing mission, characterized by a racist attitude. It was seen as destined only to massively produce Black French boys in a white mask and black skin (Fanon, 1994). American historians have analyzed the extent to which the French civilization discourse, in education policy, had a republican dimension. For example, an objective for the French administration in West Africa was to make education available to all Africans (Conklin, 1997, p. 76). As such, its main objectives would consist of forging French Republican "*sujets*" (subjects) according to the French Civilizing Mission, which ultimately, however, was viewed as racist in the eyes of these historians.

This measure can be understood purely from Senghor's perspective and in the larger context of French educational policy in the *metropole* under the Third Republic. In other words, one of the French Third Republic's priorities, after its consolidation in the late 1870s, was the introduction of universal, free, compulsory, lay instruction in France at the primary school level. The idea – inherited from the First Republic – was to create a more democratic and egalitarian society in which talent would help determine careers. It reflected the new regime's determination to mold a loyal, patriotic, and enlightened citizenry (Conklin, 1997, p. 76). These principles of the Republic are part of what Senghor identified in the principles of the Renaissance, with its critical thinking and allowing for education as a path toward pan-humanism. As such, they help in dissecting Senghor and his Senegalese predecessors' conciliatory attitude toward French Republican principles. In particular, education enacted by "*sens de la raison"* and "reason as the most shared thing" in Senghor's philosophy and that of those who conceived the French Third Republic's principles, was the equivalent of "*de l'instruction naît la grandeur des nations*" ("instruction gives birth to the grandeur of nations"), a phrase often attributed to Jules Ferry (1832-1893), French statesman and promoter of laicism and colonial expansion.

Nelson Mandela: Theory of Freedom and Peace Through Education

Like Senghor, Nelson Mandela was also an icon who, through his trials and tribulations, always considered education the main solution to what he perceived as globalization's biggest challenge – namely, achieving tolerance. With the goal of ending South Africa's Afrikaner regime and its racist oppression, Mandela chose to make the first step in his fighting Apartheid to be the struggle against the Bantu Act or Education Act of 1955, which banned Black people from British schools and Western education. For Mandela, education represented the path to freedom. He believed the South African rainbow nation of which he dreamed, joining Indians, Zulus, Xhosas, Swazis, Jews, Christians, and Muslims, in cultural, racial, religious, and gender tolerance and civil equality, would only come on the heels of the struggle for equal educational opportunity. He, too, believed that when access to education is denied to people, it leaves them unable to build their own history as part of the civilization of the universal. Further, the most frequent reason for denial of education was to weaken and exclude individuals from their basic human, civic, and universal

rights. In particular, during the demonstration against the Bantu Education Act on April 1, 1955, Nelson (1994) stated that:

> The campaign should be judged on two levels: whether the immediate objective was achieved, and whether it politicized more people and drew them into the struggle. On the first level, the campaign clearly failed. We did not close down African schools throughout the country, neither did we rid ourselves of the Bantu Education Act. In the end we had no option but to choose between the lesser of two evils, and agree to a diminished education. But the consequences of Bantu Education came back to haunt the government in exclusive unforeseen ways. For it was Bantu Education that produced in the 1970s the angriest, most rebellious generation of black youth the country had ever seen. When these children of Bantu Education entered their late teens and early twenties, they rose with a vehemence. (p. 60)

In the light of such a statement, Nelson Mandela's struggle against British education is relevant to Senghor's civilization of the universal. He saw beyond the simple history of empire and its imperial domination to view access to British schooling as an access to new cultures and civilization.

His fight for Black South Africans to have access to British education was motivated by the same exclusion from the educational systems African-Americans endured and continue to endure in the United States. W. E. B. Du Bois, who foresaw the abuses fought against by Mandela in South Africa – namely, exclusion of Black people from access to citizenship and to their basic civic rights – considered education the best path for Afro-Americans to "get beyond the Veil" and be better able to struggle for their citizenship and basic human rights (Du Bois, 1965, p. 50). Senghor's full acceptance of education as a component of the Renaissance toward the path of civilization of the universal and pan-humanism makes better sense in W. E. B. Du Bois' language. Du Bois believed that education can better communities and peoples whatever their color, and help them to keep their social privileges or to cope with social injustice and exclusion. Du Bois' vision of the Veil (Rabaka, 2015, p. 15) astutely affords his "Gentle Readers" the opportunity to transgress obstinate white blindness to blackness, and to actually see blacks and their history, culture, and struggle with new eyes – perhaps, from vantage points of Pan-Africanism, what would come to be called "Negritude," and radical humanism (p. 21). As such, Du Bois' statement makes Senghor's call for civilization of the universal more distinct than Alice Conklin's reductive view of schooling under French colonial rule, in particular, when she confined French Republican principles to solely forging the French Republican *sujet* (Conklin, 1997).

Mansa Musa, W. E. B. Du Bois, Senghor, Mandela, Lee Kuan Yew, and many others, such as Haile Selassie in Ethiopia, used education as a tool to bind their societies to a civilization of the universal. Education served as a means to foster not only liberty and independence but also social justice. This quest to use education as a path to open up minds and promote pan-humanism and the civilization of

the universal, and our own quest to improve globalization via a global humanist education, contrasts with the current exclusionary and segregationist educational system deeply rooted in the United States; such a situation did not allow minorities to have access to education or be part of the civilization of the universal. Ironically, and despite American scholars' criticisms, as noted previously, of French Republican principles, by making school compulsory, education spread through West Africa and freed the continent. And whatever the prescriptive objective of domination and power relations behind schooling under colonial rule, it ended up equipping Africans and enabling them to recover their liberty and independence and to implement social justice. From this perspective, one can better dissect Senghor's or Mandela's transcending conciliatory attitude to power relations in their quest for a better world.

CONCLUSION

Our approach to the history of empire draws upon a perspective of global history using a methodology of connected histories. It allows a study of different experiences that bind together different cultural areas either from a perspective of empire building rivalries or under the domination of a ruling empire over far-flung and overseas territories. In addition, transcending notions such as colonialism and imperialism in favor of Senghor's concept of universalism and cultural *brassage* is best perceptible through the methodology of "connected histories." This approach functions only by defining global history as first and foremost a history of contacts, of encounters, of acculturation and *metissage*. The study of the phenomenon of acculturation-involved processes belonging to several worlds at the same time. In the case of West Africa, Senegal, or the Medieval Mali Empire, the analysis of images, education, or *metissage* raises awareness of configurations that combine, in often complex ways, features from the Middle East, North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Europe, and elsewhere. All these worlds came together on fronts where they were not expected. And, far from the dualistic or binary visions of Western versus Others, Spanish versus Indians, French versus Africans, Arabs versus Bilad al-sudan, or the Winners versus the Defeated, and systematic analyses seeking out the otherness (alterity), sources reveal to us a mixed landscape.

As such, education, whether imposed by a colonial regime or sought out under free circumstances, has long been the medium for the global exchange of cultures, languages, technologies, science, medicine, goods, knowledge, freedom, economic development, and skills. These three historical figures, iconic anti-colonialists, have demonstrated the power of education to meet the challenges that globalization portends, in all its various iterations. Whether they struggled for freedom, religious tolerance, inter-cultural dialogue and global economic prosperity, or democracy, education remained at the core of their strategies.

Today's global issues are of a multifaceted character and resolving them means re-positioning both women and men to face the changing nature of global governance, global security, and the political economy, social injustice, and social inequality,

but also poverty, and hunger. Education represents for us both a product of and a solution to globalization's ills; it is undoubtedly our best weapon for fighting crises and making the world we live in a better one. Senegal, in effect, represents a unique case in West Africa, having never experienced military coups, having had timely and fair elections, and having avoided most ethnic and religious tensions between communities.

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TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Teaching Film Production and Media Literacy in Ethiopia and the United States

This chapter presents a critical reflection upon an ongoing teaching experiment that began in 2012. The experiment has been a collaboration between Wagner College in the United States and Sandscribe Communications in Ethiopia, initiated by me, a professor of English at Wagner, and by Dhaba Wayessa, an immigrant from Ethiopia who works as a journalist for Voice of America in Washington DC and who is also the founder of Sandscribe. Wagner College is a private liberal arts college in New York with an undergraduate student population of roughly 2,000 undergraduate students and 500 graduate students; Sandscribe Communications is a private organization based in Addis Ababa that runs workshops on filmmaking as well as film and media analysis, and provides a space for young, aspiring filmmakers and media professionals to engage in constructive dialogue about their profession. When Sandscribe was created, not a single one of Ethiopia's universities had an accredited degree program in filmmaking or film studies. At the same time, Wagner College was just beginning to plan its own degree program in filmmaking and film studies, which officially launched in 2015. Hence, Wagner and Sandscribe were both motivated to develop new opportunities for their students to study film in an international context, but both also lacked financial and institutional resources for large-scale international programs. Whatever high-minded, cosmopolitan ideals of international exchange may have guided our efforts, they were limited by conditions of scarcity, and therefore we had to pursue a very pragmatic, low-cost, and exploratory arrangement. What enabled the program to move forward were transnational networks that linked various individuals and organizations, each with their own agenda, ideological orientation, organizational structures, and obligations to different groups of people.

THE PURPOSE

The purpose of this essay is to map these transnational networks, to explore the ways in which productive linkages were made, and to critically reflect on both our successes and failures. At times, my narration of this experiment will be somewhat personal and idiosyncratic, but my hope is to illuminate possible pathways for any educator interested in fostering meaningful international dialogue between two

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countries whose cultures, economies, and governments are extremely different and whose political relationship to each other is asymmetrical in terms of military and economic power. In other words, it is precisely the idiosyncratic and unexpected forms of social connection that lead us to practical forms of productive innovation and transnational education. Reflecting on our own experience, we also engage critically with the scholarly research on a variety of methodological frameworks for the problem of globalization and practical approaches to the challenges of international higher education.

Such scholarship includes a diverse range of conflicting viewpoints. Individuals such as Carlos Alberto Torres (2009) as well as a collection of essays edited by Jaishree Odin and Peter Manicas (2004) critique the systemic inequality and the hegemony of Western Europe and the United States that international education reproduces. They argue against those such as Tim Mazzarol and Geoffrey Norman Soutar (2001) who promote strategies for academic institutions to successfully compete in a global marketplace and whose strategies problematically subsume the practice of education to the values of marketability. Situated somewhere between these two poles, scholars such as Joel Spring (2015), Christine Ennew and David Greenway (2012), Thomas Popkewitz (2008), Jane Knight (2004), and Nelly Stromquist (2002) theorize ways of addressing the disparities of global capitalism and the problematics of international education by emphasizing partnerships with grassroots organizations and indigenous communities in order to enact socially just and equitable programs that are positively transformative in the context of an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world.

Our essay is a positive mapping of our innovative approaches to social connectivity rather than a normative understanding of the ethics of international education within an increasingly integrated global economy dominated by multinational corporations and transnational financial markets. Although Wagner and Sandscribe and the organizations with whom we networked shared some goals, our agendas were never fully commensurate, and there was no normative framework in place guiding our efforts. Our pedagogical project has been a ground-up experiment rather than a top-down program, and often the implementation of the classes and workshops did not go as planned, but the results have been profound.

For my own self-assessment in order to develop and improve the course, I conducted informal surveys of both American and Ethiopian students as well as one-on-one interviews. Some of the successes in Ethiopia have been published on the Sandscribe Foundation's blog, and some of the successes at Wagner appeared in the student newspaper. To quickly give an overview of the highlights, one student from the class in Ethiopia is now producing one of the first Oromo-language television dramas in Ethiopia. This is especially significant, as I will explain later, because the Oromo ethnic group has been historically marginalized in Ethiopia. Other students have gone on to make short films that connect to their local communities and rural populations and that are significantly different from the mainstream Ethiopian film culture that tends to be elite, urban, and ethnically homogenous. One of these short

films, entitled *Qanafaa*, dramatizes the ways in which the indigenous culture of the Oromo value women's rights.[1] The Sandscribe students made this film shortly after taking a class on African cinema in which one of the units asked them to analyze the feminism of two classic movies by Ousmane Sembene of Senegal. Not all the students were interested in production. Others are finding their role as critics, entrepreneurs, and scholars of their nascent industry. An Ethiopian journalist who took the classes has organized a conversation group to continue discussing the theoretical debates about globalization and media. An executive for a film production and advertising company finished translating a textbook on film into Amharic (the national language) while participating in the workshop.

In informal interviews conducted with both American and Ethiopian students a year later, these individuals said the classes allowed them to watch and discuss for the first time the movies and concepts that they had previously only read about in textbooks published by American companies. For the first time in their lives, both American and Ethiopian students studied African cinema from Senegal, Mali, Nigeria, Kenya, and other countries. Such African movies are surprisingly harder to gain access to in Ethiopia than they are in the United States and Europe. They also had access to the reactions of people across the globe who could share in the pleasure of thinking critically about the same films and ideas. The question of access, whether to the films themselves or to critical reflection about them, has been our primary question, and for us the question of access has been a more fundamental question than the content of our class.

Our educational program is meant to change the conditions of access to forms of culture and education for students in both countries. Both American and Ethiopian students reported that the transnational arrangement of the courses gave them access to ideas and an appreciation for other peoples that they had never even imagined possible before. They also reported that the experience radically transformed the way they understood their relationship to the world and the way they understood the movie industry. They developed a critical eye for watching movies. American students reported that they began to watch American movies differently, putting themselves in the position of their Ethiopia peers, and working through a process some theorists of culture call "self-othering" whereby individuals question their own perspective and their assumptions about what is and is not normal (Diawara, 2010, p. 151). Moreover, while American students gained confidence in their ability to appreciate the sophistication and diversity of the peoples living in Ethiopia, the students in Ethiopia gained confidence in their ability to represent their own cultures to an international audience. Importantly, this inspired and motivated them to make movies with a critical sense of the forms of international distribution and consumption that might produce multiple readings of their artistic work.

MAPPING THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

The context for this pedagogical experiment is complex. In the past decade, Ethiopia's movie industry has exploded from producing an average of two or three feature-length movies per year in 2005 to producing over 100 per year in 2015 as a consequence of rapid economic growth that occurred simultaneously with new digital technologies that lowered the cost of production. During this time, Ethiopia did not have a single film school anywhere in the country, until the fall of 2014 when a master's degree program was established at Addis Ababa University. At the present moment, an undergraduate program still does not exist. Before the master's program started, the only film programs in Ethiopia were part-time, eight-month technical training programs at private for-profit schools of videography and photography that focus primarily on how to operate equipment. Some activity is also sponsored by the Russian, German, French, and Italian embassies but mostly for the purpose of promoting their own national cultures. The Ethiopian Film Corporation, created by the government in the 1970s to make movies, is no longer functional. Currently, the Government Communication Affairs Office and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism both oversee the television and film activity, including the national television station EBC (formerly ETV). In the past, filmmakers and audiences in Ethiopia complained that the national television was boring and low-quality propaganda, and they complained that most of the new "video films" (using the cheaper, new digital technologies) made for popular consumption in movie theaters were formulaic romance plots that imitate American and Indian movies about elite, urban culture rather than develop a truly national consciousness that reflects the diverse, rural population. But things have changed in recent years, and the quality and variety has improved.

There is also a politics to this situation. Rural populations have little access to cinema culture but increasingly watch foreign content via satellite. Moreover, the media is dominated by the Amhara and Tigray ethnic groups that together make up only 36% of the country's population at the expense of other ethnic groups such as the Oromo (32%), Somali (6%), Gurage (4%), Sidamo (3%), and 80 other groups (15%). Religious diversity is also complex, including various Christian, Muslim, and indigenous practices (Orthodox Christianity 61%, Islam 33%, Protestant 10%, indigenous 5%, and other 1%.). Before the revolution in 1991, the minority ethnic groups were prohibited from publishing in their own language (Holcomb & Ibssa, 1990, p. 289). Since the division of the country into a federal system of ethnic states in 1992, ethnic groups are now able to teach and publish in their own language. This is why, as I mentioned earlier, it is very significant that one of Sandscribe's students produced the first Oromo-language television drama in the country. The current government of Ethiopia is committed to protecting the cultural integrity of all ethnic and religious groups and therefore prohibits any media that would disparage any ethnic or religious identity. However, the politically dominant Tigray and Amharic ethnic groups that have been supported for the past century by European and

American interests maintain their hegemony in the national culture. Many consider "ethnic federalism" to be an inadequate, temporary compromise in which ethnic and religious differences continue to fester while rapid economic growth and "land grabs" by foreign corporations displace hundreds of thousands of people. Lacking film education and access to opportunities for international exchange, and at the same time fearful of making movies that directly address ethnic and religious tensions, filmmakers struggle to develop a film industry that would foster a humane and environmentally conscious culture that is as inquisitive, creative, and critical as it is tolerant.

Meanwhile, in the United States, most people remain totally ignorant of Ethiopia, mainly influenced by stereotypes of starving Africans they see on Hollywood-produced television comedies and dramas. Popular television shows such as *South Park* and blockbuster movies such as *Blood Diamond* and *Captain Phillips* reproduce not only racist stereotypes of Africa as a place of violence, disease, cultural backwardness, and poverty, but also reproduce what the Nigerian-American novelist Teju Cole (2012) has dubbed the "white-savior industrial complex." The white-savior figure, played by superstar actors such as Leonard DiCaprio and Tom Hanks, always arrives just in time to save innocent victims from evil and corrupt African warlords and politicians whose political circumstances and complexity are a mere shadow in the background of the movie and never examined. African characters in most Hollywood movies scarcely speak, so the movies never provide them opportunity to explain their situation. Although Ethiopians may take pride in the skill of African actors in Hollywood movies, they also find movies such as *Captain Phillips* offensive, ignorant, and unwatchable. In addition to such stereotypes on film, most Americans – and also Europeans, Indians, Chinese, Saudis, and Israelis – have little awareness of their own country's activity in Africa that may include exploitative mining operations, industrial-scale farming, and military interventions that actually undermine local democratic culture.

To address this dynamic and promising, as well as challenging, context, we began to theorize a way that small liberal arts colleges in the United States could draw upon a rhizomatic network to organize workshops in film and media in Ethiopia that would at the same time connect American students to the students in Ethiopia so as to foster an international sensibility, mutual respect, and a collaborative approach to the educational process. The question and challenge was how to do this in a way that would address the disparity in wealth and opportunity between the United States and Ethiopia. Our approach was informed by our respective backgrounds. I have published scholarly work on transnational approaches to culture and literary history that critically engages with the problematic and uneven development of a global economy and that understands the process of globalization in terms of its long history, beginning in the ninth century. Dhaba Wayessa was the first individual to produce a stage play in the Oromo language for Ethiopia's National Theater in 1992, but he had to leave the country in 1994 in fear of political retaliation against him. Acquiring his master's degree in film from Howard University in Washington DC,

he is now the Oromo-language journalist for Voice of America radio. Between 2012 and 2015, we organized a series of workshops in Ethiopia that included practical workshops on screenwriting and filmmaking as well as humanistic workshops on the topics of "Movies, Media, and Global Citizenship" and "African Cinema." The humanistic workshops linked Wagner students and Ethiopian students through various Internet technologies such as telecommunications software (e.g., Skype) and an online course management system (e.g., Moodle).

Our workshop model is in some ways informed by Paolo Freire's famous *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which theorizes a way for communities to produce the sorts of knowledge that empower and liberate themselves, in contrast to traditional models of education whereby students passively receive official knowledge (2000). In order to make these workshops happen, the process was not a direct institution-to-institution relationship. Rather, operating in a context of scarcity, since no film school yet existed in Ethiopia and since liberal arts colleges in the United States are by nature small, such direct partnership was not yet feasible. Since the university system in Ethiopia is run by the state and is top-down, our approach to education was bottom-up and focused on populations somewhat marginalized from the state apparatus. Since the majority of activity in the film and media world was dominated by the Amhara and Tigray ethnic groups, we aimed to create a space for the historically marginalized ethnic groups and foster dialogue among them.

Moreover, we consciously wanted to avoid a paternalistic relationship in which America was positioned as the donor and Ethiopia the recipient of aid, and instead wanted to foster an equal partnership where both American and Ethiopia students and faculty could exchange knowledge and learn from each other. In other words, we did not want to follow the approach of larger institutions that simply reproduce an American school or institution in the client country, but rather we wanted to begin a dialogue that would enable Ethiopian-based organizations to create their own program. Hence, our approach made use of a network of institutions and individuals, including several grassroots NGOs, private companies, churches, private colleges that are Ethiopian owned and operated, and film professionals and academics based in the United States. Such educational programs are being conducted with scarcely any funding and support except the free use of classroom space and Internet. Some of the funding is being done out-of-pocket by the various individuals involved. Most of the Ethiopian students are professionals with college degrees who can impart considerable knowledge to the younger American students. Since they are professionals, for them the activities follow a collaborative workshop model where they are responsible for much of their own education, so they participate in such workshops free of charge.

MAPPING THE EDUCATIONAL NETWORKS

With such context, principles, and methodological approach in mind, I will now map out our progress through various organizations and narrate from the beginning

what worked and what did not. The process did not begin very intentionally and did not follow any ideological goals or ethically normative pedagogical framework. Rather, it began more basically through networks of affiliation and by my simply showing up to events. My relationship with the Oromo community in the United States began through activity that had nothing to do with Ethiopia – rather, other activity such as antiwar protests and academic conferences. After making friends with Oromo people in Washington DC (which has a large Ethiopian community), my first academic position was in central Minnesota, which has one of the largest Oromo and Somali immigrant populations outside of their home countries.

One month after I moved to Minnesota in 2007, I made the first step towards this larger process, a rather simple step that any teacher or scholar could make: I attended an Oromo Studies Association (OSA) conference. Like most immigrant communities, the Oromo organize themselves, and their conferences are a hybrid mixture of academic, political, and social activity involving community elders, university professors, religious leaders, musicians, and even children. Also like many immigrant communities in which many of the immigrants are political refugees, the tone of the conference is highly politicized. At this event, I was one of three individuals who were not Oromo. What I have narrated thus far may seem trivial and mundane, but one might recall Woody Allen's famous remark that "80% of success is showing up."

The other 20% is listening. Obviously, in such a situation, it would not be useful for me to pontificate about any philosophical principles that may be orienting our cross-cultural interaction. I was an outsider, and listening to their presentations and arguments, what struck me most is how little I knew about their situation and also the ways in which Americans in general are blind to the history of others. I bought all the books written by the Oromo intellectuals who were at that conference, such as Mekuria Bulcha, Ezekiel Gebissa, Mohammed Hassen, Asafa Jalata, and Asmerom Legesse,[2] and I read them during my vacations. Recognizing that the stakes of their scholarship were highly politicized, I also took care to read scholarship from other points of view. Given my own expertise in literary and cultural studies, I began to imagine what I could contribute that they would find useful, so the following year I gave my own presentation at an OSA conference, not about the Oromo culture or about general principles, but about America's blindness to Oromo culture, and how new Oromo art might communicate something valuable to an American audience. Only after demonstrating that I had carefully read the work of my audience did they begin to invite me into their community. One example of Oromo art that I discussed was Dhaba Wayessa's short film *The Fallen Beats*. On the day I gave my presentation, I had never met Dhaba before, and Dhaba would not have seen my presentation if it were not for the fact that some of the people at the conference knew I was going to talk about his film and pulled him into the room. After my presentation, he introduced himself and shared his visions, and we began to collaborate on various small projects, such as a translation of his new script.

We also began to think about others with whom we could work. My own institution where I taught provided an annual allowance of $1,750 for research and conferences, so in 2010 I used that allowance to travel to Ethiopia, where I gave a presentation of my research at Addis Ababa University and also met various other organizations there. Dhaba introduced me to the Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF). GTF was begun by two sisters, Aster and Lensa Gudina, whose father had been an important Lutheran theologian. In the 1970s he theorized a very unique position for the protestant church in Ethiopia. He rejected the idea of "dependence," in which the church in Ethiopia would be dependent on European churches, but he also rejected the idea of "independence" as counter to the ethos of universal human brotherhood that the church espoused, so he argued for "interdependence" as the true relationship and helped found the Mekane Yesus Seminary. This is significant since at that time the only university in Ethiopia was the one created by the monarch, Haile Selassie, and the Orthodox Ethiopian church dominated most intellectual activity.

A few years after the revolution in 1974, Gudina Tumsa was assassinated by the Derg regime for arguing that the role of the church is to provide a platform for critical debate of government policies. His two daughters, who were educated in Germany and California, returned to Ethiopia to bury their father, and a year after the second revolution in 1991, they created GTF in his name. The goals of GTF would not be religious, but rather would address the issues of poverty due to displacement from land, environmental problems resulting from capitalist expansion, the need for education in a rapidly changing world, and the issue of women's empowerment. They saw all these issues as interconnected. Although the founders of GTF were networked with the Mekane Yesus Seminary and international Christian organizations as a way of raising money for their philanthropic endeavors, they partnered with local Oromo communities that practiced other religions, including Islam and the indigenous Waaqeffannaa. In regions where the government had never built any schools at all, GTF built a school, provided support so that girls could attend, and enabled microfinancing so that men and women displaced from their land could begin new careers. After my visit, GTF also began to see the usefulness of film and media for local communities that were marginalized from mainstream Ethiopian society, and they supported our endeavor by giving us a desk in their headquarters in Addis Ababa from which to operate.

At the same time, Dhaba was busy networking through both his graduate school connections (the historically black Howard University) and through his church, and by means of this network made a connection with Guy Moon, who lives in Los Angeles and has composed the music for many major Hollywood movies and television shows. Significant about the network I have just described is that most of Dhaba's graduate school connections leaned toward a pan-Africanist ideology, and my own philosophical orientation leans towards postmodernist Marxism, which some might perceive to be at odds with the Christian networks. However, we all shared a common love of film and the common goal of empowering young

people in Ethiopia to make the films that they want to make (whatever they are). In addition, part of our network included a global environmentalist organization Slow Food International based in Italy. The manager of Slow Food's Ethiopia office, Roba Bulga, was the first student to graduate from GTF's school.

We were now ready to begin our workshops. The Mekane Yesus Seminary provided a classroom in Ethiopia, and I began a two-week Skype workshop on screenwriting. After this class, the Ethiopian students continued to workshop their screenplays under the direction of Sandscribe's manager in Ethiopia, Tesfaye Mekonnen. The structure of this arrangement encouraged the students to teach themselves as peers working toward a common goal. Guy Moon and his "LA Mission Team" flew to Ethiopia to organize a workshop on filmmaking, and the Sandscribe students voted on which of their screenplays they wanted to all work on with that team. Following this success, we organized the first semester-long class, "Movies, Media, and Global Citizenship," in 2013 for Wagner and Sandscribe students. In this class, in addition to direct communication through on-line video conferencing software, the students were divided into groups of eight, consisting of four American students and four Ethiopian students, and were required to write to each other about the movies and assigned reading via an on-line forum on the course management system. Although this class was ultimately effective, as the assessment I discussed earlier demonstrates, there were many failures and frustrations. We expected technological difficulties in both countries. The connection between classrooms did not always happen, which was irritating but not surprising.

REVISING THE MAP

Two unexpected things also got in our way. One is a symptom of the loose transnational network form that enabled our work. Politics within the Mekane Yesus Seminary led to some competition, ironically, not with an Ethiopian individual but with a German missionary who desired to run his own evangelical film program and criticized our secular curriculum. This was disappointing since we had imagined that Wagner's historical connection with the Lutheran church (as Wagner was originally founded as a seminary) would serve as a natural connection to the Mekane Yesus Seminary, which was also started by Lutherans. What is perhaps instructive about this failure is that our assumptions about the religious commensurability between the two institutions proved to be less commensurable than we had anticipated. In fact, as I have been implying throughout this essay, ideological orientation may be less important than other, less identity-based, agendas. Hence, in the midst of the semester, we decided it would be better to find a different partner, and we reached out to Rift Valley University (RVU). Before 1991, there were no accredited private universities in Ethiopia, so private colleges are a relatively new phenomenon. The owner of RVU, Dinku Deyasa, is a very successful investor and developer in Ethiopia. RVU has many campuses and over 100,000 students in Ethiopia. Most of the campuses are in different cities in the

Oromia regional state as well as the nation's capital. Since the spring of 2013, that campus has provided free of charge an office for Tesfaye Mekonnen and a classroom that Sandscribe uses for workshops, classes, and events. Since RVU lacks a film program of its own, Sandscribe provides RVU's students new opportunities, so the arrangement is mutually beneficial.

The other challenges were the language difficulty and the simple fact that the Sandscribe students were not part of a degree-granting program. They were not compelled to write at the pace set by the course syllabus because there was no diploma to be gained through their work, and they felt shy about their English ability. The American students were frustrated by how little the Ethiopian students wrote, even though most of the Ethiopian students were thinking at a more mature level conceptually. In the future this could be solved simply if we were collaborating with a diploma-granting institution, and our aim in the near future is to enable precisely such a relationship by forming a direct relationship between RVU and Wagner, and by growing Sandscribe into a formal certificate-granting school.

In order to begin our new plans, I traveled to Ethiopia for the second time (in the winter of 2013) and brought two colleagues with me. One of these was Stephen Greenwald, who has considerable experience on the business and legal side of the film industry and who had just joined Wagner's staff in order to develop its new film program. The other was a documentary filmmaker named Jennifer Dworkin. We arranged a short workshop on documentary film-making, but more fundamentally Sandscribe organized a symposium for stakeholders in the film and media industry, including students, teachers, government officials, investors, and business managers. We expanded our network to include students at Addis Ababa University and a recently formed young amateur filmmakers association called the Alatinos group which met regularly at the Pushkin Center for Science and Culture, run by the Russian embassy. At this time I discovered how little most Ethiopian filmmakers knew about other African film industries, so I planned for a new course on African cinema for the spring of 2015 that would again connect a Wagner classroom with an Ethiopian classroom. Individuals from these various constituencies and organizations joined that class. Wagner's library bought the textbook and DVDs of the movies, and we made copies of them for Sandscribe following the fair-use laws governing classroom use of copyrighted material. Moreover, Ethiopia's Ministry of Culture and Tourism noticed our efforts because it had just begun to work on revisions to the national film and media policy. They invited us to do our own research on this subject. During the spring and summer of 2014, I researched the history of African cinema, and the Sandscribe students conducted surveys and interviews in Ethiopia, and together we composed our report. At the same time, my colleagues Stephen Greenwald and Richard LaRocca in Wagner's Business department also composed their own report. We submitted both reports to Ethiopia's Ministry in the fall of 2014. This work helped me prepare for the class on African cinema that I taught along with Greenwald's class on international film business in the spring of 2015.

CONCLUSION AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

In conclusion, our pedagogical experiment emerged out of a rhizomatic, transnational network that involved many organizations and individuals. Although many of the connections were somewhat tenuous, they were nevertheless productive and effective. Our hope is that we have laid the groundwork to eventually create a more sustainable operation, but my point here is that even our somewhat unstable *ad hoc* activity produced considerable results and can be easily replicated by anyone with the patience to let relationships grow and unfold over time.

Our idiosyncratic work illustrates some recent theories about globalization as we involved ourselves in a multidirectional network of partnerships with organizations in Ethiopia and the United States. In Ethiopia, this includes a private business college, a seminary, a locally based NGO that works with displaced farmers and pastoralists, local film associations, and an international NGO based in Italy that works on the environment. In the United States, this includes a film producer in Hollywood and various Ethiopian-immigrant organizations, including churches, as well as the college where I teach. Each organization in the network has a different agenda, some film-related, some not. We self-consciously avoided a model that was paternalistic, positioning the United States as the source of knowledge and the donor country. Rather, our goal is to foster an equal partnership that is mutually beneficial and promotes understanding, critical thought, and respect. In many ways, this form of educational exchange is subcultural, operating both beneath the superstructures of national and global institutions in order to foster critical dialogue and open up new opportunities for knowledge and personal connection among diverse peoples.

In their books *Empire* (2000) and *Multitude* (2004), globalization theorists Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt have made use of the "rhizome" model of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari to postulate how a culture works through a fluid network of governmental, nongovernmental, corporate, religious, and subcultural organizations and groups. Likewise, Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins's influential *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (1998) also emphasizes an approach for thinking about cosmopolitanism "from below," where oppressed and marginalized individuals forge meaningful connections and forms of solidarity. Such solidarity is organized not in spite of cultural differences but through them. The principles governing our connections are not transcendent (rising above our differences) but immanent to the structure of difference that proliferates within a capitalist economic system. Capitalism creates economic value (i.e., profit) by speculating on the difference between things (i.e., the notion of investing in one thing that might be worth more than another, similar, thing in the future). This structure of sameness and difference is measured according to a monetary system that is perceived to be universal; or, in other words, money is posited as a kind of universal measure of the value of things. Hence, a structure of difference is immanent to the system.

Thinking against capitalism but nevertheless working through such a system of difference, such philosophers and cultural theorists as Deleuze, Negri, and Cheah

contest other paradigms (e.g., Jurgen Habermas's theory of the liberal public sphere [1989]) that tend to dichotomize the politics and culture of global development in either dialectical or binary oppositional terms. Habermas's theory of a neutral public sphere that, in his view, structurally transcends political difference and follows normative procedures for reasoned debate and democratic decision-making is problematically based on a mode of discourse developed by the aristocracy in England in the late seventeenth century that has been incompletely universalized. The ideal of the public sphere is conceptualized dialectically as the antithesis to an imaginary Other, an Other that is figuratively represented as the opposite of reason, though in some ways, ironically, the Other is precisely the different form of culture that the enlightenment discourse claims to transcend through that reason (Kelly, 1994). But, alternatively, if one acknowledges that a structure of sameness and difference is immanent to the global economy as it is actually lived, then one might instead find positive meaning in the differences that exist along a network of relations and modes of communication. Therefore, our own form of education, functioning in a context of scarcity as well as dynamic change, operates through a diverse network of organizations, each with their own distinct goals (some religious but others not, some ethnic but others not, etc.) In many ways, this form of educational exchange is subcultural, operating beneath the superstructures of national and global institutions in order to foster critical dialogue and open up new opportunities for knowledge and personal connection among diverse peoples.

NOTES

1. For more about the film *Qanafaa*, see the Sandscribe blog "Spotlight: On the Set of *Qanafaa*" (3 March 2016), Sandscribe Foundation, retrieved from https://sandscribe.org/spotlight-qanafaa/
2. *The Making of the Oromo Diaspora: A Historical Sociology of Forced Migration*, by M. Bulcha, 2002, Minneapolis, MN: Kirk House; *Leaf of Allah: Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Hararge, Ethiopia, 1875-1991*, by E. Gebissa, 2004, Oxford, UK: James Currey; *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History, 1570-1860,* by M. Hassen, 1990. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; *Oromia and Ethiopia: State Formation and Ethnonational Conflict, 1868-2004*, by A. Jalata, 2005, Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press; *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, by A. Legesse, 1973, New York, NY: The Free Press.

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SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND LINGUISTIC MODELS OF IMMIGRANTS' INTEGRATION INTO SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

Mass migration has become, since the middle of the twentieth century, a worldwide phenomenon, thereby increasing the national, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity in numerous countries and regions. Between 1990 and 2013 migration has risen 50%, equaling almost 5 million additional immigrants per year (United Nations, 2013). The projections are for massive growth in the influx of immigrants in the upcoming years. North America currently has the largest gain of immigrants with 1.1 million new immigrants per year, followed by Europe with 1 million per year (United Nations, 2013). Israel also received a massive immigration wave of a million and a half immigrants between the years 1990 and 2014, who make up 15% of the total population (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Whether the migration is voluntary (e.g., labor migration) or non-voluntary (e.g., refugees), the result is inevitably culturally and linguistically diverse societies and schools.

Various models have been proposed as to the best way to successfully incorporate and socialize the immigrants into the host society. These models are often reflected in national policies and societal expectation, as well as in the education system. They vary from assimilative models that require the immigrants to let go of their previous identities to more integrative models that acknowledge and embrace the immigrants' distinctiveness. Choosing one approach over another impacts immigrants' lives, including the everyday educational act within the school system.

The aim of this chapter is to describe existing social, educational, and linguistic models of multicultural societies in order to argue in favor of models that promote intercultural education. Intercultural education aims to develop and achieve a sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies through the creation of understanding and respect and dialogue between the different cultural groups (UNESCO, 2006). The chapter will conclude with research findings that might be useful for school leaders and educators to successfully integrate immigrant children into their schools and classrooms. These include challenging media misconceptions, accurately assessing students' language needs, realizing the benefits of supporting the ongoing usage of the immigrants' languages, and making these languages a visible part of the linguistic landscape in school.

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ACCULTURATION

An important topic in worldwide multicultural and intercultural research has been the acculturation of immigrants to the host society, which refers to the changes that occur in immigrants as a result of continuous contact with the majority community. Quite often, immigrants already begin to inquire about the customs, values, and norms of their target society during the premigration stage of their cultural transition. Their first few days or weeks in their new country are normally described as euphoric, optimistic, and adventurous, when the immigrants celebrate their good fortune in having embarked on a new phase on life, or in having escaped from a desperate situation in the home country. Nonetheless, arrival at the new destination, which includes both the physical transition as well as a radical change in their lives, almost unavoidably brings about a culture shock that involves feeling of discomfort, dislocation, and even alienation as the newcomers begin to identify aspects of the new environment that are intimidating, distasteful, or at odds with their previous experiences, values, and worldview. This is a period of anxiety and frustration during which difficulties in communication make the task of learning to live in a new culture seem beyond reach (Berry, 1997, 2005).

Additionally, during this phase there are a number of risk factors that might exacerbate the situation. These factors include, for example, the inability to find suitable employment, especially among skilled and professional immigrants, downward economic mobility, and gender or generational power shifts within the family (Aycan & Berry, 1996). While most immigrants manage to overcome the stage of culture shock – which can range from a few months to a few years – and reach the stages of recovery and renewed optimism, they are still faced with a life-long journey of acculturation (Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006).

Acculturation of a minority individual in a plural society can be measured in two dimensions: the degree of involvement or intercultural contact with the majority culture and the degree of retention of the minority cultural identity. Two main types of competing models have been developed to describe the adaptation of immigrants into the host society – linear or two-dimensional. While the linear acculturation models depict the process as one in which the immigrants inevitably lose their own culture, language, and identity as they adopt those of the majority group (Padilla, 1980), two-dimensional models have argued for a more multifaceted process.

One of these latter models, suggested by Berry (1997), proposes a two-dimensional model of acculturation with four modes: assimilation, separation (rejection), integration, and marginalization (deculturation), depending on the degree to which people maintain or relinquish their culture of origin, tempered by the degree to which they adopt or reject the host culture.

– Minority group members in the *assimilative* mode want to attain positive relations with the majority culture and do not want to retain their former culture and ethnic identity.

– The opposite orientation is that of *separation* or *rejection*, which represents a strong allegiance to the minority culture, together with a detachment from the new culture. Members of the rejection mode are characterized by a desire to retain their ethnic identity, with no interest in attaining positive relations with the majority culture.
– *Integration* involves the identification with, and adoption of, components of both minority and majority cultures. Immigrants who choose the integration mode want to attain positive relations with the majority culture while, at the same time, retaining their original ethnic identity.
– Finally, the *marginalization* mode is characterized by a rejection of, and/or lack of involvement in one's own minority culture, as well as in the culture of the host society. Those who find themselves in the marginalization mode do not want to identify with either the majority or their own ethnic community and often find themselves migrating to another country.

Immigrants retaining or relinquishing ethnic identity comprise numerous areas of psychological and sociological functioning, such as attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, values, norms, behaviors, preferences, rituals, lifestyle and language. Most research studies have shown that minority group members prefer integration over other modes of acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2010). Moreover, the preference for integration as the mode of acculturation has been documented to be associated with numerous positive well-being attributes including less acculturative stress, better mental health, low levels of anxiety and depression, lower levels of suicides and addictive behaviors, higher adjustment to the workplace, positive connections with peers, and stronger family cohesion (Banks, 2009; Padilla, 1980). Research has also shown a relationship between the acculturation of immigrants and their learning of the new language: Exposure to, and use of, the target language appear to be important components in the process of acculturation. Such examples can be seen in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Australia (e.g., Extra & Verhoeven, 1993; Yağmur & Van de Vijver, 2012), Canada (e.g., Masgoret & Gardner, 1999), the US (Ramirez, Perez, Valdez, & Hall, 2009), and Israel (Dahan & Donitsa-Schmidt, 2007). Here too, the integration mode was found to be positively linked with better second-language acquisition. Acculturation research has also consistently found a negative relationship between both separation/rejection and marginalization/deculturation and measures of well-being (Berry, 1997).

As to the assimilative mode, although there have been few studies which found that assimilation, too, is sometimes associated with immigrants' well-being, recent research of the past two decades, especially in the United States, consistently documented the phenomenon entitled 'immigrant paradox,' which noted that, as immigrant children and adolescents assimilate into the United States (over time and generations), their developmental outcomes become less optimal (Coll & Marks, 2012). This paradox significantly identified negative outcomes in health, education, and behavior, with second- and third-generation immigrants falling behind first-generation immigrants.

What could possibly explain the connection between opting for an integrative type of acculturation mode and good adjustment into the new society, as was found in most research studies?

MODELS OF IMMIGRANTS' ABSORPTION

The answer to the above question lies in the national model of absorption and citizenship as defined by the nation-state and as it comes into play in structural policies, institutional support, and public discourse of the host society (Schain, 2008). In other words, immigrants' acculturation does not take place in a social vacuum, but is influenced, to a large degree, by the absorption philosophy of the host country as it is manifested in official and non-official immigration-related policies, as well as in overt and covert expectations, attitudes, and behaviors toward immigrants. With the growing numbers of immigrants, there exists an especially vivid political and social debate about the best and most desired model of immigrants' absorption into the host societies, with the main three being segregation, assimilation, and integration.

– *Segregation* entails the separation, either enforced or implied, of different cultural and racial groups. The segregation could be a mere geographic one, whereby immigrants are housed in specific areas, or a more encompassing one that includes policies and practices of segregation designed to limit the participation of specific groups in decision-making and to ensure the continuing economic and political dominance of the majority group.
– *Assimilation* refers to a one-way process of absorption, whereby the immigrants are expected to abandon their ethnic identities and exhibit full convergence with native-born citizens. An assimilationist approach – often referred to as the "melting pot" – regards diversity as a problem, and cultural differences as socially divisive. Its desire is to ensure cultural homogeneity, national unity, and solidarity, with the immigrants viewed as an immediate threat. Assimilation entails a loss of the previous identity, including a language loss, and in that sense it is a subtractive type of model as it promotes one culture/identity/language at the expense of the other (Lambert, 1981; Landry, 1987; Landry & Allard, 1991). Historically, the United States embraced the assimilationist melting pot model, which posited that, as families became part of the social and economic fabric of the United States, children and adolescents would thrive. Recent research has revealed the "immigrant paradox," in which immigrants of the second and third generation, especially from Latin America and Asia, fall behind the first generation. The immigrant paradox disproves the supposed long-term benefits of the assimilationist perspectives of "full adoption" to the country of origin in terms of ways, values, and traditions, and reveals a loss of the cornerstones of identity, home language, and culture of origin. That these patterns are termed a paradox is a reflection of the slow shift in researchers' theoretical frameworks away from assimilation models and toward the bicultural models for optimal adaptation (Sam & Berry, 2010).

– *Integration* can be defined as a process of providing immigrants with equal chances to access opportunities available to native-borns. As such, it reflects the extent to which receiving societies are willing to go towards immigrants, accept them, and provide them with equal rights to express their behaviors and preferences, along with the native-born, while potentially preserving and fully expressing of their differences. Often called cultural pluralism or multiculturalism, this approach involves creating a cohesive society where individuals of all backgrounds interact and participate equally while maintaining their cultural identities. Unlike assimilation, multiculturalism views diversity as an asset to the nation and is often referred to as the "salad bowl" metaphor, where each ingredient retains its own distinctive taste and appearance, but tastes better in combination with the others. It is within this approach that immigrants' home languages are maintained, leading to bilingualism. In that sense, it is an additive type of model in which one culture/identity/language is added on top of the other (Lambert, 1981; Landry, 1987; Landry & Allard, 1991; Swain & Lapkin, 1991).

It is in societies that tend to institutionalize cultural pluralism that immigrants feel welcomed and appreciated, able to hold on to their past while envisioning their future in the new land. In such societies, the immigrants' background is considered an asset and not a liability. Such societies view cultural emancipation of minority groups as the key to their own strength and cultural and economic success. The chosen societal model of immigrants' absorption has an immediate impact on the immigrants' daily life in numerous ways, such as the bureaucratic treatment of government departments, the services immigrants are entitled to, the local communities' expectations from the immigrants, the general public's attitudes and perceptions of them, and most importantly, the educational model bestowed upon them (Banks, 2009).

EDUCATIONAL MODELS IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES

Immigration policies have a direct bearing on schools. Being one of the most influential socialization forces, the education system has the ability to determine not only the academic achievements of the immigrants, but also their social identity, ethno-linguistic vitality, earnings, and well-being (Bialystok, 2007; Bratsberg & Ragan, 2002). Linguistic and cultural diversity poses an enormous challenge to schools, educational policymakers, and practitioners who need to respond to this challenge, in which the choices they make reflect their ideological stance. The existing models range, on a continuum, from assimilative type of educational programs to models that enhance genuine social integration (Hornberger, 1998, 2002).

The most extreme type of an assimilative model in schools is the submersion model or, more aptly, the "sink-or-swim" model. In this model, immigrant children – who are also language-minority students – are placed in ordinary mainstream classrooms where the majority language is used as the only medium of instruction. In this model, no special program or extra help is provided to overcome the language problem and the minority home language is not allowed to be used on school premises.

This model, which aspires to quick assimilation, has been accused of violating the civil rights of language-minority students (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995, 2000). Students who are second-language learners need a planned program of support for several years and, if fully mainstreamed in grade-level classes without language support, they are at risk of failure. Without a planned program, they are likely to fall behind on curriculum content delivered in a language they are not proficient in. Studies show that even students who entered the school with advanced knowledge of the language had a dropout rate of 50% since no sufficient language provisions were given to them. Nowadays, in most submersion schools, immigrant children receive help in the form of a number of pull-out classes during the school day for the sake of instruction in the second language. This is naturally better than nothing; yet, withdrawal classes may also cause children to fall behind the curriculum content delivered to others not in withdrawal classes. In addition, there may also be a stigma for absence and withdrawal; children may be seen by peers as remedial, disabled, or limited. For many administrators and budget managers, submersion creates ease of supervision and financial management, while pull-out classes are administratively simple and require little additional expense. It has been acknowledged that learning in a second language, no matter how supportive the program, is less effective than learning in the first. An additional problem of monolingual programs is that many students are in danger of losing their first language with negative social and academic consequences (Cummins, 1996; Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

On the other side of the continuum, opposite to the submersion model, can be found the bilingual education model. Technically, bilingual education means using two languages for instructional purposes. This term, however, is actually used to refer to a wide range of programs that may have different ideological orientations towards linguistic and cultural diversity. Under the bilingual education umbrella one can find transitional models that simply view bilingual education as a means to an end of cultural assimilation, social incorporation, and language shift (Baker, 2011; García, 2011). In these models, students are taught in two languages – both their native language and the second language – but the amount of instruction in the first language continually decreases over time. The primary goal in transitional models is not to promote home language maintenance, but rather to retain the native language alongside the dominant one until it can be completely replaced. In most transitional programs, immigrant children are segregated from mainstream classes and the transition from the bilingual program to the academic mainstream generally takes place in one to three years regardless of worldwide research which continually shows that it takes five to ten years to become proficient enough in the second language and to catch up to the level of the peer group (Cummins, 1996).

A second type of bilingual education program is the maintenance model (also known sometimes as heritage language education), which encompasses all of those programs that encourage language-minority students to maintain their home language, strengthen their cultural identity, and affirm their civil rights in the host society. These programs, which view language as right, aim at additive bilingualism

and do not put any pressure on the students to use only the second language. Such programs vary in structure and content, but the use of the first language as the medium of instruction takes place for about 50% or more of the school day. Students in those programs ideally become and remain bilingual with high levels of proficiency in both languages. These programs are in line with the integrative mode of acculturation and immigrants' absorption as it has full respect for one of the very basic identity markers of any group – language. As noted by Cummins (1996): "the evidence points clearly in the direction of metalinguistic, academic, and intellectual benefits for bilingual children who continue to develop their languages" (p. 109).

The third and last type of bilingual education programs are the enrichment programs (e.g., two-way bilingual education, bilingual immersion, two-way immersion, dual-language programs), all of which are characterized by a language-as-resource orientation because the minority language is seen as a resource to be developed, not only for language-minority students, but also for language-majority students and the communities in which they live. The goal of these programs is additive bilingualism for both the immigrants and the language-majority children, academic achievement through two languages, and cultural pluralism (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011).

Research has proven that nontransitional bilingual education is in the best interest of children as it reinforces their conceptual base in their own language and provides a foundation for long-term growth in the second language (Bialystok, 2007; Cummins, 1996; Wong-Fillmore, 1991), and even in a third language (Cenoz, 2003). Yet, despite their drawbacks, submersion programs still form the most common programs for immigrants throughout the world and bilingual education is often blamed for adjustment problems experienced by immigrants who appear to assimilate less rapidly than the society expects. Bilingual education advocates argue that *well-implemented* bilingual education programs can offer an equitable and effective means of educating language minority and language majority students. Given that bilingual education programs vary across schools and, in many cases, are not well implemented, it is no wonder that discontent exists.

TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS LEADING THE WAY

Teachers who work with immigrant children need to be aware of the immigrants' experiences and their effect on students and their families. Teachers and administrators who have an understanding of the process of acculturation, and who are sensitive to the hardships and pressures immigrants face, can provide some help during this time. The more positive experiences the school can provide for the newcomer, the more positive the child will feel about the future. In addition, for many parents, knowing that their children are adjusting well and that their educational future is assured can be a great comfort during this difficult period of their lives. Even if a school one teaches at does not follow the bilingual education model in its strongest form, much can be done in order to ensure that the school and class are inclusive ones, attentive

and responsive to the needs of immigrant children and their communities, and values the immigrants' origin, culture, and identity. Subject-matter teachers often regard this task as belonging to the second language teacher (e.g., ESL teacher), but the school experience for a child is a holistic one, which makes it the responsibility of every teacher to address the needs of all of the students, including immigrant children. Here are a number of aspects that need to be taken into consideration when working with immigrant children.

Attitudes towards immigration. Research has shown that the levels of public knowledge on immigration and its impact on society are fairly low and that public opinion on immigration is often founded on inaccurate or inadequate information (Aalberg & Curran, 2012). These are also, quite often, fueled by alarming media misconceptions intimating that massive influxes of immigrants take people's jobs and cause pressure in the housing market. In other words, the tendency of the media is to frame immigrants as a threat or a problem, implying that the host society is in danger of being overwhelmed by newcomers. This is perhaps one of the reasons why most people are unaware of the ways that immigration continues to foster the growth and development of their country by enlarging the workforce, raising the Gross Domestic Product, preventing brain-drain, and leading to economic growth (Chiswick & Miller, 2015). In addition, most immigrants generally make law-abiding and loyal new citizens who are committed to the demands and duties of their new country (e.g., joining a mandatory army service in Israel). A more balanced and informative media coverage can reduce public opposition towards immigrants. In the meantime, it is important that the education system takes some responsibility for reducing such prejudice, creating informed public opinion, and providing unbiased information about immigration and immigrants, not only with the children in school, but also with parents and colleagues.

Assessing language proficiency. All students entering a new school, and especially those that transfer from another country, need an accurate assessment of their needs. When the students' first language is different than that of the school, it is best to use the student's first or dominant language for at least part of the assessment, in order to gain accurate perspective of his/her linguistic and cognitive development. At the same time, there is a need to find out how proficient the student is in the language of instruction. Informed by this assessment, educators can make appropriate decisions about the student's academic and linguistic needs, and place the student in the appropriate program.

Yet, while assessing students' language proficiency, both at the beginning and at later stages during the school year, attention has to be paid to the type of linguistic knowledge that is being assessed: whether everyday basic communicative skills for interpersonal contacts or academic language proficiency (Cummins, 1979, 1980). The confusion between the two is considered to be one of the most popular language misconceptions that exist in the case of minority groups. It has been found that immigrant children give the appearance of adequate control over the surface features of the language needed for everyday communication, which is then falsely taken

as an indicator of their ability to linguistically perform in a demanding academic setting together with their native-born peers. In other words, immigrant children are quickly mainstreamed and expected to perform successfully in decontextualized and cognitively challenging situations based on their conversational skills, which are interpreted as a valid index of overall proficiency in the language. Clearly, such children will fall behind their peers and miss out in language as well as in the content. Research studies in various countries and on various languages, including the United States and Israel, have shown that it takes five to ten years to become proficient enough in the second language and to catch up to the level of the peer group (Cummins, 1996, 1980; Levin & Shohamy, 2008).

Usage of language in or outside school. Although in most western countries, physical violence is rarely used to prevent the use of a minority mother tongue, it is still extremely common for educators to reprimand minority children for speaking their mother tongue, and to advise parents to use the school language at home. Undoubtedly, most educators regard themselves as well intentioned, without realizing the permanent damage they cause. Most educators are guided by the monolingual bias and the false-logic myth that maximum exposure (time on task) is the most dominant variable in language acquisition, and that immersion in the new second language is the most effective means of ensuring the new language is learned (May, 2011). They also subscribe to the myth that second language immersion should start as early as possible in the student's career, since younger children are better at learning a new language than older children. According to Cummins (1996), educators should never advise parents to use the second language at home. The assumption that learning two languages confuses the child has been totally discredited by research (Baker, 2011; Cummins & Swain, 2014; García & Wei, 2013). Ignorance of research findings leads educators to continue preventing the use of the first language at school without realizing the damage this causes.

The linguistic landscape of the school. "Being visible may be as important for minority languages as being heard" (Gorter, Marten, & Van Mensel, 2012, p. 1). While traditional research on immigrants' languages focused on topics such as language maintenance or shift/loss, language transmission in the family, language education and language policy, recent research puts emphasis on the analysis of written language in the public sphere, known as 'linguistic landscape.' Linguistic landscape research investigates how the public space (e.g., public road signs, advertising billboards, street names) reflect sociological hierarchies, hegemonic power relations, political agenda, and marginality of certain languages and groups, as well as attempts for power resistance. Studies have pointed out the connection between the visibility of a minority language and its spread, vitality, maintenance, identity, and social status. Educational institutions that consider themselves as welcoming immigrants are advised to create signs and notices in the second language(s) of the community and display them in prominent locations around school, translate leaflets and important forms into the immigrants' languages, and make sure that languages are also seen and not just heard.

CONCLUSION

Schools represent one of the most important societal institutions within the modern nation-state and carry a tremendous responsibility with regard to the newcomers to society. Besides offering immigrants a good education, the education system should develop and implement policies reflecting a humane, just, and equitable attitude towards the immigrant's language, culture, and origin.

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THE OBLIGATION TO TEACH ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE, AND THE OBLIGATION TO EDUCATE AGAINST RACISM

A TIMELY PREFACE

A combined discussion of teaching about the Holocaust and teaching about genocide and racism may seem somewhat outrageous. In fact, teaching about the Holocaust, with the highlight on its context and universal implications, can make a significant contribution to the campaign against racism. The Holocaust is taught in many places in the world, and most intensively in Israel. This certainly does not mean that people, including students at leading universities, are knowledgeable about the Holocaust or aware of its diverse aspects and meanings. And knowledge of other instances of genocide, even in the twentieth century, are all but unknown. In Europe, many people do not even know what the word "genocide" means; they are even less aware of such mass murders in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia of only two decades ago that fall under this heading. What is more, few of even the brightest students at the most prestigious universities can articulate what is happening today, in late 2015, in Syria and South Sudan, or about the systematic campaign to exterminate the Yazidis and Assyrians in the Middle East.

These facts cannot be isolated from the current acute incidence of racism in some countries of Europe, in reaction to the waves of refugees knocking at its gates – as if there had never been fanatic racism and genocide in Europe within the past century. It is true that racism is not the same thing as genocide and certainly not identical with the Holocaust, but racism is a devastating and perilous phenomenon in its own right. Genocide studies teach that all genocides involve racist manifestations and racism (and sometimes racial theory). Racism is a necessary – albeit not sufficient – condition for genocide, being one of the fundamental elements of the process that leads to genocide. When other factors are added to racism, genocide becomes possible and sometimes actual. Racism and the victims' exclusion from the future perpetrators' "universe of obligation" pave the way for genocide to take place.

INTRODUCTION

Assaults on human rights and apathy towards the suffering of others endanger the existence of human society. The Holocaust was almost certainly the nadir of such assaults, if not indeed the greatest moral failing that the human race has ever known.

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Attention to this topic, in its universal as well as specifically Jewish contexts, can promote understanding of the importance of humanistic and democratic values and, perhaps, even facilitate the development of tools for moral judgment and civic responsibility.

Peoples, ideological movements, and social organizations endeavor to preserve historical events in their collective memory, especially those that are most significant, and to draw lessons from them. Given our humanistic educational perspective, educators are interested in finding ways to transmit messages about the Holocaust to the future generations. Education has an extremely important role to play in presenting and preserving historical events in the collective memory. One of its major goals is to bequeath the collective national memory to the next generation; this is crucial for whether, and to what extent, historical events will be remembered in the future. We in the academy bear collective responsibility for the place that the Holocaust and other cases of genocide will occupy in historical memory and historical consciousness, and, to a certain extent, in the global historical consciousness.

The campaign for recognition and commemoration of the genocides of other peoples has special significance for the State of Israel – the country of the people who were the victims of the Holocaust. Because the Holocaust plays such an important role in Jewish identity and in education and memory in Israel, the way that the Holocaust and other genocides are taught in Israel is naturally influenced by the notion cultivated in Israel that the Holocaust was unique in all of human history (Auron, *The Pain*, 2005).[1] For many years Israelis have stressed that the Holocaust was *sui generis* – a premise that is certainly legitimate, without delving into its corollaries. As a result, the Israeli education system teaches about the Holocaust, but almost totally ignores the campaigns of extermination against other peoples. I wish to focus on the ethical problems raised by the topic, on the lessons that can be drawn from it, and on our attitude – that of Israeli society, in general, and of the Israeli education system, in particular – to the genocides that have struck other peoples. As for the question of whether it is really possible to speak about the "lesson" of the Holocaust, the answer is clear: There is no single lesson that is *the* lesson of the Holocaust. Rather, we can perhaps extract from it lessons, implications, messages, and interpretations – all in the plural.

Various individuals and groups in Israeli society, the Jewish world, and the international community have different perspectives on these questions. It should be noted in this context that the Jewish street is actively engaged by the link between the Holocaust and the definition of the national identity, though here too there is no consensus. As a generalization, it seems that it is possible to point to three categories of lessons and implications. The first two, as listed below, are particular; the third is universal:

– Zionist lessons, in the Israeli and Zionist context,
– Jewish lessons, in the context of Jewish life in general, not only in Israel, and
– universal lessons, in the context of the global circumstances of human society.

Terminology

Scholars are engaged in an endless terminological debate, sometimes rather fierce, and with many major implications, about the difference between "the Holocaust" and "genocide." Some scholars erect a wall between the two terms and insist on the distinction between any particular case of genocide and the Holocaust; for them, genocide was only one element of the Holocaust, which was a crime whose scope far surpassed that of genocide. Conversely, there are quite a few scholars – including Jews, most of them outside Israel – who do classify the Holocaust as a case of genocide, whether or not they emphasize its unique features. Some of these scholars argue that every instance of genocide has its own unique features.

In the present discussion, I propose a methodological distinction between Holocaust and genocide, and employ them as distinct and non-synonymous terms, even though closely linked and despite the overlap between them in some aspects. "Genocide" comes from the Greek *genos* (race) and the Latin *occidere* (murder): thus it means the murder of a race or, today, of a people. The term was coined by the Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959), who is considered to be the father of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), though few remember him today.

Lemkin, who lost his entire family in the Holocaust, managed to escape Poland and make his way to the United States. There he devoted his life to studying the phenomenon of genocide and to his campaign to incorporate acts of genocide into international criminal law. He first applied the term to the Nazis' extermination of the Jews of Europe, that is, with the sense of the murder of a people on racial grounds. But his definition is broad enough to include annihilation on a national, ethnic, or religious basis. Lemkin's postwar research focused on and expanded the definition of the term and analyzed it in depth. He stressed that the crime of genocide does not always connote the immediate and total liquidation of the victimized group; it can be perpetrated through a series of deliberate actions that aim at the progressive destruction of fundamental elements of the group's life, such as forced liquidation of the national consciousness, language, culture, individual liberties, and economic infrastructure.

International law has adopted the term, following Lemkin's formulation, as a general definition for the extermination of a people. Today it appears widely in legislation, international conventions, jurisprudence, scholarly literature, and journalism, with the sense of the murder of human beings on account of their affiliation with some national, ethnic, racial, or religious group; for many, it also includes the murder of members of a particular political group, irrespective of any individual guilt and with the aim of targeting and wiping out the entire group.

There is no consensus among historians, politicians, and jurists as to the actual application of the term genocide to various instances of mass murder that took place in the twentieth century or are being perpetrated today, including massacres within a country that have a political basis, of the sort orchestrated by Stalin in

the Soviet Union. For example, there is a debate as to whether the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia should be defined as genocide or as *only* genocidal acts. Another example: In the summer of 1994, the United Nations Security Council, under pressure by the United States, refused to designate what was taking place then in Rwanda as genocide, even though hundreds of thousands were being slaughtered precisely then, while millions all over the world were real-time eyewitnesses to these atrocities, played out on the television screen in their living rooms. The United States only termed it genocide after most of the mayhem was over.

Such disagreements spawned the proposed use of "politicide" for mass murder in a political context. Politicide would be the liquidation of persons whom the government of the country where they reside views as political and ideological adversaries. It is important to clarify that genocide and politicide are not mutually exclusive terms; some atrocities include both at the same time. The regimes of Stalin in the Soviet Union, of Mao in China, and of Pol Pot in Cambodia, for example, exterminated millions for political reasons (politicide) while massacring certain ethnic groups with the intention of eliminating them (genocide).

Others suggest the term "ethnocide" for mass extermination against a cultural background: the deliberate destruction of the culture of some ethnic, national, religious, or other group, but not necessarily their physical extermination. Because of the proliferation of the multiple categories of mass crimes, it has been proposed to include all of them under the umbrella term "democide" (from the Greek *demos*, "people"), which would cover genocide, politicide, and ethnocide.

The estimates of the number of those slaughtered in the various democides of the last 120 years (if we adopt this inclusive term) beggar the imagination. Rummel (1999) estimated that 169,198,000 human beings perished between 1900 and 1987 in the events he classifies as democide; it must be stressed that this number refers only to those murdered deliberately and does not include soldiers and civilians killed in war. Rummel (1999) estimates democide claimed some 174 million victims for the century as a whole.

Beyond all these definitions and semantic debates, it is clear that any mass slaughter of a people is an extraordinary crime in which some persons murder others based their on membership in a different national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, with no question of individual guilt. When experts state that roughly one million people were killed in Rwanda in 1994, or that a million or a million and a half victims were murdered in the genocide, we must remember that every one of them had a name while alive, though most of the dead are anonymous and have no memorial.

GENOCIDE AND THE 1948 UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION

On December 9, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly, against the background of the Nazis' crimes, including and especially the extermination of the Jews, adopted the "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." Article II defines genocide as any of the following acts committed with intent to

destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, such as
- killing members of the group;
- causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and
- forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The convention's main importance, in addition to the fact of its drafting and ratification, lies in what the United Nations and the international community pledged to do in order to prevent acts of genocide. Nevertheless, there have been multiple genocides all over the world since its passage. The bulk of the convention's activity has involved providing assistance to victims after the fact, rather than preventing the slaughter in the first place, even though the convention explicitly defines such acts as crimes under international law. Reformers would like to amend the convention to propose specific tools for preventing genocide and not only post-factum assistance to victims. One may hope that the 1998 decision to establish the International Criminal Court was indeed a significant step in this direction. The court was inaugurated in 2002, after the decision was ratified by more than 60 countries (though not by Israel).

It is important to remind ourselves that genocide is possible only when the balance of power between victims and killers is such that the latter have absolute superiority. Such a situation depends to no small extent on the behavior of third parties, always the vast majority of human society. These third parties can be divided schematically into three groups:
- those who help the killers for various considerations, including that the killers are strong and it is a good idea to be on good terms with them;
- those – always too few – who assist the victims, for moral reasons; they fall under the Israeli rubric of "the righteous among the Gentiles"; and
- those – the vast majority of the human race – who stand by and watch.

It is impossible to overstate the importance of the inevitable question: Do the bystanders have a practical share of responsibility, and perhaps also guilt, for the crimes they witnessed, but did nothing to prevent?

GENOCIDE EDUCATION IN ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

The disputes about theoretical issues of terminology, as well as the practical issue of what means can be employed by the international community to prevent mass crimes of various sorts, are present in questions related to teaching the subject, too. An interesting point of departure for the discussion is the difference in the nature of the courses taught in various countries about the Holocaust and about genocide. The debates and discussions about semantic matters, and especially a broad or restricted definition of the term genocide – including, and perhaps in particular, the difference

between the Holocaust and other cases of genocide – are sometimes an important element of these courses, especially at the university level.

Whereas Holocaust education has become firmly established in educational institutions the world over, the more general field of genocide studies, as a separate domain, is still in its infancy. Genocide studies in secondary schools and universities are found chiefly in the United States and Canada, and to a lesser extent in Australia, but nowhere else. In other countries, so far as I am aware, genocide is addressed briefly or not at all.

The various courses, especially those at the university level, reflect the varying approaches to the topic. They are taught according to different methodologies, as part of different disciplines, and in various departments: history, political science, government, language and literature, multidisciplinary studies, philosophy, psychology, religious studies, social work, sociology, and more.

Even in courses that officially deal with many instances of genocide, the syllabus tends to concentrate on the Holocaust. This is prime evidence that it was the expansion of Holocaust studies that led to genocide studies, and not the other way around. Genocide is studied less – and evidently much less – than the Holocaust. Genocide courses can be classified effectively under three headings:

– courses in which the Holocaust is the only or main topic;
– courses in which the Holocaust is studied in the overall context of genocide; and
– courses in which genocide is the main topic, but the Holocaust is often highlighted as the most conspicuous example of the phenomenon.

The disparity between the volume of Holocaust studies and of genocide studies is particularly large in secondary schools. American high schools, for instance, teach almost nothing about other genocides, with the exception of the Armenian genocide, the starvation of the Ukrainians by the Soviet regime in the early 1930s, and the internal genocide in Cambodia in the second half of the 1970s. The textbooks that do address the topic at some length tend to be superficial, rushed, simplistic, and sometimes inaccurate. Often the subject is raised only to meet the formal obligation.

Educators do not have much information about the effectiveness of high school genocide and Holocaust curricula, because few evaluation studies have been conducted. It is also difficult to assess what teachers and students know, because it is hard to formulate a precise definition of what it means to "know about the Holocaust" or to "know about some genocide."

Does "knowing" mean information about when, where, and the number of victims? Maybe such knowledge can be demonstrated by many students. But it is my contention that only very few can demonstrate a stronger and deeper sense of knowledge, dealing with complicated and moral issues and questions, meanings and dilemmas, ethical and philosophical questions like: why does it happen? Who is responsible? Who is guilty? Could it be avoided? What is my own responsibility? What can I do in face of acts of genocide in front of me, now, in the Middle East and Africa? Can I myself be involved in acts of genocide? And so on.

In any case, there is no doubt that in most countries there is more extensive knowledge about the Holocaust than about other genocides that took place in the twentieth century. Some experts see these genocides (except for the Holocaust), and all those perpetrated in the distant past, as "forgotten" or even "suppressed" genocides. Despite the general trend to improvement in the last three decades, sometimes the best description of genocide studies in high schools and universities is "no curriculum" (Totten, 1991).

ESSENCE AND OBJECTIVES

Important philosophical, moral, and didactic questions arise when educators seek to deal with teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides, as well as ways of coping with the complexity of the subject (Parsons & Totten, 1991). Teachers and students at all levels must ask themselves at least two key questions, which may seem to be obvious, before they begin dealing with the phenomenon of genocide:

– Why are we teaching or studying this subject?
– What should be our main educational objectives when we teach or study the subject?

Many of those involved in Holocaust education emphasize the unique aspects that make teaching it so difficult, including that many more ethical questions are associated with it than perhaps any other topic. This is why the learner's active involvement in the educational process is so important, with an *accent on the differences between learning, teaching, and educating.*

There is no doubt that there is a link between our capacity (or perhaps incapacity) as individuals in a society to deal with the harsh questions raised by the subject of genocide, on the one hand, and the dismal state of how it is taught, on the other. Among the many reasons for this, several stand out:

– The subject is unusually complex, given that both teachers and students have an aversion to dealing with such appalling matters, and all the more so because teachers may be inclined to protect their young charges against exposure to an unbearable reality.
– Each country's minority policies (past or present), and sometimes the involvement of the state or its citizens in genocide or actions of a genocidal nature, or considerations of realpolitik and apathy with regard to the victims who needed assistance then or now, can all lead to a certain ambivalence about teaching the subject in that country.
– Prejudice, racism, and anti-Semitism sometimes have an impact, directly or indirectly, on the decision whether or not to teach the subject.

Aside from these problems, there are also a number of technical factors that can provide reasons or excuses for not teaching the subject: most textbooks lack appropriate or adequate treatment of the subject; the syllabus is already bursting at the seams and there is no time left for introducing another topic; the education

system does not provide assistance to those who want to deal with the subject; teachers lack adequate preparation and an appropriate background for dealing with the topic; and so on.

The advances in genocide studies and increased awareness of its importance ensure (at least I may hope) that solutions will also be found to many of the problems and difficulties associated with teaching it. There is no doubt that it must be taught in a variety of ways, as appropriate to each country, the educational level, and the type of educational institution. Here it is clear that teaching and studying the topic are quite different – at least in some cases – for those who belong to the victimized and their descendants, for those affiliated with the perpetrators and their families, and for those who were bystanders or are related to them.

TEACHING ABOUT GENOCIDE IN ISRAEL: THE CURRENT SITUATION

Despite the above, and quite unexpectedly, Israeli education, including the university level, hardly addresses genocide. "Sensitivity to Suffering in the World: Genocide in the Twentieth Century," a curriculum drawn up for the Ministry of Education in 1994, never won official approval (Wiesel, 1978). In recent years, though, all or parts of it have been used in several high schools, at the initiative of teachers and principals who thought it appropriate to do so.

Hence the frightening level of Israelis' ignorance of genocides other than the Holocaust is not astonishing. A 1996 survey that asked more than 800 undergraduates at several universities and colleges to assess the extent of their knowledge about the genocide of the Armenians and Roma (sometimes referred to as Gypsies) found that they knew next to nothing about these events (Auron, 2005). An overwhelming majority did not know about the Armenian genocide, and a similar percentage did not know about the Roma genocide. With regard to the Armenian genocide, 86% of the respondents said they knew nothing about it (42% had no knowledge whatsoever; 44% knew very little). Only 13% of the respondents assessed their level of knowledge as intermediate; 1% said they were well informed (Auron, 2005). As for the Roma genocide, which occurred in the same time and places as the Holocaust, by the same perpetrators, and was motivated by the same racist ideology (for all that the attitude towards the two groups was not identical), 85% of the respondents in this survey said they were ignorant about it; 36% knew nothing and 49% knew very little (Auron, 2005). Other surveys have produced similar results; from these surveys we can learn that even those who possessed some general idea of the topic lacked solid knowledge of the event, having never studied the topic in high school or university.

Between 1996 and 2006, I distributed this questionnaire at the first session of a course I taught on genocide (an undergraduate elective); over the years this came to some 600 students. Throughout that period, the students' self-assessment was similar: Between 85% and 90% said that they knew nothing or very little about the Armenian genocide. The same percentage of students said that they knew nothing or very little about the genocide against the Roma. The results are not an accident.

They are the result of educational policy, an educational philosophy that decided consciously not to teach the histories of other genocides and other victims of the Nazi regime.

Students often reacted with horror once they realized they really knew nothing about the Armenian genocide. This was one of the achievements of the course. In general, their shock was even greater when they began to realize, even if only in part, why they knew nothing about it. And they were all the more upset when they learned about the State of Israel's official attitude towards the matter.

Israeli textbooks on world history in the modern age or the history of the twentieth century, as well as almost all the books that deal at length with teaching about the Holocaust, include only a brief reference to the genocide of the Roma, if at all. All of the non-Jewish victims of the Nazi regime – Roma/Gypsies, homosexuals, political prisoners, mental patients, the physically handicapped, Jehovah's Witnesses, poles, and Russian prisoners of war – tend to be lumped together as "the other victims." (This is a problematic term, of course: other in relationship to whom or for whom?) These other victims are mentioned only briefly, and sometimes not at all. My experience in recent years is that this sorry state of affairs continues. A majority of students have never heard of "genocide" and cannot say anything, however superficial, about the genocides of other peoples, including those that took place in the last third of the twentieth century. We must not be astonished by the findings, but are duty bound to think about them.

The implications are clear: if Israeli students do not learn anything about the Armenian genocide during their undergraduate years, there is little chance they will become acquainted with it in their graduate work, no matter their field of specialization. Someone may refer to it in passing, but no more. As of the present time, no college- or university-level course in Israel deals with the subject in a systematic fashion, with two exceptions at the Open University: "Genocide," which attracts many undergraduates, and "The Pain of Knowledge: Issues in Teaching about the Holocaust and Genocide," on the master's level – two courses that I developed. But all those students who know nothing or next to nothing about the subject are the future elite of Israeli society – its judges, artists, authors, politicians, intellectuals, educators, and so on. And, in the words of the Talmudic elegist: *"If a blaze takes hold of the cedars, what can the humble hyssop do?"*

CONCLUSION

The study of history – as long as it is not taught as the history of the victors – develops students' capacity for critical analysis of the events of the past, for examining them from the perspective of time, and for understanding what is meant by moral decision-making. Every student must be made aware that the world in which he or she lives is the result of various decisions taken by individuals and groups: Every decision, no matter how small, may have a decisive impact, for good or evil. In the curriculum "Confronting History and Ourselves," pupils learn about

the hundreds of decisions, major and minor, that produce history. In this way they come to understand that history is not inevitable. They learn that there are no simple answers to complex issues, such as racism, anti-Semitism, hatred, and violence, and that there is no quick and easy solution to social injustices or moral transgressions. Guided by their teachers, pupils learn how to probe the roots and outcomes of racial, religious, and ethnic hatred and their bloody outcome. Over time they come to understand that the bloody-handed figures they see in the mirror of history could be themselves, too.

We must teach about the Holocaust. We must teach about genocide as well. And we must also provide a deep and fundamental education about racism, in its general and universal manifestations as well as its specific and particular ones, in each place as a function of its conditions and context. There is no contradiction between teaching about the Holocaust and teaching about genocide and education to counter racism. Any tension that may exist between the particular and the universal is in fact productive of critical thinking and self-examination. The outstanding example of this is Israel, with our stubborn insistence on the unique nature of the Holocaust and its distinction from other genocides. I believe that precisely here, in this complex situation, the educational challenge lies in the attempt to establish a more appropriate balance between the Zionist and Jewish lessons of the Holocaust and its human and universal lessons. Even when teaching about the Holocaust and transmitting its remembrance to the future generations, the underlying message must be that human life has an intrinsic value that is the same for everyone – Jews, Roma, Armenians, and Palestinians. The way to achieve this goal is to integrate fundamental principles that may seem to be mutually contradictory: emphasizing the unique historical parameters of the Holocaust and its importance to us as Jews and simultaneously identifying with the catastrophes that befell other peoples and with the other genocides of the past. There is no contradiction between these two approaches; on the contrary, they are compatible and complementary.

Intellectuals must hunt out the truth and publicize it to those who care. In practice they should not be addressing an audience, but a community of common interests in which people seek to participate constructively. We must not talk at people, but with them. This is second nature for every good teacher, and must also be an attribute of every author and intellectual. I honestly believe that we must act in a constructive fashion in a community bound by common interests. As teachers, and even more so as educators and intellectuals, we must speak with the younger generation and with our students. The very best way to do this is through education and dialogue. I am well aware that this is a complex and Sisyphean process. I also know that those who hold the reins of political power seek to thwart this process, consciously or unconsciously. Education is an arena in which the effort to transmit the collective memory to the next generation occupies a central place. We have a collective responsibility for what the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide and other genocides become in the historical memory of young people and in their historical consciousness. As already noted, this could be quite simple: actively combating every future instance of genocide so that it

does not recur – “Never again!” – requires teaching about the subject. But of course education by itself is not enough.

I would argue that only a fundamental acceptance of the sanctity of human life, all human life, and of the equal value of the lives of all men, women, and children, whether Tutsi, Roma, Armenian, or Palestinian, along with education at all stages aimed at the implementation and realization of these principles, can open a door of hope: hope that future generations will not permit genocide, genocidal acts, ethnic cleansing – however the crimes are defined, and as long as the debate about practical definitions does not allow them to take place.

We must work to make young people sensitive to the great suffering that exists in our world, whose most extreme manifestation is genocide – the low point of human malignity. But evil, in various degrees, exists in the daily life of each and every one of us. Genocide must be prevented all over the world, and this is our responsibility as human beings. Our obligation, in a world of plenty, is to prevent acts of this sort, even if they transpire at a remote geographical location. One might have thought that genocide would never recur in Europe, but the bloody events in the former Yugoslavia proved that this hope was baseless. Genocide took place – make no doubt of it – in Srebrenica, only twenty years ago, in a UN “safe area.” The horrifying siege of Sarajevo lasted more than four years, during which the civilian population of men, women, and children were live targets – and the world did nothing. There was no safe place in Sarajevo: Everyone and every place was a target for snipers’ bullets and mortar shells. This in a place that had seen the Holocaust, in a city that, more than any other in the world, has mosques, churches, and synagogues standing almost side by side. But the murderers waged an aggressive policy of official denial, and the collaborators and the indifferent, their near neighbors in the rest of Europe, did everything they could to stay out of the mess, lest their own culpability be exposed. It is difficult, but we must try to create a genuine dialogue with young people, be frank with them and treat them as equals. We must share with them our anguish and fear that genocide will continue to be an immanent part of human behavior, that the risk of being a perpetrator, a victim, or most likely a bystander or fence-sitter lurks for all of us and challenges all of us, and that education is our one hope for dealing honorably with these dangers.

NOTE

[1] See my book, *The Pain of Knowledge: Holocaust and Genocide Issues in Education*, which addresses these issues at length.

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PART 3

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS AND GOOD TEACHING

NEL NODDINGS

CARE ETHICS AND EDUCATION

Educators almost always claim that they care about their students. Indeed, many of the rules laid down in schools are enforced because "we care about our kids." When students are questioned, however, many express serious doubts about this claim. Unfortunately, they often say of the school, its teachers, and administrators, "Nobody cares." Care theory can help us to understand this anomaly and, perhaps, to overcome it. First, we need to understand the basic idea of care ethics, and then we will explore how it might be applied to establish a school environment in which genuine caring can flourish.

BASIC CARE ETHICS

Care ethics is a *relational* approach to moral life. It takes, as both basic and inspirational, Martin Buber's dictum: "In the beginning is the relation" (1970, p. 69). Every individual starts out in relation (Ruddick, 1989) and is shaped by the relations that follow. A relation consists of two parties – a carer (or one-caring) and a cared-for; both contribute to the relation, and their roles may shift during an encounter or across encounters. I may, for example, act as carer at the start of an encounter and then become the cared-for as my needs are expressed and recognized. Emphasizing the relational nature of caring, care theorists use the word *caring* primarily to refer to a relation, not to an individual with fine motives. We do, of course, refer also to caring individuals – people who regularly establish and maintain caring relations. But notice that the relation is basic, not the virtuous individual.

The carer in an encounter is *attentive*; he or she listens receptively to what the cared-for is expressing through language, posture, and facial expressions. His or her attitude is captured in Simone Weil's question to the cared-for: "What are you going through?" (Panichas, 1977, p. 51). Attention is followed by feeling, reflection, and perhaps internal deliberation, and then motivational displacement. The carer's motivational energy shifts from his or her own projects toward the needs expressed by the cared-for. Notice that care theorists agree with David Hume (1983/1751) that we are motivated by feeling, not by reason (O'Hara, 2015). This does not mean that reason is unimportant in care ethics; we may, for example, believe that the cared-for is mistaken in the need expressed, and we may have to think about how to dissuade him. Reason is important, but it does not move us to act. Feeling does that.

What does the cared-for contribute to the relation? Quite simply, he or she shows somehow that the efforts of the carer have been received as caring. This response need not be one of gratitude. An infant's smile, a patient's sigh of relief from pain,

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a student's eager pursuit of an approved project – all such responses say, in effect, "caring received," and help to sustain the carer as carer and the relation as caring.

Care ethics is based on needs, not rights. On the basic status of needs over rights, we agree with Utilitarians and others who point out that human beings are born with needs, not rights. Rights must be defined, demanded, granted, achieved. But we can also differ over and argue about needs. It is obvious that all human beings need food, water, shelter, and at least some human connection, what David Braybrooke has called "course of life needs" (1987), but beyond these, many arguments arise. In education, for example, we *assume* that children need to learn the curriculum that has been laid out, but many thoughtful educators advise that we should modify our assumptions by continuous consideration of the learners' *expressed* needs. (See Noddings, 2005, 2013, 2015.) The actual curriculum should be cooperatively built, in relation, upon both assumed and expressed needs.

One more feature of care ethics is especially important in current social/political theory. Care ethics is a non-ideal theory; that is, it is constructed from the observation, critique, and modification of actual situations. Non-ideal theories contrast sharply with ideal theories such as that of John Rawls (1971, 1993), theories that start with stated propositions very like those of mathematical systems. On the ideal approach, we agree with John Dewey, who advised strongly against it: "We cannot set up, out of our heads, something we regard as an ideal society" (1916, p. 83). Rather, Dewey tells us that we must examine actual societies (groups, classes, occupations) and see what we can learn from them. And Dewey warns, when we see an arrangement that works, we should not try to copy it (p. 88); instead, we should analyze it, experiment a bit, and see which of its features might be applicable to our own situation. This is an especially important warning for educators today in an atmosphere so immersed in the idea of "scaling up." Procedures that work well in one school may need to be modified in another. Or, for a variety of reasons, they may not work at all in some schools.

One must also be aware when reading material about care theory that caring is sometimes conflated with *caregiving*. Caregiving is an act of giving physical or psychological care and, as an occupation, it may be performed with or without caring. We all have heard of nurses, attendants, and physicians who have inflicted uncaring "caregiving" on those in need of care. Caring, as described in care theory, points to the reciprocal quality of a relation; it is not merely a set of prescribed acts.

Care theorists make another distinction – a very important one – between caring-for and caring-about. When school administrators say that they employ certain rules or procedures because they care about their students, they are expressing concern. To care-about is to be concerned, but that concern may or may not be translated into genuine caring-for as described in our discussion of the caring relation. We can, for example, be concerned for (care-about) starving children in faraway lands, but we cannot care-for them unless we go there and work with them face-to-face. The most we can do is to support organizations that *do* supply the sort of help characteristic of caring-for, and sometimes even that effort is hindered by lack of accurate information. Caring-for requires the participation of both carer and cared-for. If the potential cared-fors deny that they are cared for, there is no caring relation.

This failure may or may not be the fault of those who claim to care-about, to be concerned. But without a caring relation, claims to care must be questioned.

Some years ago, after the Rodney King riots in Los Angeles, researchers at the Claremont Graduate School set out to examine what might be done to improve conditions in badly disrupted schools (Poplin & Weeres, 1992). Their first impulse was to study the usual topics mentioned in school improvement projects – curriculum, pedagogy, school rules, and testing. But they quickly realized that, while educators in the troubled schools professed to care, many students felt that "nobody cares." They decided to spend a full year listening to students, teachers, administrators, and parents, and what they learned gives strong support to an emphasis on caring relations. Students, again and again, expressed a longing for a genuine relationship with their teachers:

> Students said teachers care when teachers directly said so, laughed with them, trusted them, asked them or told them personal things, were honest, wrote them letters, called home to say nice things, touched them with pats, hugs, handshakes or gave them the "high five," or otherwise recognized them as individuals. (Institute for Education in Transformation, 1992, p. 19)

Today, a mere twenty years later, teachers are directed never to touch a student for any reason, and they are strongly advised to keep the "class" focused on the day's stated learning objective. If we suspect that students today might, like their predecessors, long for a relationship (Bingham & Sidorkin, 2004; Macintyre Latta, 2013) with their teachers, what might be done? This is a central problem for care theory in education, and I will make some suggestions in the next section. In this introduction to care theory, it is perhaps enough to note that the present, highly enforced emphasis on success, with the assumed needs stated in standardized curricula, may be impossible to achieve without some attention to the expressed needs of students and teachers.

Consider another example of failure to translate caring-about into caring-for. Andrea Elliot (2013) described conditions in some New York City shelters for the homeless. One family – mother, stepfather, and eight young children – lived for three years in one large room in such a shelter. The restrooms were filthy and so dangerous at night that the parents kept a pot in their room for nighttime emergencies. The residents in the shelter had no control over their own surroundings. They were not asked to participate in considering what might be done to improve their conditions. Policymakers and administrators cared-about the welfare of homeless families, but they did not consult them or engage them in cooperative efforts to improve their conditions. Caring-about did not culminate in caring-for.

There are, however, some hopeful experiments underway that should be studied carefully. David Kirp cites one in which the poor are made active partners in their own improvement:

> To improve neighborhoods, the people who live there must have a hand in deciding their own fate. That approach works well in Houston, where one program has enabled hundreds of thousands of poor residents, many of them immigrants, to move up the ladder of economic and educational opportunity

> each year. It's a strategy that can – and should – be implemented nationwide. (2015, p. 10.)

Several writers today have expressed serious concern about a growing gap in conversation across social classes. One way in which the gap is revealed is in the failure to translate caring-about into caring-for. Instead of inviting dialogue with the disadvantaged or impoverished, those in charge of helping them simply act directly on assumed needs. Elizabeth Anderson (2007) has pointed out that the "elites" in charge often study the needy as they might a school subject or physical phenomenon, but they do not talk with them; they do not invite a dialogue on expressed needs. Robert Putnam (2015), too, has described the increasing isolation of social classes in gated communities, separate schools and churches, and neighborhoods peopled entirely by the poor. Conversations across classes that once took place in stores, schools, medical offices, and churches is now rare. Michael Walzer (2015) has added to this worry in his description of how well-meaning liberationists try energetically to liberate those perceived to need liberation but, by failing to include them in the conversation, cause them to turn even more tightly to one of the ways of life (often religion) from which they are thought to need liberation.

Care theory urges us to recognize the difference between caring-about and caring-for. In emphasizing the relational nature of caring-for, we are invited to enter into and maintain dialogue with those for whom we claim to care.

CARE ETHICS IN SCHOOLS

Education is more than instruction on predetermined learning objectives. Care theory is not the only line of thinking to assert this. Mark Edmundson, for example, argues that the best form of teaching involves face-to-face interaction and conversation:

> Because the student and teacher need to create a bond of good feeling, where they are free to speak openly with each other. They need to connect not just through cold print but through gestures, intonations, jokes. The student needs to discover what the teacher knows and what she exemplifies about how to live; the teacher needs contact with the student's energy and hopes. That kind of connection happens best in person; perhaps it can only happen that way. (2013, p. 46)

In care theory, we would say that teacher and student build a caring relation, one in which they both gain knowledge and energy. It is not a relation in which the activities of one wear the other out. When a teacher listens to the expressed needs of her students, she learns how best to approach the assumed needs she is charged with satisfying. Choices – both student choices and teacher choices – play a central part in what will be taught and learned. It is not the case, as some people seem to fear, that students will be turned loose to do whatever they please. Rather, it is a cooperative effort to satisfy both expressed and assumed needs and to analyze, critique, modify, and broaden both.

Listening to the expressed needs of students may impel a teacher to set aside the day's stated learning objective and engage, instead, in a discussion of some urgent social/moral problem. Such well-motivated diversion often makes later pursuit of the learning objective easier because teacher and students are working together on it. Because they have established a relation of care and trust, students will work on the objective their teacher puts forth. They know she has their best interests at heart, and they will give it a try. Today, too much emphasis has been placed on explicit learning objectives, methods tailored to focus attention, and testing, testing, testing. More time and attention should be given to the establishment and maintenance of caring relations and the continuous, informal assessment that characterize teaching and learning within them.

When we take this change in emphasis seriously, we are led to seek practices that may promote caring relations. We might, for example, consider keeping students and teachers together for three years rather than the typical one year. At the high school level, a math teacher might teach the same students for all of three or four years. I did this myself, and it was a wonderful experience. It was both relationally and intellectually rewarding. To do this effectively, a math teacher has to know the entire math curriculum very well, but such mastery of their subject specialty should be a basic requirement of all teachers.

Sometimes, when this recommendation for continuity is made, administrators react with enthusiasm for it and announce that they will "mandate" such a system. Care theory recommends strongly against a mandate. Mandating continuity may well kill the idea. The idea is to give both students and teacher the choice to remain together. If they have established a caring relation and want to maintain and extend it, they should be encouraged to do so. Forcing them to remain together works against our intention to translate caring-about into caring-for. Recall Dewey's warning against trying to duplicate a promising practice. People and situations differ. When we care-about our students and teachers, we have to involve them in the decisions that create caring relations.

We might also seriously consider teaching something about parenting in our high schools. Relatively few of our high school graduates use algebra in their daily lives, but we insist on teaching it to everyone. In contrast, most adults become parents, and parenting is one of the most challenging tasks we undertake; yet the schools do almost nothing to prepare students for this crucial work. Children badly parented suffer more than economic poverty. Nicholas Kristof remarks:

> Remember that disadvantage is less about income than environment. The best metrics of child poverty aren't monetary, but rather how often a child is read to or hugged. Or, conversely, how often a child is beaten, how often the home descends into alcohol-fueled fistfights, whether there is lead poisoning, whether ear infections go untreated. That's a poverty that is far harder to escape. (2015, p. 9)

Surely, we should do something to relieve economic poverty, but we should also do something about faulty parenting, and the schools could do a lot about that. At present, we teach almost nothing about parenting in our high schools.

There is another large area in which our ostensible caring-about fails to mature into caring-for. In the name of equality, we are forcing more and more students into standardized academic courses. There is a legitimate reason to dissent from this practice. We do not believe that it is true, as many educational thinkers, such as Robert Maynard Hutchins, have argued, "the best education for the best is the best education for all" (as cited in Adler, 1982, p. 6). Believing this and defining "best" as those who are academically the brightest, it follows that all children should be prepared for college. But care theory wants to hear from the children: What do you want to do? What interests you? Further, instead of installing a questionable supposition of equality, care theory advises an increase of respect for the full range of human talents. On this, we agree heartily with John Gardner, who wrote:

> We must learn to honor excellence in every socially accepted human activity, however humble the activity, and to scorn shoddiness, however exalted the activity. An excellent plumber is infinitely more valuable than an incompetent philosopher. The society that scorns excellence in plumbing because it is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water. (1984, p. 102)

But, critics argue, children do not know enough to make serious decisions about their educational preparation, and we know that serious mistakes have been made in the past when students have been assigned to "tracks" on the basis of test scores and past grades. This is indeed a very serious objection to the provision of a variety of programs in our high schools. Still, care theory can defend such a variety provided that decisions are made cooperatively within well-established caring relations and every program is of the highest quality. Genuine equality does not elevate (or reduce) everyone to the same overall plan of education; rather, it calls for the recognition of difference in talents and interests, and it grants respect for the cultivation of these talents. Again, one can see that continuing relations between teachers and students can be enormously valuable in directing the education of individual students.

Care theorists are deeply concerned about the increasing social gap described earlier. Might the restoration of attractive programs in vocations and the arts aggravate this gap? It is already aggravated within the academic program by the proliferation of honors classes, magnet schools, and after-school extra-curricular activities for which fees are charged. There are far too few opportunities for students in honors and AP classes to work productively with those in low-quality academic classes. The current version of equality in education is a sham.

As we create fine alternative programs in vocational and arts education, we should also think about ways to bring students together across programs. I have recently suggested that high schools should establish a four-year program in social studies that would do just that (Noddings, 2015). Each class would be carefully comprised of students from all of the programs, and course material (social, political, moral) would be determined collegially by an interdisciplinary team of teachers in consultation with students. One can imagine a long list of topics that might be considered:

- Should residential patterns be redesigned to bring the social classes into closer contact?
- Should greater use of public transportation be encouraged?
- Should the primary purpose of prison be punishment or rehabilitation?
- How do other nations handle this?
- What should we all know about various topics in religion?
- What is an atheist? A deist? An agnostic?
- What do we know about the religious beliefs of the Founders?
- Why is it so difficult to have open, critical discussion about religion?
- What role did slavery play in the rapid economic growth of the United States?
- Should some form of reparation be made to the descendants of slaves?
- Should voting privileges be extended to ex-felons? To prison inmates? Why or why not?
- Should lawns be replaced with various native plants in order to save water?
- What should be done to clean up our oceans and waterways?

We could go on listing possible topics for pages and pages, but our list would only constitute suggestions. The actual list must be decided by the people – teachers, students, parents – at each site. It is hard to overestimate the importance of such a project. We cannot expect adult citizens to communicate freely and productively across social classes if they have had no experience in doing so. That experience must be offered in our schools.

Permitting, and encouraging, a variety of programs designed to promote the legitimate differences in student talents and interests does not suggest that there should be no common learnings. On the contrary, it suggests that, in addition to the basic literacy skills, we continually examine existing curricula and ideas for new curricula to see what might be essential in each of them. For example, many thoughtful people today worry about a decline of interest in the liberal arts. I share that concern. But we need not reinvigorate the liberal arts as a specialty, one distinct from other fields. Instead, we should ask how the great existential questions at the heart of traditional liberal arts can be incorporated in courses across the entire curriculum. Every field of study should include some discussion of questions such as: What is the meaning of life? Is there a God (or gods)? What is beauty? What does it mean to be morally good? How should I live? Likewise, every field of study should address ideas and concepts involving the crafts of building, designing, and repairing (Crawford, 2009). Students should be invited to read and discuss the biographies of mathematicians, artists, religionists, labor leaders, conservationists, poets, and homemakers. As Dewey suggested, we need not buy into any one program hook, line, and sinker, but we can learn from each other. The quest for certainty should end when we enter the door of dialogue housed in relations of care and trust.

A solution to the currently perceived problems of great differences among our students is not to be found in a standard curriculum. Differences in talents should be respected, treasured, and a reasonable variety of excellent programs should be provided in the arts, and vocational and academic concentrations. We cannot bring people together by pretending that they are all alike. But we can, while respecting

and providing for these differences, support social and political conversation across occupational/interest lines. That is the rationale for a four-year social studies program. Adult citizens from every walk of life should be encouraged to talk to each other, to participate in genuine democratic debate, and they should get started as active members of a participatory democracy while they are in school.

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EMPATHY IN VIRTUOUS PEDAGOGY

Good teaching is the heart's desire of many educators, despite the fact that they may differ in their view regarding its precise definition (Korthagen, 2004). Like many other practices and arts, there is debate surrounding the concept of good teaching, yet characteristics of good schooling are easily identifiable in educational settings. They are usually anchored by teachers' ethical commitment to their students, the profession, and society, and manifested in meaningful interactions and productive relationships. Good teaching refers to practices that promote the growth and well-being of all involved in the educational process – both the students as well as the teachers. As such, within the contemporary discourse aiming to inspire educational leadership for humane culture, I propose the concept of *Empathy in Education*, not only as a vehicle for promoting good teaching practices and establishing better schools, but as an educational perspective with the potential for wide-scale social impact. An empathetic classroom environment will encourage all parties concerned to think, initiate, create, learn, and develop.

In this chapter, I first present updated definitions to the term empathy in the context of humane education and then explain why promoting these ideas is necessary in today's world. Following this I propose the conceptual framework of *The Complete Empathic Act* (henceforth CEA), which specifies the practices and proficiencies that are essential for promoting empathy in schools, by teachers, students, and administrators alike. Finally, I demonstrate how these pedagogies can be manifested in two challenging contexts in today's classroom settings.

EMPATHY IN EDUCATION: CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

The etymological origin of the word *empathy* is from the ancient Greek word ἐμπάθεια (*empatheia*), meaning "physical affection, passion, partiality," itself derived from ἐν (*en*), "in, at" and πάθος (*pathos*), "passion" or "suffering" (Liddell & Scott, 1968). The term was adapted to create a German word *Einfühlung*, which means "feeling into," and in the eighteenth century, German philosophers defined it as an act of imaginatively stepping into another person's perspective (Tettegah & Anderson, 2007, p. 49). Although scholars in various fields generated a variety of meanings and applications to the term (Devoldre, Davis, Verhofstadt, & Buysse, 2010; Miller & Wallis, 2011), there is a consensus that empathy enables one to see the world from the perspective of the other (Tolmacz, 2008) and to identify and understand the other's state and emotions (Miller & Wallis, 2011). As Rogers

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(1975) defined it, empathy is a way of being with another person in order to enter his world without prejudice. As Dymond argued, the imaginative transposing of oneself into the thinking, feeling, and acting of another (as cited in Marwell, 1964, p. 87) provides the individual with awareness of the other's presence (Hargreaves, 1972).

Empathy is a multidimensional concept that encompasses both affective and cognitive elements (Devoldre et al., 2010), together with awareness and behavioral dispositions. The affective dimension stresses the emotional response of the individuals when they identify an emotional experience in the other person, whereas the cognitive dimension emphasizes their understanding of the other person's internal state, whether it is affective, cognitive, or behavioral (Erera, 1997; Hoffman, 2000; Kerem & Fishman, 2001). Katz (1963) introduces the dimension of awareness, another important facet of the empathic act. He describes it as the ability of the listener to experience the reality described by the speaker simultaneously as two people, maintaining this duality without losing sight of the boundaries between them. The last dimension of empathy is the behavioral disposition of the empathic person. This refers to a set of manners and habits such as active listening, postponing judgments, and, after obtaining the necessary information, readiness to take actions compatible with the other person's state. These four dimensions (affective, cognitive, awareness, behavioral dispositions) point to the complexity of the empathic act in terms of the vast array of skills required, while explaining empathy's potential to empower both the person who expresses it towards another and the person receiving it. That is probably why Martha Nussbaum (1997) refers to empathy as an expansion of the empathic person's humanity: by employing empathic imagination one can feel and understand the thoughts and actions of others – not by using one's own "internal grammar," but by trying to perceive and experience what the other person experiences in the context of their culture.

Empathic teachers are motivated by sincere concern towards the state of their students, yet concern is not necessarily empathy, as it is not necessarily associated with the desire to recognize the other's internal world (Tolmacz, 2008). For empathy to take place, the individual must have the intention of having a significant ongoing relationship with the other person. Consequently, when we say that a teacher is empathic, we are referring to a deep concern towards a student that is guided by an ethos of caring, a desire to understand the situation from his perspective, and the intent to support his development (Boyer, 2010). Thus, although concern may be thought of as being connected to empathy, it can also differ from it. Noddings (2003) refines the meaning of empathy in education by combining the concepts of concern and caring. In the ethical sense, care differs from general concern for the student. Care ethics strives to benefit the student on the basis of an extensive acquaintance with their inner world, whereas concern derives from the virtue of the teacher and the intention to benefit the student, as well, but not necessarily through this type of familiarity. Therefore, empathy is anchored in direct action and proactivity towards others, seeks to do what is best for the student, highlighting an additional distinction made by Noddings (2002) between "caring-about" and "caring-for" the other.

In school settings, empathic practices create a sense of worth, competence, and belonging between students and teachers. Empathy is likely to assist teachers not only in establishing a productive atmosphere in their classes, but in promoting meaningful learning by creating profound insights and dealing with challenging cognitive concepts. For instance, students would be less afraid of coping with difficult topics and complicated projects knowing their teachers will offer guidance and support when they experience difficulties.

The relationships between teachers and students are the core of the educational practice, or as Higgins (2010) refers to it, an "authentic interaction" would take place when there is an empathic teacher-student interaction and fruitful collaborations in class and other school settings. Living and being educated in an environment that is surrounded by teachers' empathic effort to understand their experiences could also overcome economic and social capital inequalities in the family environment. Additionally, children who experience care and concern from meaningful adults, who are their role models for personal and social values, likely would develop those values themselves and would adapt them to their lives (Noddings, 2002). This is the moral model of education that we should aspire to practice daily in our schools, and this is the practice that can break the boundaries of the classroom and positively affect the community and the multicultural society as well (Weinberger & Bakshy, 2015).

EMPATHY IN EDUCATION AND SOCIETY: AN IMPERATIVE

The sense of urgency surrounding the need to emphasize the establishment and strengthening of good relations between people in the educational process is heightened in light of the characteristics of contemporary life. In this section, I first correlate the current social realities of Israeli society and the global trends in this context. After this, I present examples to clarify this reality in schools and the experiences and feelings of the students and teachers. Finally, I propose the potential contribution of new empirical knowledge that is gradually accumulating in the area of brain research that sheds light on the connections between cognition and emotions in learning processes and education.

Social Reality

The frequent violence that we wake up to on a daily basis indicates a current social reality that is saturated with tension between individuals and between groups. At the local Israeli level, the polarization known as the "national divide" demonstrates the lack of agreement on ideological, religious, and economic grounds, or conflicting interests in other areas. In the summer of 2014, the public discourse sank to a low point (Kremnitzer & Fuchs, 2015). Similar trends were observed in the international arena, and among other aspects, are related to the multiculturalism that characterizes the social structure of the *global village* in which we live. There is no simple solution

to this tension. Educational leadership, however, can make a significant contribution facilitating lifelong humane education and fostering a culture of democratic discourse that expresses different voices in society, while emphasizing our shared existence of being human. Since it is responsible for instruction that shapes the future civil character and approach of its citizens, the educational system should build the democratic ethos of its citizens from their earliest years (Kremnitzer & Fuchs, 2015). According to Nussbaum (1997), empathy is essential to the cultivation of democratic citizenship and the development of productive community life. Educational and learning processes are designed to equip learners with the skills and experiences that will aid them in the present and enable them to deal with the challenges posed by the divided and subversive reality. Empathy allows all the voices in the class to be expressed and heard, by postponing judgment and helping to create a safe arena for the experience of tolerant and respectful discourse. Additionally, it allows students to become accustomed to the process of acquiring practical tools for good reasoning, and conflict management and resolution.

Experiences at School

At the conference for Educational Policy for Democracy[1] that took place in June 2015, survey results were presented that revealed how the disruptive social reality is reflected in the experiences of students and teachers in Israel. The teachers expressed frustration and helplessness in the face of the expressions of hate and racism in their classes. In schools, the racism is largely ethnic, primarily towards Ethiopian students, while out of school the racism is towards minorities, primarily towards the Arabs (Barak, 2015). Despite this evidence, the teachers indicated that they fear the explosion of violence in the educational discourse in the classroom, and, in most cases, avoid discussing controversial issues (Spiegel Cohen, 2015). Many teachers related that they almost completely stopped discussing divisive issues due to a lack of ability to contend with the extremism and racism of individual students and the emotional turmoil arising from these topics (Cohen, 2015).

At the same time, recent surveys (Israel Ministry of Education, 2014) dealing with the relationships between teachers and students in Israeli schools indicate that as students get older, they feel less closeness and caring from their teachers. For example, 67% of fifth- and sixth-graders report that they feel closeness and caring from their teachers, compared to less than half (47%) of seventh- and ninth-graders, and 40% of tenth- and eleventh-graders. Only a quarter of students in seventh through eleventh grades feel comfortable talking to a teacher when they are sad, and less than half of those report that the teachers demonstrate caring beyond the classroom or that it is important for them to know how their students are feeling. On the measure that relates to caring and closeness between the students, there appear to be gaps: While 78%–86% of students report having someone to be with during recess, only 57%–68% report feelings of caring, integration, and mutual aid.

Extensive analysis of surveys conducted in the US reveals a gap between the educational policies to promote a positive school climate and what actually happens in practice in the schools (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009). School climate refers to the quality and character of school life that is based on people's experiences and reflects institution's norms, goals, and values. This concept denotes interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, sense of community, and organizational structures. Another comprehensive study that analyzed teacher-student interactions in the educational field found that empathy is not at all a common reaction amongst teachers (Tettegah & Anderson, 2007). These expressions of hate and racism and lack of closeness between teachers and students, in Israel and the world, erodes the approach that sees school as a place for growth, where a positive educational environment facilitates learning, development, and quality lifestyle of those inside it, and emphasizes the need for establishing good relations in the educational field. Positive school climate and improvement in relations inside the schools would have an important impact on promoting good relationships between people in the community and society as well. In this sense, good schools need to emulate good families or homes, which provide an appropriate response to the varying needs of each member, including caring and love (Noddings, 2003).

Developments in Neuroscience

Neuroscience, which has advanced dramatically in the past few decades, reveals empirical physiological findings that shed new light on what is already known about learning processes, development, and education (Blaffer Hrdy, 2009; Dinstein, Thomas, Behrmann, & Heeger, 2008). For example, the discovery of the physiological mechanism of mirror neurons explains the universalism of human emotions, and enables people from various cultures and places to understand their internal world, to reach a deep understanding between them, and sometimes even solve the problem of the minds of others (Iacoboni, 2009). The ability to understand and feel what the other understands and feels helps people create an empathic connection to one another (Gallese, 2001), and to respond empathically, thereby advancing the quality of the social interactions between them (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). Another example is Damasio's theory (2008), which eliminates the unequivocal dualism between cognition and emotion and demonstrates how rational judgment is nourished and supported by the emotional and physical sensation systems based on prior experience.

These new understandings in the area of neurological research about the neuroplasticity of the brain, clarify the importance of high levels of involvement and meaningful, positive interactions during learning. Each learning act is mapped on the brain as an emotional memory and engraved on the body as a multi-sensory experience that creates a *feeling* in the learner's mind, a renewed sense of self. According to this approach, deep social interaction triggers both body and mind, emotion and cognition, which enables deeper levels of understanding and

consciousness, which are central to the meaningful learning process (Damasio, 1999; Immordino-Yang, 2016). That is to say, the knowledge and feedback that the brain and body receive following a positive experience will empower the learner, and advance their future ability to understand and be involved in learning, a process that Noddings (1986) terms "engrossment." Consequently, every positive experience will leave the brain open to and curious about future interactions. Alternatively, negative learning experiences will block the potential for learning opportunities, as an instinctive reaction. In this sense, these and other recent neuroscience studies support the psychological theory from the 1950s that claimed that the brain can be changed by significant learning experiences (Olson, 2014). Professor Feuerstein (1980) was one of the founding fathers of optimistic psychology, based on a belief that people can grow at every age and in every mental situation. In his lecture titled "Structural Cognitive Modifiability and Neuroplasticity of the Brain" (in Kibbutzim College of Education, 2014), Feuerstein explained the connection between his theory of education and findings from the new field of neuroscience research:

> We stand today in the face of a significant revolution, that "moves foundations" [Isaiah 6:4] in the neurosciences, and I thank G-d for letting me live long enough and enabling me to see the fruit of my thoughts finding support in the neurosciences, as they have developed of late. One of the results of this revolution is that it may bring on its heels a revolution in the field of education that will be completely unconventional compared to what has been the case to date . . . the brain is shaped by thinking, feeling, ethics/morals, and the person's conscious and unconscious experience. Man's freedom, which is expressed in his free choice and his ability to impose different thought patterns and behaviors on himself, allows him to alter the structure of his brain.

Feuerstein's theory, which emphasizes the qualities and mindset needed from a proper educator – "optimism, faith in man and his growth" – is an appropriate echo in our consciousness and serves as an inspiration for our educational practice. Alongside the personal responsibility of each teacher, there exists the "integrity of teaching" (Higgins, 2010), which stems from the obligation to advancement and growth of each and every student.

In sum, empathic culture can provide a solution to urgent issues facing the teachers in their classrooms, such as moral education, contending with violence, and advancing meaningful learning. However, the realization of an empathic culture in the classroom is both a complicated and challenging task, which requires unique practices and skills from the teachers. Following, I present the conceptual framework of the "Complete Empathic Act" (Weinberger & Bakshy, 2015), which supports teachers in the development of empathic proficiencies, and demonstrate its implementation in two empathic pedagogies in practice in the educational field.

THE COMPLETE EMPATHIC ACT: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK[2]

Since empathy is not a state, but rather a process that involves being sensitive to the experiences of the other from moment to moment, the CEA can be described via the four dimensions of the route it takes. The process begins with ethical intention based on the teacher's concern for the students. It continues with the teacher's aim to understand the student's internal state and simultaneously maintain the duality between the two points of view (teacher and student). The process concludes with taking a responsible action. This last step constitutes the complementary action of the entire empathic process by realizing the ethical commitment that motivated it in the first place; thus, we view the process as a complete one.

The Ethical Starting Point

The ethical starting point of the CEA is firmly embedded in the ethics of the teaching profession as a practice of caring relationships that guarantee the development and well-being of the students (Cooper, 2010; Mencl & May, 2009). Teachers who listen to their students with sincerity, curiosity, and the desire to understand their world are teachers who achieve caring relationships as the application of educational ethics to their moral humanistic commitment. They recognize the unique individuality of each student as a whole person, with their own internal world and reality (Shady & Larson, 2010), and demonstrate their awareness of their responsibility for their students by ensuring their well-being, development, and growth. According to Aloni (2008), empathy is anchored in humanistic pedagogy – which is committed to the personal growth of pupils and teachers – since it attributes value to their attitudes, needs, and viewpoints as autonomous subjects.

Identifying and Understanding the Internal State of the Other's Perspective

The teacher's complex task during an interaction with his students is to attempt to understand each student's internal state, whether affective, cognitive, or behavioral, as the student experiences it. To do so, the teacher functions as a skilled human instrument that collects information about the student. This rich and abundant information can be divided into two main categories: (1) verbal information – the content transmitted between the student and the teacher during the interaction, and (2) non-verbal information – the form of the transmitted content, such as: the modulation and tone of the voice, body language, and expression. At this stage of collecting information, eye contact, physical closeness, and a high level of awareness of the student's and the teacher's non-verbal language are necessary. This is accomplished using the skills of open and careful observation, as well as open discussion and active listening with the clear intention of understanding the student's state. The process of collecting information is simultaneously intertwined with the interpretive process, where the teacher attempts to understand the accumulated

information in a nonjudgmental manner while setting aside expectations, preconceived notions and prejudices, and sometimes, stereotypes.

Refining Boundaries Between the Parties

During the interaction, in order to prevent identification from taking place – a process which goes beyond empathy – the listener should not merge into the experiences of the speaker. In other words, the teacher's interpretation and understanding should not identify up to the point of total immersion in the perspective and world of the other. Or as Rosenheim (1992) symbolized it: putting oneself into the shoes of another, but removing oneself as well. An individual who enters the world of the other must leave it in order to act responsibly towards that person. This is the basis for the next, complementary, step of the empathic act – the responsible action.

Taking a Responsible Action

After understanding the internal state of the other from his perspective and "getting out of his shoes," the teacher will take an appropriate action benefiting the student and enabling him to grow – helping, supporting, encouraging, adapting, changing – or, as Buber suggests, including the student within the reality of the classroom (Shady & Larson, 2010). In Buber's idealistic view, inclusion is a step the teacher can take which uses the state of the student to improve the curriculum and instruction. Becoming familiar with the thinking process used by a student could enrich the teacher's diverse teaching methods and enable the teacher to provide more flexible and individualized instruction.

The End Point

The final phase of the CEA is an important and critical element for the complete empathic competence of the teacher, who is motivated by sincere ongoing concern for the development of the student. The empathic act is considered complete to the degree that the teacher fulfills her initial ethical commitment to the growth of the student.

EMPATHETIC PEDAGOGY: TWO EXAMPLES

The implementation of the CEA can be seen via teachers' coping with two of the central and challenging goals of education today – meaningful learning and dealing with complicated issues in class.

Meaningful Learning

This type of learning equips the learner with new points of view, alters their perspective on the world, and helps them express authentic implications of reality. By definition then, meaningful learning alters the learner's inner world. It recruits the learner to become actively involved at various levels: cognitive, emotional, behavioral, esthetic, and others. At the cognitive level, for example, the involvement will be reflected in the activation of thinking, use of prior knowledge, reliance on past experience, or crystallization of new insights. At the emotional level, the involvement will invite experiences, some of which may be uplifting and inspiring, while others may be disturbing and difficult. Thus, for example, the dissonance that is created between the known and the new or the assimilation of surprising or disappointing implications from learning, requires considerable emotional resources. Any change, be it emotional, conscious, perceptive, or behavioral, requires the learner to leave what's familiar, what some call their "comfort zone," and to embark on an adventure that includes uncertainty. On the one hand, this is an experience that inspires and helps the learner grow. At the same time, it challenges the learner, requires energy resources, and sometimes upsets the existing mental balance. As such, meaningful learning is a growth experience that can also destabilize the learner, and may therefore be accompanied by subversion and even pain.

My central argument is that this is essentially the nature of meaningful learning, which we as teachers hope for in our classrooms. When these types of processes do not occur in our teaching, learning does not occur at all. Hence, the best development for the students, as complete human beings with the various aspects of their existence – cognitive, emotional, esthetic, and social – requires a learning process that essentially has uncertainty built into it (Weinberger, 2016). This being the case, the CEA can serve as a safety net that the teacher weaves into the interactions that take place in the class. A net of trust and belonging that serves as a base for the feeling of being appreciated and valued, has the ability to support students and to allow them to bear the feelings of uncertainty and subversion that are raised by meaningful learning. The teacher's empathic understanding, as presented in the conceptual framework of the CEA, permits the teacher not only to facilitate good relationships with them, but additionally, to understand their cognitive processes, identify their failed, mistaken, or naive thinking, or other stumbling blocks that complicate the learning process. As such, the practices of "putting herself in the students' shoes" emphasize the teachers' emotional and social competencies, in addition to the cognitive, which serves as an important role in the implementation of effective activities that will help the students grow as well as advance the meaningful learning processes in the class. The empathic teacher who is aware of her individual students' feelings, and understands how these feelings relate to their cognitive understanding and what is likely to influence their motivation and behaviors, can respond effectively to them and their needs (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009). The empathic teacher's activity advances meaningful learning by "grasping the stick at both ends"; this is to say it simultaneously destabilizes and

provides support. This is the balancing role of empathy in advancing meaningful learning processes, a subject at the forefront of educational discourse.

In this context, Bridget Cooper (2011) claims that empathy, at its root, is an act of learning, as understanding the internal world of the student from his perspective, as with the teacher revealing the students' prior knowledge upon which new meaningful learning can take place, goes along with constructivist approaches to education. I will demonstrate this idea in the context of a discussion of complex and sensitive issues.

Complex Issues

Many times, authentic aspects relating to our lives are complex from a variety of perspectives, emotionally loaded, and sometimes even raise controversy (Sadler & Zeidler, 2004). Consequently, different groups in society whose motivations and values are dissimilar from each other may support opposite explanations of or solutions for these kinds of issues (Weinberger & Dreyfus, 2013). For example, within the classroom walls, democracy is an *explosive* topic with many expressions in the day-to-day life of Israeli society. Among different sectors, it spreads contradictions, emphasizes conflicts between values, sharpens differences, and raises political, social, cultural, and national conflicts with which Israeli society wrestles. Thus, for example, in the Arab education system, there is a gap between the democratic management of the school, which encourages conversation, dialogue, and tolerance, and the traditional patriarchal society, which sometimes considers discourse as undermining its authority. In the public education system, and to a considerable extent within the religious education system, there exists a difficulty engaging in education towards tolerance and against racism towards Arabs. On the basis of a climate of hate and racist expressions, and particularly during times of war and security conflicts, engaging in content and values related to tolerance and minority rights is even more difficult (Spiegel Cohen, 2015).

Nevertheless, education for life in a democratic and humane society requires an integration of discourse surrounding these complex issues. The goal would be to foster a tendency to open-mindedness and fairness among its citizens (Chikoko, Gilmour, Harber, & Serf, 2011; Higgins, 2010), alongside an ability to exercise discretion, decide between alternatives, and accept decisions. Research findings demonstrate that teachers have difficulty conducting productive discussions on controversial issues that exact an emotional cost. They report that they are not endowed with the skills and abilities necessary for this, they feel uncomfortable, and at times, even avoid dealing with these issues (Chikoko et al., 2011; Ersoy, 2010). There are a variety of reasons for this, one of which is the difficulty maintaining the tension between the various narratives and containing the various perspectives in the classroom. One challenge is creating an open and safe space for the expression of various voices and, at the same time, to question the opinions and ideas, as is often needed.

The characteristics of an empathic culture enable it to serve as an instrument for advancing coexistence and modeling conflict resolution in various social contexts, within and beyond the educational walls. In a sincere effort to understand others' perspectives and clarify alternative points of view during disagreements, empathic teachers, who regularly engage in practices of active listening, are able to contend with this difficult task. As such, professional development programs should promote ethical and behavioral tendencies to advance empathy in education, alongside with examples for bringing together different cultures in educational contexts (Cohen et al., 2009; Tettegah & Anderson, 2007). A professional development program of this type must include building knowledge of the emotional, social, and learning factors, providing experience in ways to foster competencies and behavioral habits of future teachers, and fostering deep insights about the interactions between learning processes and education within the conceptual framework of the CEA.

The current article presented the conceptual framework of CEA and demonstrated how empathic culture can provide a safe environment and atmosphere in schools necessary to meet some of the present needs of the educational system, such as facing moral and social issues, addressing violence, and enhancing the challenges of meaningful learning. Further, CEA also revealed how sensitive and nonjudgmental listening, and simply being with another person who really cares, can contribute to the well-being of each human being. In 2015, Kibbutzim College of Education established *The Empathy Center in Education and in Society* in order to put these ideas into practice in the field of education.

NOTES

[1] Held by the Open University, Dov Lautman Found, and the Israel Democracy Institute.
[2] Based on the article by Weinberger and Bakshy (2015).

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STUDENT ASSESSMENT AND GOOD TEACHING

The Gap Between Ideology and Practice

INTRODUCTION

Educational philosophers, teacher educators, policy makers, teachers, students, and parents alike grapple with the definition of *good teaching*. Although teaching in general, and quality teaching in particular, is a complex multidimensional construct, there is nonetheless a consensus among educators that all good teachers are capable of empowering students and encouraging them to be engaged in their learning. This perspective is consistent with the constructivist approach that has emerged over the past few decades. In recent years, the constructivist paradigm has replaced the traditional positivist paradigm as the dominant approach within the education system. The positivist approach assumes that knowledge is constant and independent of the learner, and that the role of schools and teachers is to convey this knowledge to the students. The constructivist approach, however, views knowledge as a viable concept constructed by learners, and as a set of working hypotheses rather than an absolute and universal truth (Libman, 2013).

Although constructivism is not a theory of teaching, it suggests a different approach to instruction that provides learners with an opportunity for concrete, contextually meaningful experience through which they may search for patterns, raise their own questions, and construct their own models, concepts, and strategies (Schwartz, Lindgren, & Lewis, 2009). Moreover, as there is no one single way known to be effective for all learners, the challenge of constructivist teaching lies in finding the most effective way to ensure that students are active learners, while the teacher plays the role of a mediator, helping students construct their own knowledge.

For twenty years, the conceptual framework of constructivism has driven the dominant approaches to instruction design, resulting in numerous examples of practical implementation. All of these instances, however, have been concerned with the impact of this dominant paradigm on curricula, teaching methods, textbooks, syllabi, teaching materials, learning environments, and lesson plans, and virtually none have dealt with the realm of student assessment. Despite the fact that student evaluation typically occupies between one-third and one-half of a teacher's time (Stiggins & Conklin, 1992) and is an immanent element of teaching and learning, when it comes to the practical implementation of student assessment, the traditional positivistic paradigm continues to prevail. Surprisingly, while the constructivist paradigm has influenced instructional approaches, the demand to precisely assess

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educational outcomes has become increasingly compulsory. Indeed, in the current standard-based climate, as long as most decisions in education require accountability, decision-makers will rely primarily on measurement inspired by standardized large-scale assessment tools that are completely inconsistent with the constructivist approach to learning.

The aim of this article is to describe and to attempt to explain the gap that currently exists between the impact of the constructivist paradigm on operative aspects of instruction and learning, and its lack of impact on operative aspects of assessment, and to stress the importance of reducing this gap. The article is divided into three main sections. The first depicts the constructivist paradigm as an expression of the humanistic educational worldview. The second provides an account of the paradigm's practical expression in the educational act, emphasizing the problematic incongruence between worldview and practice with regard to assessment. In the final section, we discuss the necessity of reducing this gap and tightening the link with the professional educational ethics of educators.

THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT: THE CONSTRUCTIVIST PARADIGM AS A WORLDVIEW[1]

Constructivism is a theory of knowledge and learning that contends, on a conceptual level, with questions such as "What is knowledge?" and "How does a person come to know?" (Prawat, 1996). The theory of constructivism conceives of knowledge as something temporary, developmental, and subjective that is constructed within the individual through sociocultural mediation. From this perspective, learning is conceived of as a process of self-regulation, a struggle between beliefs and conceptions that exist within the individual, and new conceptions that usually differ from, and sometimes contradict, those with which he or she is familiar. This struggle results in the construction of a different representation of reality, in which the individual ascribes meaning to things. In the course of this process, the individual makes use of the surrounding society in which he or she comes into contact, through discussion with other individuals, debate, and other types of interaction (Libman, 2013).

The constructivist approach, known also as the new approach, differs from the positivist, or the old or traditional approach, primarily due to the fact that the former regards knowledge as permanent and independent of the person who holds it. According to the positivist approach, truths exist outside the learner, who must learn them; the more he or she acquires in this manner, the more knowledge he or she holds. The constructivist approach links knowledge to the individual and his or her previous knowledge, experience, and beliefs. Thus, knowledge is tentative, subjective, and personal, and cannot be proven to be real in an absolute sense, but rather only as a set of "working hypotheses" (Libman, 2013).

Constructivism is rooted in the Kantian epistemology of the eighteenth century and in the writings of Dewey, one of its founders in the early twentieth century.

Constructivism, as a concept embedded in the science of cognition, is addressed by the work of Piaget (1987), Vygotsky (1986), Gardner (1983), and others. The literature on the subject reveals an approach with many definitions and a multiplicity of streams, not a uniform theory. According to Spivey (1995), what these definitions and streams have in common is the "metaphor of architecture or carpentry," meaning the construction of a mental structure from existing parts designed especially for this purpose. The conceptual change is depicted as the construction of a new structure in the mind of the learner using building blocks laid as part of previous constructions, and not ready-made pieces of knowledge. The acquisition of knowledge is therefore an active and personal action. This principle has meaningful educational implications, since learning from this perspective is viewed as a self-regulatory process in which the learners actively create their own knowledge and interpretations, based on their experiences and beliefs.

Although constructivism is not a theory of teaching, it suggests taking a different approach to instruction from that used in most schools. Educators who base their practice on the constructivist approach reject the notions that meaning can be passed on to learners via symbols or transmission and that learners can incorporate exact copies of teachers' understanding for their own use. A constructivist view of learning suggests an approach to teaching that gives learners the opportunity for concrete, contextually meaningful experience through which they can search for patterns, raise their own questions, and construct their own models, concepts, and strategies.

According to the constructivist perspective, the role of the teacher is not to present the learner with truths; instead, the teacher helps him or her build, using his or her own concepts, principles, and insights that constitute knowledge. In this context, educators are aware of the fact that learners cannot be expected to independently discover or create all the already existing concepts and principles, but that they should be provided with access to the models, concepts, and conventions that constitute the field of knowledge in question. They understand that the challenge of the teacher is to find ways to help the learner assimilate this world of existing formal concepts, personally evaluate them, and adopt them within their lives wherever suitable (Schwartz & Martin, 2004).

Constructivist theory has enjoyed great popularity around the world in recent years due to the disappointment with educational institutions, which have not succeeded in achieving the results expected of them, especially with regard to the development of cognitive abilities. Numerous intuitive attempts have been made on the ground to move the focus of teaching toward the development of thinking and creativity and the cultivation of skills such as implementation, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, which highlight the responsibility of the learner, as opposed to skills such as the memorization and reproduction of subject matter. The result has been linkage between the philosophical conception, which emphasizes the construction of knowledge and meaning for the learner, and an education system aspiring to encourage high-level learning outcomes. The theory is also well suited to the new reforms in education, which recognize the autonomy of teachers and schools to

independently create meaning regarding the essence of learning and instruction and the processes that may enhance them (OECD, 2005). Furthermore, the theory is also reflective of modern and postmodern humanistic educational approaches (Levy-Feldman & Nevo, 2013), which, in essence, assign supreme importance to human dignity and the equality of the value and development of human life (Aloni, 2003). The humanistic educational conception highlights the natural human tendency for growth and development (Deci & Ryan,1994) and, in doing so, promotes the notion that every child can learn, that knowledge is assembled based on what already exists and is produced by the learner, and that there is no absolute truth. The humanistic educational philosophy recognizes both the ability of every individual to develop and the differences between people, two foundation stones of constructivism that find no expression in the positivist approach. According to this approach, the teacher is not the authority for learning and also not necessarily for instruction, but serves more as a mentor and mediator.

THE EDUCATIONAL-PEDAGOGICAL CONTEXT: THE IMPACT OF THE CONSTRUCTIVIST WORLDVIEW ON THE COMPONENTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL ACT

The prevalent conception today speaks of three primary components of the educational act: instruction, learning, and assessment. Together, these three components constitute the fundamental triangle of the educational process, and an effective educational paradigm must therefore impact all three components simultaneously. For this reason, we begin this section with a discussion of the significance of the triangle, with an emphasis on assessment as one of its immanent elements, and of the importance of the compatibility among the different components to ensure a coherent worldview capable of influencing the educational act. We then continue with an account of assessment, as envisioned by the constructivist paradigm, and conclude with an examination of – and an attempt to explain the reasons for – the gap between the currently prevalent overall educational conception regarding instruction and learning, and its operative expression in the realm of assessment.

Assessment as an Integral Component of the Instruction–Learning–Assessment Triangle

Numerous scholars have noted the significance of the instruction–learning–assessment triangle as a concrete manifestation of the educational act. Recent years have witnessed growing recognition of the importance of assessment and its decisive impact on the instruction and learning processes. Many scholars have emphasized assessment's immense formative power and influence over the "how, what, and why" of instruction and learning (Levin, 2009; Wiliam, 2011).

Assessment reflects the aims and goals of the educational process and influences its content and modes of teaching; the times at which and the duration for which

specific subject matter is taught; and the reasons for covering some contents while not covering others (Birenbaum, 1996; Nevo, 2001). Assessment has immense impact on the shaping of the culture of learning and instruction, the professional image of the teacher, and the development of students as learners.

Like the conceptions regarding instruction and learning, the realm of assessment has also experienced major developments and changes over the years, with approaches on the issue ranging from positivist-determinist conceptions to conceptions that are constructivist, interpretative, and critical in character (Fetterman, 2001; House, 2001). Positivist worldviews regard instruction, learning, and assessment as separate activities, with responsibility for instruction and assessment resting first and foremost on the teacher. The constructivist approach, in contrast, highlights the student's responsibility as an active partner in both instruction and assessment.

The operative expressions of the assessment processes, advocated by the different approaches, are expressions of different worldviews and ideologies regarding reality, education, and the conception of knowledge, not simply technical or procedural elements. Most positivist approaches prescribe a process referred to in the literature as "assessment of learning" (Earl & Katz, 2006) – a form of evaluation that is perceived as conservative and scientific and that is, by its very nature, associated with quantitative methods (Levin, 2009). In this evaluation process, the student is tested on the material studied by means of an assessment that is carried out at a specific point in time, usually at the end of a chapter being studied, and separate from the learning itself. It is an assessment based on psychometric measures that is formulated ahead of time and implemented in a technical manner, and that compares the quality of the learner to accepted norms and standards that are defined in advance. This evaluation process is carried out by the teacher alone, without the student's involvement, and sometimes serves a rational external interest aimed at control (Nevo, 2009) and prediction, as in the case of comprehensive international tests or psychometric exams (Black, Harrison, Lee, Marshall, & Wiliam, 2004; Levin, 2009; Wiliam, 2011).

In contrast, constructivist assessment, which is associated with qualitative methods, is ongoing and interpretative, and constitutes an inseparable part of the learning process (Shepard, 2000). Constructivist assessment takes into account the learner's previous knowledge (Wiliam, 2011) and is carried out throughout the course of learning, at every interaction with the learners and in dialogue with them (Black et al., 2004). Such practices give expression to humanistic conceptions of education in their recognition of the differences between learners. They are also adapted to each student, relating to the specific, unique context of each individual and, as we have noted, carried out in dialogue with the learner and with other parties of the educational act.

Specifically, constructivist social approaches find expression in processes to which the literature refers as "assessment for learning" (Earl & Katz, 2006). These approaches regard assessment as an ongoing process aimed at intensifying and improving the learning process that is conducted throughout the learning process

and not only at one point in time. Such practices are viewed as a liberal form of assessment that promotes both dialogue between the partners to the educational act and reflective processes. These are viewed as advancing processes of learning and instruction. More postmodernist educational paradigms that correspond with radical constructivism (Levin, 2009) are manifested in "assessment as learning": a meta-cognitive process of the student himself in which the teacher creates opportunities in the classroom to advance this process (Earl & Katz, 2006). The assessment is democratic in that it calls on all involved parties to determine the process and its aims, and serves a liberating human interest that ignores all the conventional rules of play and regards the partners in the educational act – teachers and students alike – as equals using assessment to enhance the processes of instruction and learning.

Constructivist Assessment

Numerous studies have presented concrete examples of assessment in the spirit of constructivism. On the operative and practical level, there is no prominent distinction between "assessment *for* learning" and "assessment *as* learning," and both are similarly manifested in the educational act.

These examples of constructivist assessment of learners reflect a number of key attributes, all of which must exist simultaneously:

(1) Assessment is not detached from the instruction and learning processes; conversely, it is clearly linked to them (Birenbaum, 2013; Wiliam, 2011) and conducted throughout the course of learning.
(2) Assessment is meant to enhance learning and serves no other goal, and is certainly not conducted for the sake of reporting/accountability, and not even for the sake of improving teaching (Wiliam, 2011).
(3) Assessment processes must involve the partnership and transparency of all parties to the educational act. Learners are involved in the assessment itself, as are the teacher and his or her colleagues (Klenowski, 2009). Even so, it is the learner who is responsible for assessment (Wiliam, 2011).
(4) The feedback conveyed in assessment relates to a context that is specific to the student and to his or her previous knowledge. Effective assessment is "domain specific" (Wiliam, 2011) and is therefore unique to each learner and not identical for multiple learners, even if they are in the same class.
(5) The feedback conveyed in assessment highlights the gap between the actual and the desired situation, but most importantly emphasizes what is required on an operative level to improve the future performance of the student in question (Ramaprasad, 1983).

In short, the methods of assessment characterized by the above attributes are commonly referred to as alternative assessment as distinct from traditional assessment methods, which are characterized by the use of tests in general and standardized tests in particular. Alternative assessment is distinguished by a variety of other methods,

such as the use of digests, journals, performance assignments, projects, exhibits, performances, and presentations.

The Gap Between Educational Conceptions and Their Operative Expression in the Assessment Process

Despite the paradigmatic shift toward the constructivist paradigm and the changes in instruction and learning, assessment is still manifested on the ground in a narrow, shallow manner based on the "standards approach." This limited approach requires students to meet mandatory criteria and regards learning as a linear process in which students move from stage to stage, after which the teacher assesses student progress (Donitsa-Schmidt, 2013). Such assessment is concerned primarily with the product and not with the processes. It judges the quality of the subject of assessment in relation to expected products (standards), and typically involves only the teacher or an external (government or other) body, which are also external to the student himself. As a result, such assessment typically involves high stakes and therefore cannot improve or be part of processes of learning and instruction ("assessment for learning" or "assessment as learning"). We again emphasize the fact that although many teachers in countries around the world implement assessment in a manner that resembles the constructivist approach to some extent, this approach does not reflect the prevalent trend. Western and other countries invest vast resources in tests, spend months preparing for them, and conduct comparisons based on their findings, praising the victors, demeaning the losers, and looking for whom to blame. Based on the results, they also conduct comprehensive reform to curricula, instructional methods, and other aspects of the education system.

The Reasons for the Gap Between Worldview and Assessment in Practice

In this subsection, we offer four conjectures regarding possible reasons (which should not be understood as mutually exclusive) for the gap between the dominant educational worldview and its manifestation in the realm of assessment.

The first conjecture is rooted in a fundamental opposition to the constructivist paradigm and the position that its pedagogical implications run counter to everything we know thus far based on the findings of research in the field of cognition. According to opponents of this paradigm, constructivist instruction is a postmodernist interpretation of progressive education that offers no innovation (Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006). From this perspective, the impact of this worldview is of particular detriment to assessment, as the adoption of constructivist pedagogy in its entirety would not only preclude meaningful learning, but would also hinder the ability of educators to understand what is happening in the learning process.

The second assumption is derived from criticism regarding the implementation of the constructivist paradigm in education. Specifically, it draws attention to the fact that implementing this paradigm is demanding and necessitates a conceptual change

and great effort from teachers and students alike. It requires the teacher to invest more time in instruction and assessment and to transform his or her role from that of a conveyor of content to that of a mediator or mentor (Libman, 2013).

The third conjecture is derived from the manner in which educators perceive assessment and its role in the educational act. Many educators have articulated fundamental and decisive criticism against activities of assessment, grounding their opposition in a fundamentally ideological conception that regards assessment as a process of judgment that does not result in the improvement or development of the learner. We maintain that this ideologically supported assertion stems from ignorance regarding the complexity of assessment and the developments that have taken place in this realm over the years. Furthermore, we argue that the public discourse pertaining to assessment, including the discourse of educators, relates almost exclusively to traditional positivist assessment, or, in other words, the use of tests. Research findings indicate that courses pertaining to assessment taught in the context of teacher education tend to focus primarily on knowledge and traditional tools, whereas the issue of alternative assessment is studied in an unfocused and almost intuitive manner (Fresco, 2013; Levin-Rozalis & Lapidot, 2010).

The fourth conjecture focuses on the inescapable political context of all decision-making, including decisions in the field of education. This conjecture pertains primarily to the problem of incompatibility between the conception of assessment and the act as conducted in broad, highly influential contexts of comprehensive assessment of large communities with the purpose of supervising and controlling the system. One of the more widespread terms used in recent years pertaining directly to the subject of educational assessment is *accountability*. This notion first emerged in the United States in the 1990s, in parallel to developments in the field of assessment and as a means of contending with crises in the education system (Berliner & Biddle, 1995). It is an idea rooted in the culture of standards and refers to the responsibility of educators to furnish their superiors with reports regarding the state of education. This may appear completely justified, particularly in an age in which the public also demands transparency in the field of education, primarily in light of the considerable dissatisfaction with education systems. Many have understood accountability as synonymous with responsibility and have concluded that it must be worthwhile, as how could responsibility and transparency be bad?

In actuality, the matter has become a double-edged sword. Instead of responsibility, we have received a complex bureaucratic procedure involving a reporting system that transforms teachers into the party holding almost exclusive responsibility vis-à-vis decision makers for all the problems of the education system. Instead of the professional autonomy of teachers, we have received monitoring and supervision. Instead of improvement of the educational act, educators' work has come to be characterized by adherence to instructions and a reduced sense of responsibility, resulting in schools that are constantly engaged in improving the appearance of reality instead of improving reality (Libman, 2009). The use of assessment in this manner has not allowed us to search for the places that are in need of support to

help students develop, but rather has sparked efforts to seek out those responsible (Nevo, 2009).

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND THE LINK TO THE PROFESSIONAL-EDUCATIONAL ETHICS OF EDUCATORS

The current dual discourse is not serving to promote quality learning, and doing so will require educational leadership linked to professional-educational ethical values capable of translating vision into operative policy.

Over the years, assessment has moved increasingly further away from the classroom, the teacher, and the students and has fallen under the responsibility of other external actors, primarily as a result of dissatisfaction with the education system and the demand for accurate measurement of educational outcomes. For example, in the United States, in response to the demand that educational work be more scientific, responsibility for assessment for the purpose of reporting has been assigned to officials of different ranks within the education system, which has resulted in the decentralization of assessment. As national responsibility for education is limited in the United States, educational officials on the state level have transferred responsibility for the administration of assessment to local governments (Nevo, 2001). The local governments, for their part, have sought the assistance of external commercial bodies, which have naturally preferred assessment using tests that generate accurate scores, which are easier to administer and more convenient for reporting purposes. A study conducted among school principals in the state of California found that principals invest substantial effort in coordinating state-administered tests in their schools, despite their belief that such tests do not help improve learning among their students (Nevo, 2001). In Israel, like in the United States, a learner assessment system was set up by the National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education under the auspices of the Israeli Ministry of Education. Over the years, attempts have been made to introduce this external assessment system to schools and to have it serve as internal assessment for the sake of improvement. The success of this measure, however, is by no means certain due to teachers' positions regarding the test's impact on the improvement of learning processes and the negative impact of different aspects of the test on the school level, such as the efforts put into preparing the students to take the test and the damage to the purity of tests, to name just two (Nevo, 1995, 2009). Furthermore, in most Western countries, assessment is carried out by external bodies. In the best case scenario, as in Israel, they are performed by the ministry of education or bodies operating under their auspices in cooperation with international bodies (in Israel, this role is played by the National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education). Under less preferable circumstances, they are performed by external bodies with economic interests. For example, in the United States, the testing system is administered by commercial bodies (Olson, 2004; PBS, 2002) whose primary interest is financial gain and which are apparently not interested in changing the

system. Educators and scholars have highlighted the fact that the testing system has gotten out of hand and that “the monster has turned on its maker” (Yair, 2011). What, then, needs to be done?

First, we are in need of a fundamental conceptual change at all levels of the system. The adoption of humanistic-constructivist assessment methods requires a recalculation of our current route. Such changes are no simple matter as they necessitate deep conceptual change and a new way of thinking about the role of assessment and of calculating its relative importance. In other words, assessment is supposed to improve teaching in a continuous and ongoing manner and, at the same time, to assist teachers in making critical decisions regarding students and teachers alike. However, due to the mutually contradictory aspects of these two roles, both cannot be fulfilled simultaneously and completely. Assessment for learning cannot be high-stakes standard assessment. Indeed, assessment that is assimilated harmoniously as an integral part of the learning process is actually instruction at its finest, in which it is not entirely clear where instruction ends and assessment begins. How, then, can we know if the goals of instruction are being met? What do we measure and how do we measure it? These questions require standardized assessment and valid and credible measurement that have little in common with the specially tailored, personalized assessment suggested by the constructivist approach.

The question of how to resolve this contradiction is one even experts in the realm of educational assessment today find difficult to answer unequivocally. Some maintain that we must abandon all hope of knowing the truth regarding the outcome of education, whereas other, less extreme, scholars maintain that we may need to moderate and limit standardized assessment of the outcome of education to major junctures during a child’s education. We call for abandoning the aspiration to always know exactly what is going on in the educational process, what has and has not been achieved, and who should be disciplined or dismissed as a result. This approach cannot properly assess the complex product of learning using standardized tools of assessment and, perhaps more importantly, such an approach exacts a destructive toll impact on the quality of instruction and the emotional lives of teachers and students alike.

The change, it appears, needs to come from two quarters – from the teachers themselves and from educational leadership. Teachers at different levels within the education system should return to authentic assessment linked to the educational act, and the education system, as a whole, should support this change by reinforcing the autonomy of the teacher and recognizing his or her professional value. Educational leadership must also refrain from being carried away by politicians, whose interests lie in satisfying the public by means of test results, graphs, and populist means. It is a challenging undertaking, but one that is possible. The implementation of humanistic-dialogic assessment, in harmony with instruction and learning, may also result in outcomes that are much more impressive than what is being done today. As an example, we return to the case of Finland. On the one hand, all educators

in Finland conduct constructivist assessment as an integral part of instruction and learning in schools (Sahlberg, 2011); on the other hand, the Finns have also proven to be well adept at playing the international game of large-scale assessment and boast outstanding achievements in this realm. Why have they been so successful where many other Western countries have been less so?

We believe that the answer lies in the effective prioritization of the two competing voices and needs of the modern education system: namely, in the articulation of a clear message by Finnish policy-makers regarding the dominance of the constructivist voice, and their concomitant recognition that the other voice – that of standardized assessment – must also be addressed. The Finnish system gives distinct priority first and foremost to school autonomy and the discretion of the teacher, and backs up these principles with regard to instruction, learning, and assessment. Neither schools nor teachers are expected to change their curricula to meet the needs of external tests, which have no impact on what is done in class, including the realm of assessment. In other words, the Finns have succeeded in combining a worldview of humanistic principles and education in the spirit of constructivism with a willingness to contend with political needs. What has made this combination possible has been the practical manifestation of this worldview in the education system, primarily in the faith it places in the professionalism of its educators and in the ability of all of its students.

NOTE

[1] Parts of this section are taken from, Libman, Z. (ed.) (2013). Constructivism in education. In *Learning, Understanding, and Knowing: A Journey on the Paths of Constructivist Teaching* (pp. 13–52), Tel Aviv: Mofet and Hakibbutz Hameuchad. [Hebrew]

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DOING PHILOSOPHY *WITH* CHILDREN

The Path to a Humane and Decent Democracy?

A globalizing reality manifests the intersection of cultures in all aspects of public life. As educators then, it is our responsibility to prepare students not only for negotiating the complexity of civic life, but also for managing it in such a way that self and other, and the environment, are imbued with deeper meaning and respect. For, if our goal is a more humane culture within the context of this globalization, it must be established on the solid ground of a *realistic* appreciation of all perspectives and it must also be achieved within the overarching principle of "least harm done." This suggests a number of skills, not least of which are the curiosity and willingness to inquire impartially into the causes and consequences of situations and actions, but also the ability to listen with an open mind, to be able to put oneself in another's shoes, at least intellectually, but also, hopefully, emotionally. These skills and those related such as critical thinking, rationality, and reflection are, moreover, often resurrected as requirements for citizens in a functioning democracy, and it is taken for granted herein that a democracy – government of the people by the people for the people – is a humane enterprise.

This chapter discusses doing philosophy with young children as a suitable means to achieve these ends.

DOING PHILOSOPHY WITH CHILDREN

Doing Philosophy with Children is now a worldwide movement that grew primarily from the work of two philosophers – Matthew Lipman and Gareth Matthews. Both philosophers viewed children as "natural philosophers," capable of engaging ideas typically identified as philosophical (e.g., free will vs. determinism, mind vs. brain) and naturally curious about the world. They initiated different ways of engaging children in these philosophical endeavors. Matthew Lipman created a K-12 curriculum comprising student novels and teachers' manuals with a rigorous teacher training program, whereas Gareth Matthews sought to identify already existing children's literature that contained one or more classical philosophical themes. (For a more detailed comparison of these two approaches, see Gazzard, 2012). Lipman's program will be discussed more extensively herein because, in short, it is more systematic and comprehensive than other contemporary approaches in both the way it covers the classical themes and ideas of philosophy as well as its instruction in

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logic and reasoning. In fact, it is Lipman's insistence on the development of good reasoning and critical thinking and its application to daily life that led Nussbaum (2010) to identify this program as a model of educational practice for responsible democratic citizenship. In *Not For Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities,* Nussbaum (2010) points out that while, historically speaking, numerous educational thinkers like Pestalozzi, Froebel, Alcott, Tagore, and Dewey have addressed the use of Socratic values "to produce a certain type of citizen: active, critical, curious, and capable of resisting authority and peer pressure…[they] show us what has been done, but not what we should or can do here and now, in the elementary and middle schools of today" (pp. 72-73). She highlights Lipman's Philosophy for Children as perhaps the only actual democratic pedagogy that has been developed to do this.

Lipman's Approach

In Lipman's program, the children's novels integrate classical philosophical themes through the voices of children who are at home and at school experiencing daily life. The novels, teachers' manuals, and teacher training programs systematically develop the skills of both formal and informal logic and practices of good reasoning. The age of the fictional children approximates the age of the intended readers with each of the seven novels geared to a particular grade. The teachers' manuals contain discussion plans, activities, and philosophical commentary to help teachers explore the ideas contained in the novels with their students. A major branch of philosophy is the focus of each novel. For example, "Harry Stottlemeier's Discovery," written for fourth to fifth grades, focuses on logic and epistemological issues, and "Lisa," for junior high, is on ethics. The issues and concerns raised in each novel are presented in contexts and with language appropriate for each age level. For example, in "Pixie," the novel written for third grade, Pixie, the protagonist, is excited about an upcoming class trip and cannot sleep. She goes to her sleeping mother, taps her on the head, and says, "Mamma, are you in there?" Correspondingly, the accompanying teacher's manual provides guidelines for inquiry into the continuity of existence and the nature of personal identity, to name a few of the related philosophical themes.

A small section of a novel is read aloud at any one time and students' ideas of interest are collected. Each point of interest is discussed until all participants are satisfied to move on to the next question, and subsequent questions, until all are explored satisfactorily to everyone involved. The teacher is a *facilitator* of dialogue and inquiry.

During their training programs, the teachers explore the novels in the same manner as the children, that is as a "Community of Inquiry." They discuss, with a professional philosopher as their discussion leader, the ideas that interest them in the novels and consequently become more sensitized to the nuances of the potentially rich philosophic content contained therein, and stronger in logic and reasoning.

A drawback of Lipman's approach is the installation of another curriculum into an already overcrowded (at least in the US) school day. Other approaches, like that led

by Gareth Matthews and, in turn, Tom Wartenberg, which work with already existing children's literature, overcome this setback but fail on the whole to give sufficient, if any, guidance in reasoning and critical inquiry. In his popular book, *Big Ideas for Little Kids,* Wartenberg (2009) identifies several children's books, for example, *Morris the Moose, Emily's Art, Knuffle Bunny, Frog and Toad*, and their inherent philosophical themes that can be discussed in a children's philosophy class. These books together with those identified by Gareth Matthews and others are wonderful stimuli for discussion in the hands of teachers philosophically sensitive and skilled in inquiry. Without these skills, however, such an approach will be haphazard and narrow in its philosophic content, at best, and philosophically indoctrinating, at worst. Therefore, let us extract from Lipman's detailed guidance on doing *responsible* philosophy with children, educational strategies and leadership considerations that might cultivate, from a young age, citizens capable of both functioning successfully in a democracy and creating a humane culture.

THE IDEAS OF PHILOSOPHY

The subject matter of philosophy, that is the classical problems addressed in philosophy and the ideas of well-known *professional* philosophers, are universal in their appeal. These ideas and problems transcend cultural and national boundaries and impinge upon all members of humanity. Questions like "What is the meaning of life?" and "What is the right thing to do?" are not particular to any one culture or group of people. Moreover, these questions are not restricted to persons of a particular age, nor to persons in a particular line of work or career. For example, a young student in elementary school may ask her teacher, "How do you know that?" or a college student may ask her philosophy professor, "What is the epistemic basis of your claim?" or a young woman may ask her doctor, "Why should I believe your diagnosis?" All three of these questions are the beginning of an epistemological inquiry. Similarly, a young girl may ask her mother, "Which dress should I wear?, Which one is more beautiful?" or a high school science student may ask his teacher, "Which theory is most parsimonious?" or a judge in an art show may ask, "What criteria will I use to judge the most beautiful painting?" All three of these inquiries relate to the subject of aesthetics. The point is that all the major branches of philosophy, often asked by even very young children, begin with basic questions: (a) epistemology – What is truth? (b) ethics – What is right/good? (c) aesthetics – What is beauty? (d) metaphysics – What is the nature of reality? It is the depth and breadth of the inquiry that follows that typically distinguishes the discussants, more than it is a predisposition to this type of thinking.

Accordingly, the ideas of philosophy provide common ground for persons from different backgrounds to relate to each other. Understanding can grow by realizing that what might *look different* across cultures may be a different *expression* of similar feelings toward one or more of these big philosophical questions. Persons from different backgrounds may not only realize they have similar questions in

front of them and perhaps similar, at least on occasions, answers, but they may also recognize through the cultural response how the big questions shape the smaller details of their everyday lives. Being able to see the other as a victim of his/her own cultural and familial conditioning slowly opens the door for compassion to grow. Instead of criticizing or rejecting others for the ways things are done in their cultures, students whose minds have been opened by the practice of philosophic inquiry are better equipped to help others divest themselves from the grip of this conditioning. It is also from common ground that differences become more easily embraced. Exploring similarities and differences between self and other, one's culture and other cultures contributes to the development of relational thinking, thereby enabling more meaningful actual relations. As Apple (in this volume) points out, thinking relationally helps one face the realities of the global political and economic context, as well as the cultural, all of which he argues are imperative steps for teacher education in the context of globalization.

It is generally agreed that philosophy has a commitment to the search for meaning and here we find another invaluable outcome of doing philosophy with children. Finding meaning (and purpose) in a globalized reality dominated by political tensions, economic instabilities and inequalities, genocide, and environmental devastation (among other devastations), can be challenging. Yet it can also be healing and a source of resilience if we can tap into it (Southwick & Charney, 2012). *Doing* philosophy *with* children is one such source. Viktor Frankl writes:

> Deep down, in my opinion, man is dominated neither by the will to pleasure (as proposed by Sigmund Freud) nor by the will to power (Alfred Adler), but by what I call the will to meaning: his deep seated striving and struggling for a higher and ultimate meaning to existence. (as cited in Southwick & Charney, 2012, p. 184)

Southwick and Charney (2012) note that, "For Frankl, meaning is not handed to us or given to us...it must be searched for, found and discovered in the concrete experiences of our daily lives" (p. 194). Philosophy for Children anchors all philosophical inquiry in the context of the problems and realities of everyday life and serves as an excellent model of Frankl's recommendations in this regard.

In *Resilience: The Science of Mastering Life's Greatest Challenges*, Southwick and Charney (2012) further identify the ability to find one's moral compass as another resilience factor. They argue that "actively identifying your core values, assessing the degree to which you are living by those values, and challenging yourself to adopt a higher standard can strengthen character and build resilience" (p. 64). What better way to do this than to discuss with one's peers on a regular basis the rights and wrongs of events in one's daily life, especially under the guidance of a facilitator capable of guiding the group impartially along the path of good thinking. As a third grader I may be puzzled by the rights and wrongs involved in sharing, borrowing, or loaning my pencil. Under what circumstances, if at all, should I expect to get it back? As a high school student I may be ethically challenged by the rules of the "dating

game," or by the moral and practical consequences of reporting, or not, on a friend's bad behavior. In either case, a classroom can be quickly converted into a forum of rich, lively, and meaningful ethical inquiry.

Philosophical inquiry with children, however, is not about instilling a set of moral values. It is about teaching children *how to think well* about moral and ethical problems. Learning to figure things out for oneself and discovering where one stands on issues, or where one would like to stand, goes a long way to building those core values and resilience to which Southwick and Chaney refer. Yet philosophy with children is equally about teaching children to think well about whatever topic is being pursued and here we find philosophy's second major contribution – its methodology.

DOING PHILOSOPHY – THE COMMUNITY OF INQUIRY (COI)

Community of Inquiry (COI) serves several functions and is applicable to any lesson a teacher wishes her students to consider more deeply and openly. Under the direction of a teacher-facilitator, students learn to discuss ideas, based on their original interests, using good reasoning as the path to guide the inquiry where it may lead. The goal of inquiry is not so much content-driven or teacher-dictated, as it is the end product of what good thinking produces. By discussing philosophical problems which typically have no known *right* answers (and most concepts in any discipline have philosophical dimensions), students become disabused of the notion that there are always correct answers and the fallacy that because "everything is relative" there are no wrong answers and "anything goes." Instead, students learn to appreciate that although there might not be a *correct* answer, some solutions are better than others because of the foundation of good reasoning or evidence upon which they rest. Moreover, students learn over time to appreciate and respect perspectives different from their own as they confront the reasoning and evidence for them.

COI also reinforces an understanding of distributive thinking. Students come to appreciate that the solutions to problems often result from the contributions of all members of the classroom community as they offer their ideas and build upon each other's. Within the context of this, COI students also learn to listen carefully. They begin to realize that if they want to be heard then they need to listen, and that if they want to defend their positions and question others, they need to listen for the nuances of the other's narratives and positions.

COI also requires the teacher to remain "pedagogically strong yet philosophically self-effacing" (Kennedy, 2004; Lipman, 1988, p. 188; Lipman, 1993). It is the teacher's role to keep the discussants on the path of inquiry, to facilitate the sharing of ideas, and to encourage discussants *to reason* through competing views. To be successful at this highly skilled task, with children especially, teachers of philosophic inquiry need to be philosophically self-effacing in the classroom. In other words, the teacher must refrain from inserting her views into the classroom discussion, keeping in mind that students, particularly younger ones, often have a desire to please the teacher, or think that the teacher is correct. Rather, the teacher should use her breadth

and depth of knowledge to understand more fully students' perspectives and to help them elucidate *their* views rather than imposing her own. In general, the more a viewpoint is articulated and its underlying foundation and implications made clear, the better the students can understand whether they agree or disagree with it and why, and the easier it becomes for the discussion and inquiry to move on.

Although there is debate amongst philosophers about the nature of philosophy and its normative role for what counts as good thinking, it is nevertheless the home of logic and reasoning. The Philosophy for Children curriculum systematically embeds instruction in the skills of logic and good reasoning, not with the intent, however, of affirming that logical thinking solves all problems. To the contrary, philosophical inquiry prepares students to discern what type of thinking is most appropriate for each situation. Sometimes it is reason and logic, and sometimes it is not. What is unique about the COI is that reasoning and other thinking skills are learned by their direct (and often unwitting) application to problems in discussion with peers. It is not the abstracted learning of isolated thinking skills, but rather it is embedded learning. The first grader will not necessarily be able to say, "I understand the hypothetical syllogism, and that's the denial of the consequent;" rather, and more importantly, she will understand that when the teacher says, "I don't see any hands up," the teacher means, "Nobody knows the answer," because "If you know the answer, you would have your hands up. You don't have your hands up, therefore you don't know the answer." Of course Piaget claimed this level of logical thinking was not possible for a first grader, but many of us have witnessed it time and time again.

Notwithstanding the great benefit to democratic citizenship of learning "to reason in action," COI also offers other advantages to educational leadership that hopes to cultivate humane, democratic citizens. First, it exposes participants to the felt presence of each other. Beyond words, and beyond overt body language, participants are exposed to the *feeling* of another's presence. This felt presence contributes to sensitizing discussants to the effect their thoughts, words, and actions have on others. It can be easy to speak noble words about not harming others, but unless sensitivities to the feelings of others are heightened, harm is more easily inflicted.

Secondly, inquiring into philosophical problems and questions with others exposes all participants to a variety of perspectives that can accrue on any one issue, thereby deepening each discussant's understanding of it. While this benefits the individual and her understanding of the issue, it also benefits her in other ways. Regular sessions of classroom inquiry gradually familiarize discussants with each other's thinking styles and orientation to problems. When confronted with real-life challenges and puzzlements outside the classroom, these same individuals have the advantage of then bringing their fellow discussants' problem-solving styles to mind, enabling greater facility with the problem at hand. Moreover, students fortunate enough to be in culturally diverse classrooms have the added advantage of becoming familiar with cultural differences in problem orientation and thinking, all of which facilitates interactions with a variety of cultures outside the classroom.

Thirdly, experiencing the give-and-take of discussion and becoming increasingly more adept in the dialectical process enhances awareness of one's own internal dialectic. If Vygotsky is correct and thinking *is* internalized dialogue, then the more one becomes sensitive to the give-and-take of verbal communication, to the way ideas build upon each other, to the fun one can have with ideas, and to the contribution others' ideas make to one's own, then the more generative and creative will be one's thinking. Perhaps more importantly though will be the greater ease and confidence one will have in communicating effectively with a variety of different personalities and thinking styles. For Dewey (1966), education is itself communication, and for Dewey, no communication is said to have taken place unless the discussants leave the dialogue changed in some way. Moreover, the ability to interact meaningfully with a variety of people contributes to a greater appreciation of our interdependence and reliance on each other as we move further into our more densely populated and complex world. That the world is simply not as clear-cut as some of our students' textbooks might have them believe is one of the increasing educational challenges of our progressively globalized reality. Our students need to become active participants in this world, and, consequently, they need more experience with pedagogy that adequately prepares them for being intellectually and emotionally competent with complexity (Kegan & Lahey, 2009). The give-and-take of philosophical discussion with a variety of personalities and thinking styles over complex issues and ideas is how the COI strives to meet this challenge.

Apple (in this volume) identifies beneficial consequences, typically overlooked, to the otherwise devastating consequences of population flows, namely, that diasporic populations are "resources of hope" in our schools and communities. Apple refers to the creative resilience of the poor, as manifested in the parents' unrelenting determination to seek a better life for their children and in the energy of diasporic and oppressed persons to resist structural neglect and deprivation. Notwithstanding the importance of increasing our teachers' and teacher educators' awareness of the economic and political forces that create these conditions along with the conditions themselves, the children of these populations and those in classrooms with them need the skills necessary for making critical analyses and for forming bands of resistance themselves. This leads us to yet another advantage of the COI.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1970) argues that the most valuable type of education, especially one in service of alleviating oppression and preparing people to make social change, is an education that puts problem-posing in the foreground, even in favor of problem-solving. As advantageous as becoming adept in problem-solving might be (especially compared to rote learning), for Freire it reinforces the established order of authority both within and without the classroom insofar as the problems to be solved are those typically identified by the teacher (the authority). For Freire, eighteen or more years of learning to solve the problems identified by the teacher, conditions students to understand their role in the world outside the classroom as problem solvers for the authorities, whomsoever they may be. Instead Freire argues that a problem-posing education, wherein students are expected

to identify the problems themselves before discussing them, conditions students in a radically different way. Not only are they learning a different orientation to knowledge and a different role in the classroom, but they are also learning not to accept blindly the world as it is, but to question it, look for problems behind the ordinarily acceptable, and inquire into change. Rather than being "dehumanized," they acquire the skills to fight for their rights and resist forces attempting to suppress their opportunities to rise to their full potential. It is on this point that Philosophy for Children distinguishes itself from other approaches in the movement. The COI of Lipman's approach has students set the agenda of what is to be discussed by working with questions they themselves have raised and it is only in so doing that a truly student-centered approach is possible. As valuable as discussing philosophical ideas might be, if they are the teacher's selection, then the aforementioned benefits Freire proposes will evaporate. Breaking the habit of the teacher as the *all-knowing* is also satisfied in COI by the teacher maintaining the "pedagogically strong, yet philosophically self-effacing" attitude. Together these characteristics of the COI work subtly over time to shift power relations between teacher and student, and students and knowledge, making those relations more flexible, more reasonable, and more humane.

Notwithstanding the pivotal role critical inquiry plays in participatory democratic citizenship, developing compassion and empathetic understanding for the plight of others has also been proposed as a hallmark of citizens functioning well in a democracy and globalizing reality. Nussbaum (2010) argues that the arts and humanities cultivate "the narrative imagination," that is, "the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions and wishes that someone so placed might have... a key part of the best modern ideas of democratic education" (pp. 95-96). In other words, factual knowledge and logic alone are simply not enough, and, as has already been demonstrated, doing philosophy with children is not limited to those benefits.

In the remaining section of this chapter, I address the contribution philosophic inquiry can make in developing compassion and empathy by virtue of its potential for positively effecting emotional intelligence.

PHILOSOPHIC INQUIRY AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

In *The Emotional Life of Your Brain,* Davidson and Begley (2012) clearly, and quite profoundly, demonstrate that the circuitry of the emotional brain often overlaps with that of the rational, thinking brain. According to Davidson and Begley, "There is no clear, distinct dividing line between emotion and other mental processes; they blur into each other…, virtually all brain regions play a role in or are affected by emotion, even down to the visual and auditory cortices" (p. 89). Moreover, Davidson and Begley's research into the mainstream of affective neuroscience demonstrates that mental training can alter patterns of brain activity to strengthen empathy, compassion,

optimism, and a sense of well-being and that the sites of higher order reasoning hold the key to altering these patterns of brain activity. Our perceptions and thoughts are altered when we experience emotions, and all are affected by the environment. Yet, according to this research, we can use our cognitive machinery intentionally to regulate and transform our emotions and thereby our experience (Oaklander, 2015). In many emotional and psychological conditions (resilience, context sensitivity, post traumatic stress disorder, positive/negative outlook, depression, attention), it is the prefrontal cortex (seat of reasoning) in an interplay with different areas of the limbic system that makes the difference and, as Davidson and Begley (2012) point out, "The prefrontal cortex was, and is, known to be the site of the highest of high-order cognitive activity, the seat of judgment and planning and other executive functions" (p. 69). These findings corroborate the earlier work on emotional intelligence that established an apparent lack of feedback from the brain cortex (thinking brain) to the amygdala (limbic system) in emotional outbursts, that is, when one is acting emotionally unintelligently (Goleman, 1995; Le Doux, 1996).

Although the long-held belief that each brain hemisphere has distinct, separate cognitive functions is now in question, recent research strongly suggests lateralization remains for some functions. Classical language regions of the cortex consistently show strong left hemisphere lateralization. Moreover, another hub (group of core brain areas) in the left hemisphere showed greater activity at rest on a varied assortment of cognitive tasks (Nielsen, Zielinski, Ferguson, Lainhart, & Anderson, 2013). The proposal is that this left lateralized area may be involved in attending to internal stimuli, internal narrative, or self-reflection, with further suggestions that this network may be active during self-referential thought and memory of past events.

In light of these findings, stimulation of the brain with creative, philosophic, and puzzling ideas is implied, especially if the opportunity for dialogical engagement also exists. Activities like these that promote reflection, inquiry, and critical thinking can be used as tools for self-reflection and self-inquiry when the topics under investigation are one's own emotions and the emotional situations in which one finds oneself. When self-reflection and self-inquiry are done at the time the emotion is happening, moreover, they serve as tools for strengthening connections from the cortex to other brain areas (amygdala, etc.). Indeed, Davidson and Begley (2012) give the following example as one of two recommendations to train the brain to develop a "positive outlook" (p. 230).

The recommendation is to place oneself in a situation that arouses a desire (emotion) that one is perhaps trying to modify and, while in that situation, resist succumbing to that desire while mentally planning (prefrontal cortex) how one will allow oneself to partake at some point in the future. The example Davidson and Begley use is somewhat confusing because of their use of desire, instead of one of the more basic emotions like happiness, anger, sadness, fear, disgust, or surprise. An example more directly related to these emotions might be of a toddler who, after being dropped off at preschool, becomes upset and sad and starts crying (emotion).

The recommendation would then be that the teacher sit with the child and encourage her to think (prefrontal cortex) what she would like to do with her mother when she sees her next. Perhaps they can enjoy making a list (planning-prefrontal cortex) of all the things they might do together when mother returns. Here we have stimulation of the cortex about the emotion while it is happening (connection of left prefrontal cortex to relevant brain part, the amygdala).

The point to remember is that the dialogue or activity used to engage the child cognitively at the time of the emotion must be meaningful *for the child*; it is *the child's* cognitive engagement that is crucial. Whether it be child or adult, however, the processes involved remain the same: creative cognitive engagement with the emotion at the time it is being experienced. Philosophic inquiry would be one suitable possibility here, as too would arts activities (Gazzard, 2001). Philosophy is well known for the complexity of nuanced thinking it demands from those who explore the problems it poses. Characterized by enjoyment derived from increased understanding as opposed to definitive solutions, its pursuit is sustained by an enrichment of life experience. Parents and teachers who can deepen a child's understanding of his/her experience, emotional or otherwise, by engaging the child in creative dialogue about that experience serve then as good role models of emotional intelligence. They activate the cognitive neural machinery with dialogue that is as much logical and analytical as it is intuitive and imaginative, and in so doing facilitate the child's access to his/her own emotions. Arts activities can do the same. As a child is trying to figure out (prefrontal cortex) which animal best fits how he is feeling (anger/mad) and the right costume to express it creatively, his thinking and understanding about the emotion are being refined through processes like discernment and analogical reasoning, to name a few.

These activities stretch an individual's tolerance for ambiguity and ability to suspend judgment, be it about people or situations. Becoming more sensitive to the subtleties of possible meanings that permeate all situations, individuals trained in this way have more hope of navigating the complexities of cross-cultural experiences and interactions both within and outside the classroom.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the Philosophy for Children curriculum in its entirety requires a significant commitment from a school district. Unfortunately in our test-driven educational environment this is becoming increasingly unlikely. There are, however, some general pedagogical strategies we can adapt from doing philosophy with children to better serve young students confronting their increasingly complex societies.

From a young age, students need to experience their education (if they are fortunate enough to be receiving an education in the first place) as meaningful and beneficial. They need to experience its relevance and, more importantly, have the opportunity to *create* its relevance. Engaging dialogically with ideas they find interesting in the

daily curriculum, at least for some part of the day, is a necessary step. Regularly allowing students to share and inquire together and to raise questions with each other and the teacher not only activates their own thinking but it reinforces their felt experience of being an integral part of the educational process and the construction of knowledge itself. Most, if not all, teachers should be able to manage this process. Similarly, they should allow students to inquire together into emotions as they experience them both within and outside the classroom. The ways teachers facilitate these discussions has long been known as the *Achille's heel* of doing philosophy with children. However, it should be no problem for a teacher who is:

- committed to helping students think well and improve their reasoning and critical thinking abilities,
- sensitive to the nuances of language, subtleties of meaning, and ambiguity that can accrue in even the simplest sentence,
- free of the obligation "to find an answer" and "teach a fact," and
- appreciative of the views and knowledge her students already bring to the classroom.

Without these special traits, however, philosophical inquiry resembles any other classroom discussion rather than the epistemological path it actually represents. Conducting a philosophical discussion, unlike any other classroom discussion, has the distinct intention of helping all participants clarify, explore, and further develop *their* thinking, and to appreciate ongoing inquiry into the world of experience as a pathway through life itself. The discussion facilitator is then well advised to leave her views outside the classroom unless, of course, views that are intentionally harmful to others are being espoused. Facilitators are obliged also to find unimposing ways of introducing important ideas into the discussion that are not being represented. This can be done simply with statements like "You know, some people think that…" Sometimes students request to know the facilitator's views. In the context of guiding philosophic inquiry, it is recommended that the teacher only respond if she strongly believes her students will not conclude this to be "the right" or "the best" answer or "the answer the teacher wants." This is often not the case with younger children. Here, the teacher is well advised to respond with statements like "You know, I don't really know…all the things you are saying are helping me think more about it…" This can only happen if teachers are well versed in reasoning and inquiry themselves. Of course, all teachers should know the difference between poor reasoning and good reasoning, how to use criteria in the formation of judgments, the importance of self-corrective thinking, and the ways in which thinking is sensitive to context, but they do not. Here, teacher preparation programs need to be more insistent on whether it be ideas or emotions, impartiality and clear thinking that brings the situation into greater relief. Teacher education programs might do well to follow the example of Waldorf education, where teachers are obliged regularly to join with fellow teachers and discuss the Waldorf philosophy. In our case, teacher education programs might require of their faculty ongoing participation in philosophic inquiry –

to keep the minds of the faculty open, alive, tolerant, logically astute, and humbled by the experience of innocence and wonder that so often accompanies philosophic puzzlement.

In *Teaching to Transgress,* bell hooks (1994) argues that self-inquiry is one of the most important habits a teacher needs to acquire if she hopes to alleviate the effects her own culturally conditioned beliefs have on her students. Without it, it is unlikely she will be able to inculcate reflective habits in her students. The same is true of the habits of good reasoning and critical thinking. Unless the teacher values these for herself and *cares* enough to spend effort working to these ends, it is unlikely she will care to do the same for her students. Teacher education programs would be well advised then to make efforts to convert their classrooms into places where students experience for themselves the joys and challenges of meaningful inquiry, especially about things often taken for granted as being true or unchangeable. This can be accomplished by dedicating time to inquiry into whatever text, philosophical or not, students may be studying or by reflecting upon aspects of daily life they find puzzling. A second grader shows us by example in the following account from a recent graduate in education at Wagner College who was doing philosophy with children. Fifield (2015) writes:

> We were using the book *Stellaluna* by Janell Cannon which focuses on a young bat who got lost from her family. Stellaluna was then taken in by a family of birds and found herself acting as a bird. Even though it didn't feel natural, she learned how to be a bird and play her role in the family. Later on, she reconnected with her bat family and her role changed again as she realized she was bat.
>
> One little girl in my second grade group pointed out how roles change often. She immediately made the connection that her role is about to change in her life. She was currently an only child but her mother was pregnant. She explained that she is used to being an only child and having a lot of attention. When her baby brother is born, she explained that her role will change because she will be a big sister. She said she would have more responsibilities and also receive less attention. She said she was excited to take on the new role and teach her little brother everything she could.

It is the meaning we give to experience, after all, that provides the bricks and mortar for the life we create.

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WORK THAT MATTERS

Preparing Future Leaders From Vulnerable Communities

In this chapter, we will discuss how the Wagner College Port Richmond Partnership Leadership Academy is one example of how a liberal arts institution can have a public and moral purpose. The Leadership Academy is a case study of how effective community partnership can serve as a point of intervention in the lives of high school students from a disinvested neighborhood. We argue that programs such as these give a public and moral purpose to higher education at a time when the general public has asked, with skepticism, about the value of a liberal arts education. This Leadership Academy, rather than a theoretical argument, is one response to that skepticism.

INTRODUCTION

In the Leadership Academy, Wagner College and Port Richmond High School partnered to build a college readiness program. The Leadership Academy is also a part of a larger community initiative, entitled the Port Richmond Partnership, existing between Wagner College and community leaders in Port Richmond.

Port Richmond is a local Staten Island community, approximately five miles from Wagner College. Its profile is captured in a 2005 NYC Comptroller Report, which describes it as "economically distressed" with the "borough's second-highest poverty rate (17.5%)" (Hevesi, 2005, p. 2). According to a Staten Island Community Portal report nearly 30.4% of the population receives income support (NYC Planning, 2014). Port Richmond is a racially diverse community with a high number of recent immigrants, particularly from Mexico.

The Port Richmond High School student body reflects the racial diversity of the community. The NYC Department of Education report on Port Richmond High School (2014) indicates that 78% of its student population are students of color (p. 16). In addition to reflecting the racial diversity, the school also shares challenges with the community. The 2014 graduation rate within four years for native English speakers was 67% (p. 18).

The postsecondary education statistics are less encouraging. According to the NYC Department of Education, in 2014, within six months of graduation, 46.7% of graduates attended either a two-year or a four-year college (p. 16). Of those students, 16.1% attended a City University of New York two-year institution and 12.4% attended a City University of New York four-year institution. The statistics are much lower for a New York State public institution (5.4%), private institutions (5.2%),

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and out of state institutions (3.7%) (p.16). Given the known correlation between the completion of a two-year or a four-year college degree and higher incomes, this community needs support if it is to break out of this cycle of economic depression.

We believe that Wagner's general institutional approach to education, which is based in the liberal arts, can prepare Port Richmond students for the academic demands of college. In particular, we believe that the academic skills we seek to instill in our Leadership Academy students are reinforced through community engagement that emphasizes the civic demands of democratic citizenship, and active community leadership. Thus, students in the Leadership Academy are not just completing academic courses, but are also engaged in community projects that reinforce the classroom learning (and this reflects the general mission of Wagner College).

The typical student who participates in the Leadership Academy demonstrates promise by, for example, excelling in a particular subject or by demonstrating tremendous creativity, but needs significant support to be college bound. Successful graduates of the Leadership Academy can compete for a limited number of full-tuition scholarships to Wagner College. If selected, they will then, in turn, mentor the next generation of Leadership Academy students.

DREAMING BIG: THE VISION FOR A SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP ACADEMY

The Leadership Academy began with Provost Lily McNair's successful grant application to the nationally recognized New World Foundation COIN Program. Dr. McNair derived inspiration for the Leadership Academy from her perspective as an academic trained in psychology, and as the Provost of a liberal arts institution that supports civic engagement. Her research in psychology focuses on developing community-based programs that support African American adolescents in achieving positive academic and social outcomes.

In this section, we address how Dr. McNair's research influenced her vision for the grant, and her commitment to actively creating inclusive environments within higher education (especially for those who cannot afford it). We then look at the role of programs like the Leadership Academy in the national debate about the value of a liberal arts education. Finally, we address how a liberal arts education that fosters inclusiveness contributes to the development of global citizenship.

Inclusiveness in Higher Education

Wagner College Leadership Academy is based on the Civic Opportunity Initiative Network (COIN) model of increasing college access for low-income students from underserved communities through programs that encompass the following key elements: increased access to higher education, effective mentoring, community engagement and development, and a commitment to advancing civic engagement and education as core aspects of democratic citizenship.

Initially funded by the New World Foundation, the Leadership Academy is a summer program that provides students from underserved, vulnerable communities with opportunities to engage in college coursework and live on a college campus, while being mentored by undergraduate college students. These activities provide students exposure to the possibilities of college attendance, preparation for success in college, and leadership experience. This is especially critical because these are students who, for the most part, are not viewed as *ready* or *prepared* for college attendance and success. We know that college completion has great significance for graduates, and it is particularly important to address these advantages in this current era of doubt regarding the value of a liberal arts education.

The value of a college education is reflected not only in significantly higher lifetime earnings, but also greater job satisfaction and more positive health status (Hanford, 2013). However, the persistent racial and ethnic disparities in educational outcomes and college access and achievement reflect differential access to educational opportunities for youths of color. In 2009-2010, for example, 77.5 % of bachelor's degrees were awarded to whites, while the corresponding rates for blacks and Hispanics were 9% and 6.3%, respectively (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). There is a clear and pressing need to address these disparities by increasing access to college for these young people.

The Leadership Academy program is directly related to Dr. McNair's earlier work as a clinical psychologist developing community-based programs to support African American youth in achieving positive school and psychosocial outcomes. The Strong African American Families (SAAF) program (Brody et al., 2004) brought together parents and their middle school children to give them the skills needed to address children's academic and social outcomes (e.g., dealing effectively with discrimination, developing positive racial identity). The children and their parents participated in a seven-week program, and then had two "booster sessions" that reinforced the skills learned earlier. Families who participated in SAAF experienced increases in positive parenting, and the youths experienced low rates of high-risk behavior, for example alcohol/substance use, sexual behavior (Brody et al., 2006). Five years following the completion of the program, this effect was still evident (Murry, McNair, Myers, Chen & Brody, 2014).

The SAAF program demonstrated that well-planned, targeted efforts to support change in young people's lives can bring about longstanding positive results in both the academic and psychosocial arenas. The current Leadership Academy program reflects Dr. McNair's continued commitment to improving the lives of children and youth from underserved and vulnerable communities. It is in this spirit of enhancing the lives of young people and creating more inclusive academic environments (especially for those who cannot afford it) that the Leadership Academy was developed.

Civic Engagement, College Applications, and Retention

Once enrolled in college, however, it is imperative to enhance students' learning outcomes and levels of achievement. We know that students who have higher college retention rates, graduation rates, and grade point averages are more likely to be those who had experiences in civic engagement activities (Cress et al., 2010). These civic engagement activities integrate theory and practice in a powerful and meaningful way. Academic, theoretical learning tied to applications in the real world results in enhanced critical thinking, problem-solving, and leadership skills (Colby, Beaumont, Erlich, & Corngold 2007).

Increasing college access for underserved high school students in the Port Richmond community of Staten Island is a high priority for Wagner College. Through the Port Richmond Partnership, a unique collaboration among Wagner College and over 20 community organizations, we have worked closely with local schools to promote educational success and college readiness. The Leadership Academy reflects our commitment to work more closely with high school students at Port Richmond High School to provide those skills and experiences that are linked to civic engagement and academic learning – which have been shown to be associated with increased intention to attend college, as well as enhanced college success (Cress et al., 2010). Thus, in the current national debate about the value of a liberal arts education, we strongly assert that preparing students to think broadly and deeply about the humanities, arts, and sciences is necessary for becoming critical thinkers who can address the world's most pressing problems.

The Liberal Arts and the Global Community

At a time when the value of a liberal arts education is being questioned, it is imperative that we consider the ways in which these colleges can prepare students to have the ability to apply their skills and knowledge to better not only their lives, but also the lives of those around them. Preparing students to become leaders in the global community means that we must educate them so that they will have the skills necessary to approach complex problems that require interdisciplinary solutions. A liberal education prepares students to think deeply and broadly, to have the ability to learn material from diverse perspectives, and to integrate, synthesize, and analyze new information. In addition, having the ability to think critically and communicate one's ideas effectively are all significant outcomes of a liberal education.

All children and young people across the world deserve to have opportunities to flourish educationally, socially, and emotionally. Programs such as the Leadership Academy, in which important components of a liberal education are embedded, give young people who face obstacles to college access opportunities to become better prepared for college matriculation and graduation, thereby providing greater opportunities for increased success and health years after graduation. Furthermore, by emphasizing a commitment to civic engagement and becoming "change agents"

in their communities, these young people will become global citizens and leaders who are prepared to create a world that is more just and equitable for all.

THEORY TO PRACTICE: THE PUBLIC PURPOSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The Leadership Academy welcomed its first class in the summer of 2014, and this cohort of students graduated in the summer of 2016. All of the students who completed the program have been accepted to four-year institutions, and eight students will attend Wagner College. Samantha Siegel, Director of the Center for Leadership and Community Engagement (CLCE), worked at the ground level with the development and implementation of the Leadership Academy. In this section, we identify some public and moral dimensions of community engagement, the logistical complexity of community engagement, and concrete examples that demonstrate the public, moral, and democratic dimensions of the Leadership Academy.

The Public, Moral, and Democratic Dimensions of Community Engagement

While contemporary organizations like Campus Compact have enumerated the benefits of community engagement, there is a rich history of intellectuals connecting the importance of community engagement to education and, more broadly, vibrant democracies. Of particular note is the typical focus on the important work of American philosopher John Dewey and Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. It is crucial to also note that recent scholars underscore that many popular histories of community engagement wrongly, and overwhelmingly, represent people of color and non-Anglos as largely passive recipients of service, rather than as active in their own communities, pioneers within the community engagement movement itself, or as prominent providers (Bocci, 2015; Stevens, 2003). It is important to us to learn from these corrections to popular history, and to think about larger questions of "white normativity" in the discussions about, and practice of, community engagement.

What many practitioners of community engagement share is a belief that strong communities are comprised of active citizens who participate in the democratic process by being informed, critical thinkers. Here in the United States, in the twenty-first century, we face a two-part problem relevant to the Wagner Leadership Academy. First, citizens cannot cultivate the skill set required to participate in a vibrant democracy if institutions of higher education separate academic theory from the practical application of knowledge. Second, they similarly cannot become educated, active citizens if they do not have access to institutions of higher education.

Here we cannot ignore the tremendous moral problem posed by the history of institutionalized racism in the US that negatively impacted the education and economic opportunities for people of color in ways that continue to reach into the present (Coates, 2014; Shapiro, Meschede, & Osoro, 2013; Starkman, 2014, Tatum, 2008). There are too many examples of vulnerable communities in which many of their members are people of color and/or immigrant families living in low-income,

high-crime neighborhoods that have the most challenged schools and the lowest rates of college readiness in the nation (and acknowledging this is not the same as denying that these communities have strengths, talents, and resilience). These schools also tend to be the most underfunded (Kozol, 1991).

These critically damaging conditions create a deep divide in our nation, causing many everyday citizens to feel disempowered, isolated, and separate from the well-being of their community, nation, and democratic society. If we fail to address the moral problem of educational inequality in our society, then we fail our children, our communities, and our democracies. Further, higher education institutions, on this reading, evade a public and moral purpose if they ignore how education at the primary and secondary levels influences who has access to a college education.

The Leadership Academy is one response to these concerns. While it is an educational opportunity for Port Richmond students, it is not constructed according to a damaging narrative of a private institution of higher learning (majority white and privileged) helping the needy (majority people of color and underprivileged) (Bocci, 2015). While recognizing the very real financial obstacle that college represents, and hoping to mitigate this, the Leadership Academy was born because of the tremendous talent within Port Richmond, the strong bond between the college and the community, and the research (some of which has been conducted by Dr. McNair) that overwhelmingly supports the success of well-designed, targeting programs of intervention. The Leadership Academy is a call to partner in a mutually educational relationship in the hopes that we can attract talented students to apply to our institution, join our student body, and take on leadership roles both with us and within their own communities.

The Logistical Intricacies of Community Engagement

As we characterize the development of the Leadership Academy, we want to accurately represent its logistical intricacies by situating it within Wagner's history of partnership with Port Richmond and other neighboring communities. In 2008, Wagner College established the Center for Leadership and Community Engagement (CLCE) to further enrich the quality of the Wagner Plan for the Practical Liberal Arts: the institution's unique and nationally recognized undergraduate curriculum. The goal of the Wagner CLCE – as it oversees numerous community engagement initiatives – is to strengthen the connection between academic theory and the practical application of concepts.

In 2009, Wagner College and community partners established the Port Richmond Partnership, with funds from a Learn and Serve America grant. The CLCE oversees the Partnership, which opened the door for many new programs within the community. The Leadership Academy is one example of a program that developed out of this Partnership. We can use the Leadership Academy as a case study of the complex logistics that the CLCE orchestrates.

The staff of the CLCE, with Samantha Siegel as its director, facilitates relationships

between like-minded professors, students, alumni, and community organizations. Ideally, connecting scholars, eager students, and community experts would result in fast-paced social change. In reality, the work is more complicated. To demonstrate this, we turn to two logistical challenges that the Leadership Academy faces.

In general, Siegel and her staff have to find common ground between organizations that do not always share the same institutional structure or culture as an institution of higher learning. Higher education institutions move slowly, methodically, and carefully in order to ensure an ethical process of collaboration, data collection, learning, and reflection. Meanwhile, community organizations often act rapidly, responding to the ever-changing needs of the constituencies which they serve and support. This significant difference in process can create friction.

The Leadership Academy adds the extra dimension of also coordinating with a public high school, which is governed by different policies than a private college (not to mention that the Leadership Academy students are legally minors whereas college students are legally adults). Given the complexity of this situation, Siegel and her staff are indispensable in developing, maintaining, and growing the Leadership Academy.

A second challenge particular to the Leadership Academy is a trend in the United States to accept a lack of dialogue about the sometimes disparate goals of secondary and higher education (Zemsky, Wegner, & Massy, 2005). The Leadership Academy tries to capitalize upon Wagner's deep relationship with the Port Richmond community to open up dialogue between the college and the local high school. In this way, we are eschewing a model of higher education which places the onus of admission on the applicant. We are reaching out to mentor students in both academics and community engagement, as they approach the application process.

The Leadership Academy's Public, Moral, and Democratic Purpose

The Leadership Academy responds to the call for a public, moral, and democratic purpose in higher education for the benefit of its own faculty and students, the Port Richmond community, and the high school students within the community. One structural characteristic of the program demonstrates the emphasis on its public, moral, and democratic purpose: the mentorship happening between staff, faculty, college students, and high school students.

The CLCE hires and trains Wagner students to work in the Leadership Academy as mentors. Mentors are selected based on their desire and ability to work with high school students who will need a positive role model. Their training includes: leadership, support for academically struggling students, conflict resolution strategies, and skills to teach action civics. Mentors also help plan all social activities for the academy students. In this way, mentors are trained to be empathetic and compassionate leaders.

The mentorship program brings the public, moral, and democratic purpose of the program full circle. The staff and faculty of the Leadership Academy mentor Wagner

students to take on leadership roles. Wagner mentors work in the summer to support the Leadership Academy students as they take college courses and participate in civic engagement in their own community. The Wagner mentors continue that support of the high school students during the academic year. They staff a Wagner office at the Port Richmond High School out of which they continue their mentoring.

Eventually, the students chosen from the Leadership Academy to attend Wagner College as full-time students will work with Siegel, her staff, and professors to help mentor the next generation of Leadership Academy students to both succeed academically, and to engage meaningfully with organizations in their own community. In this way, the Leadership Academy models leadership skills through mentoring, and then provides a concrete opportunity for Leadership Academy graduates to practice their leadership skills for the next generation of students.

NUTS AND BOLTS: ONE ATTEMPT TO APPROXIMATE THE IDEAL

Leadership Academy students began taking college courses in the summer of 2015. In this section we will look at an example of how one of the Leadership Academy courses, *Ethics and Society*, taught by Sarah Donovan, fits within the Leadership Academy. We will discuss how the selection of disciplines for inclusion is important to the Leadership Academy's overall goals, why we chose *Ethics and Society* instead of other possible philosophy courses, and how philosophy, as a part of a liberal arts program, is at least one example of how the liberal arts contribute to the public purpose of higher education.

Why Philosophy?

A philosophy course is one example of how a discipline within a liberal arts curriculum prepares students for college and life. It is also an example of a discipline that has become separated off from the public sphere, and isolated within the academy (Kitcher, 2012). As we designed the Leadership Academy, we thought about some of the basic skills that are central to academic and lifelong success such as writing, critical reading, critical thinking, quantitative reasoning, information literacy, and the ability to dialogue effectively about complex issues (AACU, 2015).

We agreed that philosophy can be part of building this skill set. In the United States, philosophy is not a discipline that is typically taught at the high school level. However, influential thinkers have seen the value of philosophy for primary and secondary education, and we paid attention to the literature that argued for its value at the pre-college level.

For example, in the 1970s, American philosopher Matthew Lipman began the Philosophy for Children movement in the United States because he understood that philosophy, as a discipline, had skills to offer even young children that could prepare them for success in life. Lipman rejects the idea that philosophy is really only for the most advanced students (Brandt, 2002). While we are not following a Philosophy for

Children curriculum, Lipman's work is instructive. He encourages academicians to erase the boundaries between abstraction and practicality, and to creatively explore how the tools of a liberal arts discipline like philosophy are readily at work in the everyday world.

Why "Ethics and Society"?

As we thought about the students and goals of the 2015 Leadership Academy, we agreed that a course in social philosophy like *Ethics and Society* was a good match. For the Leadership Academy is not just about academic success, but is also about leadership and community engagement; it is a program with a public, moral, and democratic purpose.

A course in social philosophy can explore different theoretical approaches to justice, both with regard to what people rightfully deserve, and to how social goods ought to be distributed. Given that the Leadership Academy is both a point of intervention in the lives of young people and a bridge between secondary and higher education, Professor Donovan chose the following themes to guide the course: distribution, access, community, and civic engagement.

While a goal of the Leadership Academy is college preparation, Professor Donovan also hoped this course would help students to develop a vocabulary and theoretical framework to better understand both the challenges and resources in their own community, and to cultivate a budding awareness of themselves as leaders and participants in a democracy.

But one course cannot do this alone. Thus, the Leadership Academy curriculum was purposefully interdisciplinary with a community engagement component. For the 2015 cohort of rising seniors, in addition to philosophy, the students enrolled in a college-level history course on immigration (taught by Lori Weintrob), an intensive experiential learning component, and a civic studies course (taught by Kevin Farrell).

All of the students in the same cohort enrolled in the same academic program; the only variation was with the civic engagement. Here they were divided up between four different placements for civic engagement that each had its own supervisor: (1) building a community garden, (2) working at a local immigrant center, (3) gathering information about college preparation programs for the local organization 30,000 Degrees, and (4) creating a community art project at their high school.

While professors in the Leadership Academy design their own courses so as to satisfy the demands of college-level work, there is an element of collaboration between professors and community organizations. For example, when designing her course, Professor Donovan discussed with Samantha Siegel and Professor Weintrob the type of work that the students would be doing, both in the community and the history course, as well as ensuring that the work would overlap with the core themes of the philosophy course

Further, Professor Donovan worked previously with some of the organizations in the community, and met with at least one representative of the organizations. Thus, she was able to take the broad philosophical concept of justice as a starting point, and fine-tune the focus so as to coincide with both themes from the history course and goals of the community organizations and experiences. Here is one concrete paper assignment that encouraged students to connect a discipline-specific course to community engagement.

Students wrote a paper in which they applied two disparate views of justice to community engagement. Here are the steps of the assignment:

1. Visit the website of your organization, and speak with people who work there in order to identify at least one challenge in the community that the organization is trying to address.
2. Identify at least three ways in which the organization is addressing the challenge, including how it draws on community strength to do so.
3. Connect this information about the community organization to different approaches to justice discussed in class.

This assignment fulfills multiple goals: it pushes students to further understand the community organization and the multiple local resources that it draws on, it asks students to clarify what a social issue is and how an organization addresses it, and it challenges students to apply knowledge of philosophical theories. We can imagine a sociologist or a psychologist utilizing his or her disciplinary standpoint to similarly push the students to connect discipline to practice.

Philosophy and the Public Purpose of Higher Education

Philosophy, as an academic discipline, contributes to the Leadership Academy for at least four reasons that also connect to the public purpose of higher education (and, again, we imagine other iterations of this for different disciplines).

First, philosophy has a powerful set of skills to offer students who, in the majority of schools in the US, will not have access to it until college (if they go to college). If we want to have a more equitable society in terms of educational opportunities, then we need to bring disciplines (and those who profess them) confined to the ivory tower out and into secondary education.

Second, philosophy lends itself to activities that we can work with the high school students on throughout the regular school year. For example, we recently created a debate club at the high school that will be staffed by both professors and advanced Wagner philosophy students.

Third, philosophy offers terms and theoretical frameworks for reflecting on community engagement and leadership – all of which lend themselves to a public purpose. For example, the social philosophy course presents diverse theories and vocabularies to guide Leadership Academy students in cultivating coherent positions as future leaders.

Finally, teaching social philosophy presents an example of a dilemma that at least some professors face at private, four-year liberal arts colleges. Students at these institutions, through their enrollment, are already benefitting from a degree of distribution, access, and community. This is not to oversimplify and suggest that all students at private colleges are similarly privileged. But there is a degree of hubris in discussing the above themes only with accepted students. In at least some ways, the discussion can only ever be academic if it makes no attempt to be inclusive of those with limited access. The Leadership Academy is a response to this.

CONCLUSION

We have provided an account of how an ambitious education program went from a grant proposal to classroom implementation. In the fall of 2016, we welcomed our first Leadership Academy students into the freshman class at Wagner College. They, in turn, will become mentors for the next generation of Academy students, as we continue to strive for a public and moral purpose in higher education. Our hope is to not only improve the current program, but also to expand it so that we can reach out to students even earlier in their academic careers.

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USING CIVIL AND DISABILITY RIGHTS HISTORY TO ENCOURAGE SOCIAL EQUITY

> Tragically, for too many Americans, the blessings of liberty have been limited or even denied.
> The Civil Rights Act of 1964 took a bold step towards righting that wrong.
> But the stark fact remained that people with disabilities were still victims of segregation and discrimination, and this was intolerable.
> – President George H. W. Bush on signing the Americans with Disabilities Act, 1990

INTRODUCTION

From the inception of the United States, there have been movements to reform society. Starting in the early nineteenth century, Americans have advocated for gender, racial, and most recently same sex marriage rights. All of these movements have had different constituencies, but they all have a common theme, a desire to be treated more equitably within American society. A notable example, the American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was a defining era for African Americans in their struggle for social justice and equality particularly in the South.

Movement strategies – including court challenges, grassroots involvement, nonviolent resistance, and civil disobedience – were successfully developed and implemented to end almost a century of racial segregation and discrimination in education, housing, transportation, and other public accommodations. The sophisticated, multi-stepped approach attacked discriminatory laws and questioned social acceptance of a racially separate and unequal society. Large numbers of African Americans marched for their rights using nonviolent resistance as one of many weapons. As a result of public support, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ushered in legal protections for all Americans regardless of race.

By the 1970s and 1980s, many other minority groups used the success of the civil rights movement as a model to secure equality, including groups concerned about equity based on gender, sexuality, and disability. The lessons of the Movement provided a powerful example for people with disabilities who also faced discriminatory practices in every corner of American society.

The first part of this essay is an exploration and examination of two movements for equality – racial equality for African Americans, and the fight for rights for Americans with disabilities and the disabilities movement – as they relate to humanist theory. The second part of this essay focuses on how the knowledge and practice of civil rights

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movements can be intertwined into a multidisciplinary course for undergraduates at small liberal arts colleges, with a civic engagement component. The authors argue that visits to historic sites and encounters with movement activists or with individuals affected by these movements, including those with disabilities, can have a powerful impact on student learning. Finally, a brief section outlines how this model could be adaptable to other secondary and post-secondary learning environments.

History of the Struggle for Racial and Disability Equality

In 1955, a young, unknown minister named Martin Luther King led a community of African Americans to boycott city buses in Montgomery, Alabama, to protest one aspect of racial inequality in the Jim Crow South. Today we recognize Montgomery as an important flashpoint in the fight for civil rights or what is termed today as the modern civil rights movement. Rosa Parks and the scores of other people who helped to make the boycott a success were part of a larger fight for citizenship rights and against racial oppression and discrimination of African Americans in the post-Civil War/Reconstruction era. The struggle for the right to be treated equitably in the segregated South would later serve as a template for other groups, in particular the disabled, as they too demanded their rights.

For African Americans, the struggle for equality began just over 150 years ago. The ratification of the 13th amendment to the US Constitution in 1865 abolished slavery and bestowed citizenship rights on the former slaves. Roughly four million African Americans would enjoy lives as free men and women who were also legally defined as American citizens. The yoke of slavery had been lifted and black Americans sought education, fair wages for their labor, and the right to practice their religious beliefs without fear of reprisal from white society. African American men, as new members of the polity, could cast their vote and hold political office. Many, with the support of their community, did just that during Reconstruction. Under the watchful eye of the Union, black rights and freedoms were protected against former Confederates who wished to re-enslave their former property and return them to a subservient position (Litwack, 1979).

But, by the end of Reconstruction, white southerners quickly reclaimed their place as the moral, biological, and intellectual superiors of blacks – as they presented it. Rights guaranteed under the US Constitution were quickly rescinded and African Americans were returned to defacto enslavement. The largely poor and landless former slaves found themselves at the mercy of former slave owners who created a system of debt peonage in the form of a sharecropping system of labor. Black men could no longer cast their votes after southern white democrats created a series of laws that restricted their ability to do so. For instance, voting prerequisites enacted in some southern states required voters to present proof that their grandfather had voted. Since all southern blacks were denied the vote in the antebellum South this tactic was successful in black disenfranchisement. In other parts of the South, poll taxes and literacy tests were used to discourage blacks from casting their votes.

In addition to the vote, other restrictions were legislated into law to ensure that African Americans would not stand on equal footing with whites. In the 1890s, a number of southern states created a series of laws designed to keep blacks and whites separate in almost every facet of life. Segregated transportation, one of the first examples of two societies, was created and rigidly enforced. In 1896, the legal doctrine of racial segregation was formally accepted when the US Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that racially segregated public accommodations were not in conflict with the Constitution so long as they were equal. An apartheid societal system was created based on race and largely controlled by whites that codified a separate and unequal society. Local water fountains were segregated by race, as were toilets, libraries, movie theatres, and swimming pools. Everything from hospitals to hotels were separated by race in the South. When a town could not afford to accommodate both races, facilities for blacks were not provided.

White southern society denied blacks equal protection under the law. Due process and trial by a jury of one's peers was a thing of the past. Violence and brutality were visited on black men and their families in the form of terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, who harassed and intimidated African Americans with impunity. Violent lynch mobs killed and mutilated thousands of blacks, mostly men, who refused to accept racial southern social notions of black inferiority. The charge was usually trumped up, claiming a black man raped a white woman. Separate schools created for black students were, as a rule, underfunded and neglected while white parents could expect – and received – well-kept buildings, modern facilities and curriculum, and excellent education for their children. African Americans who complained about the inconsistent and unequal conditions were punished with the loss of their jobs or some other violent retaliation.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the transformation of African Americans from a largely rural, southern community to one that was rapidly moving to urban northern centers, created an environment for change. The establishment of institutions of higher education exclusively for blacks fueled black unrest over racial discrimination. A growing, politically astute, black middle class created a number of biracial organizations to fight discrimination and inequality nationally. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was a civil rights organization created in 1909 to fight for equal rights for African Americans. NAACP leaders believed the most effective way to dismantle Jim Crow laws was to attack the problem in the courts. If one area of "Separate but Equal" could be overturned, they correctly surmised, that would set a legal precedent to dismantle all Jim Crow laws. In 1954, the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, led by the brilliant Thurgood Marshall and his team of lawyers, brought *Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, challenging separate but equal in education. They argued that school segregation violated the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. The NAACP presented evidence from Columbia University sociologist Kenneth Clark whose findings argued that racially divided schools negatively damaged black children's self esteem. In 1954, the Supreme Court found in favor of the plaintiffs

and overturned the 1896 *Plessey* decision that had established separate but equal in education. The wall of segregation was being dismantled one brick at a time.

The *Brown* decision opened the door for other legal challenges of separate but equal in transportation, public recreation, eating establishments, and higher education. The High Court's decision also energized community leaders to test the new legal victories (Kluger, 1976). For instance, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized a series of Freedom Rides through the deep South to demonstrate that buses and bus stations were not enforcing new Federal laws banning segregation in interstate travel. In 1961, an integrated group of 13 riders boarded two buses traveling from Washington, DC, to New Orleans to highlight the horrors blacks faced traveling in the Jim Crow South (Arsenault, 2006).

The Freedom Riders were beaten and the buses were firebombed by angry white mobs. In Annison, Alabama, local police stood by as Freedom Riders were beaten bloody by the KKK. Southern white resistance to Federal laws abolishing Jim Crow only hardened the resolve of local African Americans who believed inaction was worse than death. The scenes of white violence against nonviolent protesters incensed Northerners, who looked to the Federal Government to rectify the situation. Local "mini-movements" sprung up all over the South. College student activists created the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a student-led pacifist youth organization, to help organize and mobilize local community members in their fight for equality. Students organized a series of "sit-ins" to integrate lunch counters all over the South. Their protests were always nonviolent and usually resulted in beatings and mass arrests at the hands of angry whites.

Birmingham, Alabama, presented one of the worst examples of white resistance to local demands for racial equality in one of the most oppressively segregated cities in the South. Local activists aided by the Southern Conference of Leadership Conference (SCLC), CORE, SNCC, and the NAACP organized a series of boycotts and marches designed to open talks with city officials to begin the end of Jim Crow as mandated by recent Supreme Court rulings. Black leaders demanded integrated services in transportation, restaurants, public facilities, and stores, as well as more economic opportunities for African Americans in certain areas of employment formally denied to them. Birmingham officials, denied the requests and met the increased grassroots activities with a degree of brutality unique even for the South. Fire hoses were turned on peaceful marchers, some of whom were children. Police rolled out tanks and police-attack dogs to intimidate marchers. Moderate-minded southerners and northerners were outraged by reports of Birmingham in the national media. The events of Birmingham forced the Kennedy administration to act on the violence perpetrated on American citizens as they exercised their constitutional rights (Garrow, 1986).

In 1963, national momentum for black rights was at its zenith. The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom – simply known as the March on Washington – shone the national spotlight on *the struggle* for equality for black Americans. Black and white activists from all over the country gathered on the National Mall to hear

speakers from the leading civil rights organizations demand equality for all Americans. Dr. King gave his "I Have a Dream" speech to an electrified audience of a quarter of a million people. However, in spite of the support many Americans gave civil rights activists, southern intimidation and the violence continued. Just one month after the gathering in Washington, the 16th Street Baptist Church, an African American house of worship in Birmingham, was bombed and four young African American girls died. Nine months later, three SNCC organizers – James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner – were murdered in Mississippi for helping black Mississippians register to vote. In response, the Johnson administration moved to have the Voting Rights Act of 1965 passed to ensure the 14th and 15th amendments' right to vote for all Americans. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination based on race, color, gender, religion, or national origin. Discriminatory practices that disenfranchised southern blacks, for generations, were also abolished along with segregation in education, and in public accommodations and employment.

The United States in the second part of the 1960s continued to be a racially charged society. The assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy kept the reality of inequalities in America on the front pages. By the end of the decade, African Americans were no longer mandated by laws that separated and created for them an unequal place in society (although their cultural position had yet to be addressed). It took almost a century of court battles and grassroots actions to enact change. For African Americans, the strategy of community involvement, grassroots movements, nonviolent resistance, legal challenges, and Federal intervention offered some degree of success. The torch for the fight for equal citizenship rights has been passed on to other minority groups who have yet to achieve a greater level of equality.

History of Disability Rights in the United States

Much like the racial struggle for equality, people with disabilities, who represent a considerable minority, have typically been forced into marginalized spaces within our society. Considered as outsiders, people with disabilities in the United States, are often viewed through a perspective deeply rooted in psychological fear of the unknown and preserved abnormalities from ourselves (Barnes, 2010). For the majority, different becomes internalized as scary, inferior, or both. David Goode (2013) summarizes it this way: "History shows that most societies have relegated people with disabilities to deviant status and that such statutes has been the basis for their exclusion, incarceration, cruel treatment, and even killing."

In fact, by the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries people with disabilities throughout the United States were either cloistered away in the home, or more likely institutionalized to shield families from the shame associated with physical or emotional handicaps. Societal and personal shame also stopped them from any further contact with their family member who was institutionalized. This was the norm for industrialized societies until roughly the 1950s and 1960s. At the

same time the African American community was beginning to demand their rights as citizens, the deplorable conditions in freestanding institutions and asylums for people with mental illness and disabilities were also being questioned by family members of and people who worked with the disabled whose treatment had been largely forgotten or ignored by American society. After a series of damning revelations of squalid living conditions and abuse, many of the worse offenders – *big* freestanding institutions – were shut down. However, closing large institutions was not a solution to the problem of how to incorporate the "disabled" into society. Typically, the most challenging cases went to smaller nursing homes or psychiatric hospitals (which is still the case today), and other less *troubling* cases were sent back to live at home with their families.

With more individuals with disabilities outside of the institution, the challenge of what to do with them and the question of how to increase their quality of life were major concerns for policy makers. Unfortunately, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, while being important pieces of legislation for racial equality, did not afford the same protection for people with disabilities. For example, people with mobility impairments could not physically gain access to most public buildings in the US, and people with intellectual disabilities (mental retardation) were legally excluded from public and private schools. However, the lessons of the civil rights movement – legal challenges, marches, protests, and civil disobedience – were adopted by disabilities activists and their advocates. These actions helped lead to the passage of cornerstone disabilities acts in the 1970s. For instance, the Urban Mass Transportation Act required new buses to include wheelchair lifts for disabled riders. The *Mills v. Board of Education of District of Columbia* Federal ruling found that handicapped children had a right to a public education, citing the example of *Brown.* This decision opened the way for the passage of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA).

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 effectively provided legal protection and stated that no federal entity or entities that received federal funding could discriminate against people with disabilities. In another landmark law in 1975, Congress passed Public Law 94-142, also known as the All Handicapped Children's Act, which gave students with disabilities the legal right to a public education that their non-disabled peers had the right to for decades. This did not guarantee an equal quality of education, but it did give students with disabilities the legal right to go to school.

It would take another 15 years before the next disability rights and education legislation was passed. In 1990 two laws fundamentally changed the rights of people with disabilities in the US. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA, 1990), updated the All Handicapped Children's Act of 1975 and added additional safeguards for access and equity in education for disabled children. This effectively placed the United States educational system as a much more equitable and quality institution.

Similarly, the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA, 1990) started to level the playing field both by insuring physical access to buildings and greater

opportunities in employment. The ADA required that any new building construction and any older building renovation conducted after 1990 must follow ADA codes which mandated handicapped access to buildings, bathrooms, and businesses inside. In addition, the law provided that any business that employed more than 15 employees must be accessible to individuals with disabilities. Finally the law provided that employers could not discriminate against a person if they had a disability, were believed to have a disability, or cared for someone with a disability.

Changes from the 1950s through the 1990s easily measure, and are often touted as, signs of true progress. Yet, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, true societal change and progress is harder to see. Therefore we thought it wise to cite a few current examples that help demonstrate some of the more recent progress and specifically choose examples of "uplifting from within."

USE OF PRACTICAL HISTORY AS A PEDAGOGICAL TOOL IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A COURSE

In thinking about how to teach these skills and how to create a condition for using these types of "practical histories" to emphasize more humanistic values in education, one can look throughout this book for examples. By comparing two social justice movements, students can better identify recurring patterns of institutional discrimination as well as the range of strategies of democratic protest. When combined with civic engagement at the secondary school or college level, this approach has been valuable to spur a deeper understanding of past and present and greater empathy for others.

Context: The Wagner Plan for the Practical Liberal Arts

Currently, the academic course is situated in the use of the college-wide model known as the Wagner Plan. Implemented by a faculty-led cohort and developed by college President Richard Guarasci, the Wagner Plan systematically connects the theories learned in the classroom with practice in local and global communities. While all course instructors are encouraged to make direct connections between theory and practice, the Wagner Plan provides three specific moments in all undergraduates' experiences in which these connections are made explicit. Specifically, students engage in the Wagner Plan during a series of three course: the first in their freshman year, another in either their sophomore or junior year, and the third during their senior year. Each experience is meant to increase students' engagement both in cross-disciplinary content and in the various communities that they will eventually serve.

As part of courses on disability rights, traditional Wagner College students (ages 18-21) are paired with adults with intellectual disabilities (ages 21-50). Typically adults with intellectual disabilities do not have any formal learning opportunities beyond secondary school. The opportunity to learn in a college setting is almost nonexistent. Wagner students who teamed up with learners from Lifestyles for

the Disabled have had very impactful experiences as they develop mutual respect through discussion, writing, and other team projects. What really sets this experience apart is the use of a problem-posing pedagogy. Paulo Freire states that in problem-posing pedagogy: "The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow" (Brouse, Basch, & Wolf, 2012, p. 80).

This experience working with the disabled could be combined with teaching about the civil rights movement. In a course at Wagner College on the civil rights movement, students visit historic sites around NYC as they relate to the African American past in general and civil rights activism in particular. This may include a visit to the African Burial Ground National Park in lower Manhattan to teach students about slavery in New York or a trip up to Harlem to discuss the city's segregated past. Before students visit historical sites they might also be asked to read *Accessible New York*, New York City's annual report on the state of people with disabilities living in New York City, generated by the mayor's office. As students travel around the greater NYC area, they will be required to critically analyze the accessibility of the city for people with mobility-based disabilities, write a paper on how well a major metropolitan city provides for the disabled, and suggest how New York City can better serve this population. Throughout the course students could discuss articles devoted to the rights movements in relation to either the African American community and to people with disabilities to understand the evolution of discrimination, protest, and resilience. Several sources can be used for further discussion such as: Lennard J. Davis' *Disabilities Studies Reader* (2006), especially Chris Bell's chapter, "Introducing White Disability Studies: A Modest Proposal," and Anna Mollow's chapter, "When *Black* Women Start Going On Prozac…The Politics of Race, Gender, and Emotional Distress in Meri Nana-Ama Danquah's *Willow Weep for Me.*" These theoretical analyses, combined with civic engagement experiences, allow students to directly compare the diversity, disability, and intersectionality in the struggle for equality.

CONCLUSION

American society is very good at noticing and commenting on injustices and inequities. Current pop culture has a multitude of traditional and satirical television news shows dedicated to demonstrating and pointing out these issues. However, we, in American society, are much slower to muster the courage to act upon these injustices and inequities to set things *right*. It took decades of active work by the civil rights movement to get the laws changed, but we have failed or at least fallen very short of having those changes implemented in a systematically equitable way in the larger society. In fact, in both the cases of the African American and Disabilities communities we still function under a very real "separate and not so equal" form of education.

Moreover, we almost universally fail to recognize and discuss that there are significant psychologically damaging effects on the oppressed. We need to, at a minimum, acknowledge the feelings of the "imposter syndrome" the oppressed typically feel when clearing the way into segments of society that were previously closed off and unwelcoming. In an effort toward full disclosure, each of the authors are members of one of the two populations discussed in this chapter, and until recently neither African Americans nor individuals with disabilities were particularly welcome in many higher education settings.

In this chapter we not only inform the reader about the historical events of the civil rights and disability rights movements, but present them in a manner that can be used as a pedagogical tool for encouraging future educators to be more humanistic in their approach and understanding of diverse learners in their classrooms. While this chapter focused specifically on African Americans and individuals with disabilities, and their civic and social rights within the context of the United States, educators both at the secondary and post-secondary levels could do the same with additional identities that are from other regions of the world – including different identities than the ones discussed here. For example, within the Sub-Saharan African continent, how educators in a country from Southern Africa such as Botswana choose to address social change for people with disabilities is significantly different than the approach currently underway in a Western African country such as Cameroon. Educators, civic leaders, and social change agents may want to create a similar type of structure to explore issues of identity and civil rights in a compare-and-contrast collaboration or focus within their societal structure to advocate for more awareness and change.

Regardless of global region, identity, or even civic goal, it is all too often the case in US teacher preparation programs that we do not provide the space and time to discuss, debate, and wrangle with humanist theories. We are leaving it up to the students/future teachers to create their "own truth" in isolation, when so much of their time is spent on assessments that unfortunately are often disconnected from the actual tasks of learning and problem-solving. We have an opportunity and a responsibility to create the empathetic, caring, and challenging settings that foster the learning we desire for all humans.

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PART 4

EDUCATION FOR RESPONSIBILITY: TOWARDS A CULTURE OF PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

MICHAEL W. APPLE

GLOBAL CRISES, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND TEACHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION[1]

When the United States government released its 2007 census figures in January 2010, it reported that 12% of the US population – over 38 million people – were foreign born. First generation people were now one out of every eight persons in the nation, with 80% coming from Latin America and Asia (US Census Bureau, 2010). This near record transformation, one in which diasporic populations now constitute a large and growing percent of communities throughout the nation and an ever-growing proportion of children in our schools, documents one of the most profound reasons that we must think globally about education. This transformation is actually something of which we should be proud. The United States and a number of other nations are engaged in a vast experiment that has rarely been attempted before. Can we build our nations and cultures from resources and people from all over the world? The impacts of these global population flows on education and on teacher education are visible all around us.

No discussion of globalization and its relation to teacher education can be sufficient without an understanding of globalization in general. Because of this, in this chapter I want to do a number of things. First, I argue for a broader understanding of globalization and its effects, and point to some implications that this has for teachers and teacher educators as they try to comprehend and act on their changing situations. Second, I shall remind us of some "first principles" that should guide our understanding and actions. Third, I point to some key works that should be required reading for anyone who wants to take seriously the realities of the effects of globalization on many of the countries and regions from where new populations may come. My agenda is a large one. Because of this I can only outline a series of steps toward more critical understandings of globalization. But our problems are large as well.

UNDERSTANDING GLOBALIZATION

If one were to name an issue that has come to be found near the top of the list of crucial topics within the critical education literature, it would be *globalization*. It is a word with extraordinary currency. This is the case not only because of trendiness. Exactly the opposite is the case. It has become ever more clear that education cannot be understood without recognizing that nearly all educational policies and practices

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are strongly influenced by an increasingly integrated international economy that is subject to severe crises, that reforms and crises in one country have significant effects in others, that immigration and population flows from one nation or area to another have tremendous impacts on what counts as official knowledge, what counts as a responsive and effective education, and what counts as appropriate teaching; the list could continue for quite a while. Indeed, as I show elsewhere, all of these social and ideological dynamics and many more are now fundamentally restructuring what education does, how it is controlled, and who benefits from it throughout the world (Apple, 2006, 2010).

Neoliberal, neoconservative, and managerial impulses can be found throughout the world, cutting across both geographical boundaries and even economic systems. This points to the important "spatial" aspects of globalization. Policies are "borrowed" and "travel" across borders in such a way that these neoliberal, neoconservative, and managerial impulses are extended throughout the world, and alternative or oppositional forms and practices are marginalized. The fact that the attacks on teacher education institutions that are sponsored by conservative think-tanks in the United States are now surfacing in many other nations documents part of this dynamic. The additional fact that performance pay for teachers is now part of official government policy in China at the same time that it is having major effects in discussions of and policies on teaching in the United States and elsewhere is yet another indication of the ways in which policies concerning teaching and teacher education travel well beyond their original borders.

The insight that stands behind the focus on globalization in general can perhaps best be summarized in the words of a character in a novel about the effects of the British Empire (Rushdie, 1981). If I may be permitted to paraphrase what he says, "The problem with the English is that they don't understand that their history constantly occurs outside their borders." We could easily substitute words such as "Americans" and others for "English."

There is a growing literature on globalization and education. This is undoubtedly important and a significant portion of this literature has provided us with powerful understandings of the realities and histories of empire and postcolonialism(s), the interconnected flows of capital, populations, knowledge, and differential power, and the ways in which thinking about the local requires that we simultaneously think about the global. But as I argue in the next section of this chapter, a good deal of it does not go far enough into the realities of the global crises so many people are experiencing, or it assumes that the crises and their effects on education are the same throughout the world. Indeed, the concept of globalization itself needs to be historicized and seen as partly hegemonic itself, since at times its use fails to ground itself in "the asymmetries of power between nations and colonial and neocolonial histories, which see differential national effects of neoliberal globalization" (Lingard, 2007, p. 239).

This is not only analytically and empirically problematic, but it may also cause us to miss the possible roles that critical teacher education – and critical education

and mobilizations around it in general – can play in mediating and challenging the differential benefits that the crises are producing in many different locations. Any discussion of these issues needs to be grounded in the complex realities of various nations and regions and in the realities of the social, cultural, and educational movements and institutions of these nations and regions. Doing less than that means that we all too often simply throw slogans at problems rather than facing the hard realities of what needs to be done – and what is being done now. But slogans about globalization, and what is needed to help teacher educators and our current and future teachers understand its nature and effects, are certainly not sufficient given current realities.

One of the main problems is that teachers and teacher educators are left with all too general stereotypes about "what diasporic children and their parents are like" and what the conditions are in the places where they may come from. But effective teaching requires that we understand students, their communities, and their histories not only according to where they live now, but by the sum of their experiences before they came to the United States and other nations. Superficial knowledge may be not much better than no knowledge at all. It may also paint a picture of parents and youth as passive "victims" of global forces, rather than as people who are active agents continually struggling both in their original nations and regions and here in the United States to build a better life for themselves, their communities, and their children. Thus, teachers and teacher educators need to know much more about the home countries – and about the movements, politics, and *multiple* cultural traditions and conflicts from where diasporic populations come.

Let me give an example. In my own university, the fastest growing minor for students enrolled in our elementary teacher education program is Spanish. This is based on a recognition of the ways in which global flows of people from the South to the North are having profound effects on educational policies and practices and on the resources that current and future teachers require given this. I do not want to speak against this choice of a minor at all. Indeed, I have a good deal of respect for future and current teachers who are willing to engage with diasporic students in "their own language."

But the final words in the above paragraph speak powerfully to my point about knowing more about the politics and multiple cultural traditions of home countries. Many of the students from, say, Mexico and other Latin American nations speak *indigenous* languages as their first language. Spanish is their second language. In their home countries and regions, there are powerful movements among indigenous groups and their progressive allies to defend these languages and cultures. Not understanding this political history and the cultural traditions and struggles associated with it can lead teachers to assume that students being taught in Spanish who do not do well in spite of this are "less intelligent," are in need of "special education" and other interventions. Having a much more detailed sense of and sensitivity towards the complexities of the regions from which students come and the political and cultural movements and struggles there would be absolutely essential for creating curricular

and teaching practices that are culturally relevant (see Apple, & Beane, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 1994). But this would also help prevent us from misrecognizing the actions of parents and communities in the areas in which the schools sit and the areas from where the people originally may have come.

This recognition of agency, of people and movements actively engaged in building a better future both "here and there," would go a long way in reducing the tendencies among many educators in places like the United States to assume that they have nothing to learn from the global flows of people who are now transforming our nation and so many others. This is a crucial point. Major transformations in education and social life *are* going on in those nations and regions from where so many people are coming. Those of us in education here have much to learn about how we might transform our own often overly bureaucratic and at times strikingly unequal institutions by looking at other nations' experiences and seeing people who have come from these nations as *resources*, not only as problems.

Let me give an example here. There are powerful models that specify more critical moments and processes in education from which we could learn, the justly well-known reforms in Porto Alegre, Brazil (see, e.g., Apple, 2013; Apple, Au, & Gandin, 2009; Gandin, 2006) being among the more important. These analyses of the reforms in Porto Alegre – reforms that are having important influences throughout Latin America – have major implications for teaching and teacher education, since the growth and acceptance of more critically democratic educational policies and practices there could not have been accomplished without the participation of a core of well-prepared and critically reflexive teachers. We have much to learn from these reforms that link together major critically democratic transformations in both social and educational policy and practice, and the close connections between teacher education and these transformations.

These examples of critical work in nations outside the United States should not make us assume that discussions of globalization are only about "other" countries. Any complete analysis of the United States, for example, needs to be situated in the global realities here. This involves a probing investigation of an increasingly diverse society, one where major economic changes and the realities of multiculturalism, "race," "diaspora," and immigration play crucial roles, as does the fact that even with the legacy of such policies as No Child Left Behind, there is relatively weak central governmental control over education. Economic transformations, the creation of both paid and casualized and often racialized labor markets that are increasingly internationalized and unequal, demands for new worker identities and skills – and all of this in a time of severe economic crisis – are having profound effects (Apple, 2010). None of this can be understood without also recognizing the ways in which the realities of the United States are influenced and often shaped by our connections with economic, political, and cultural policies, movements, and struggles outside our official borders.

A critical question remains, however. *How* are we to understand these global realities and relations critically? These complexities require an analysis of many

things that are foundational for a more thorough comprehension of what we face in education and of the causes of these conditions: political economy and the structure of paid and unpaid work both in the United States and in the countries from where diasporic people come; the ways in which these realities are structured and experienced differently around such markers as class, gender, race, region, and increasingly religion; the identities that people bring with them and the ways in which these identities are transformed in the process of building a life here; and the fact that many people have hybrid identities based on their experiences of constantly crossing geographical borders as they go back and forth between countries, living basically in both (see, for example, Lee, 2009; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008).

Because of all this, the situation we face in education also demands a rich mix of theoretical and critical traditions, all of them appropriately political, that deal with both of the sets of dynamics that Nancy Fraser (1997) has identified as crucial to the reconstruction of our core institutions: the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition. The first refers to the ways in which the economy works, how it is controlled, and who benefits from it. The second deals with cultural struggles over identity, the gaining or denial of respect, the basic ways in which people are recognized or misrecognized as fully human and deserving of rights.

Without expanding our critical theoretical and empirical resources, we will not be able to answer two of the most crucial questions facing educators and activists today: What do the global realities that increasingly challenge education and teacher education look like? And, what can we as educators and community members do to alter these realities?

FACING REALITY

Before we go further, however, it is important to face reality, both in terms of the ways many educators, even many progressives who say that they are committed to social justice in education, misrecognize the nature of educational reform and in terms of the daily lives of millions upon millions of people throughout the world.

Let us be honest. Much of the literature on educational reform, including much of the mainstream literature in teacher education, exists in something of a vacuum. It fails to place schooling sufficiently in its social and political context, thereby evacuating any serious discussion of why schooling in so many nations plays the complex roles that it does. Class and gender relations, racializing dynamics and structures, political economy, discussions of empire and colonialism, and the connections between the state and civil society, for example, are sometimes hard to find or when they are found they seem to be words that are not attached to any detailed analysis of how these dynamics actually work.

But this absence is not the more mainstream literature's only problem. It is all too often romantic, assuming both that education can drive economic transformations and that reforming schools by only focusing on the schools themselves and the

teachers within them is sufficient. Policies that assume that instituting such things as performance pay for teachers or marketizing teacher education will basically solve the educational crises in inner cities provide clear examples of this tendency. Or it limits our attention only to schools, thereby cutting us off from powerful external interventions made in educational movements in communities among oppressed people (Apple, 2013). The naiveté of these positions is not only ahistorical, but it also acts as a conceptual block that prevents us from focusing on the real social, ideological, and economic conditions to which education has a dialectical and profoundly intricate set of connections (Anyon, 2014). A concern for social justice may then become more rhetorical than its proponents would like.

One of the most important steps in understanding what this means is to reposition oneself to see the world as it looks like from below, not above. Closely connected to this is another step, one that is directly related to the topic of this chapter. We need to think internationally, to not only see the world from below, but to see the social world *relationally*. In essence, this requires that we understand that, in order for there to be a "below" in one nation, this usually requires that there be an "above" both in that nation and in those nations with which it is connected in the global political economy. Indeed, this demand that educators think relationally and face the realities of the global political, economic, and cultural context has been one of the generative impulses behind the growth of critical analyses of the relationship between globalization and education in the first place.

Any future or current teachers who wish to take the issue of teaching in a global world seriously need to understand global realities *much* better than they often do today. For example, in *Cultural Politics and Education* (Apple, 1996), I spend a good deal of time discussing the relationship among "cheap French fries," the internationalization of the production of farm commodities, and the production of inequalities inside and outside of education. I focus on the connections between the lack of schools, well-educated teachers, health care, decent housing, and similar kinds of things in one particular Asian nation – all of which lead to immense immiseration – and the constant pressure to drive down the cost of labor in the imperial center. My basic point is that the connections between the exploitation of identifiable groups of people in the "Third World" and the demand for cheap commodities – in this case, potatoes – here in the United States may not be readily visible, but they are none the less real and extremely damaging. We might think of it as the "Wal-Martization" of the world economy.

Powerful descriptions of these relations are crucial and, as conditions worsen, some deeply committed scholars are bearing witness to these realities in compelling ways. Perhaps one particularly powerful author's work can serve as an example. It is a book that should be required reading for any teacher and teacher educator who wants to get a clearer picture of the conditions of people's lives and of the resiliency and struggles in many of those nations and regions from where new populations are coming. If ever there was a doubt in anyone's mind about the growth of these truly distressing conditions, Mike Davis's volume *Planet of Slums* (2006) makes

this reality crystal clear. At the same time, Davis also powerfully illuminates both the extent of, and what it means to live (exist is a better word) in, the immiserating conditions created by our need for such things as the "cheap French fries" that I pointed to. Let me say more about Davis's arguments, since many of them stand at the very root of a more adequate understanding of the realities a vast number of people face throughout the world.

Davis provides us with a powerful analysis of political economy, of structures of dominance, one of the key elements that I mentioned in building an adequate understanding of globalization. And it does this not simply by rhetorically challenging the economic, housing, ecological, educational, and other policies that are advanced by international bodies such as the World Bank and the IMF and by dominant groups within the "less developed" world. Rather, Davis draws together empirical and historical evidence that demonstrates time and again not only the negative effects of dominant policies, but also – given the realities of poor peoples' lives – *why* such policies cannot succeed. And he does this by placing all of these proposals for reform directly into the contradictory necessities of daily life in the increasingly large and growing slums throughout the "less developed" world.

One third of the global urban population now lives in slums. Even more staggering is the fact that over 78% of urbanites in the least developed countries live in slums (Davis, 2006, p. 23). The economic crisis in these slums is experienced by the people living there in ways that are extraordinarily powerful. Rather than thinking about "jobs" in the usual sense of that term, it is better to think of "informal survivalism" as the major mode of existence in a majority of Third World cities (Davis, 2006, p. 178). Echoing the situation I described at the beginning of this section, Davis is clear on what is happening throughout the Third World.

> As local safety nets disappeared, poor farmers became increasingly vulnerable to any exogenous shock: drought, inflation, rising interest rates, or falling commodity prices. Or illness: an estimated 60 percent of Cambodian small peasants who sell their land and move to the city are forced to do so by medical debts. (Davis, 2006, p. 15)

This understanding allows him to show the dilemmas and struggles that people must face every day, dilemmas and struggles that should force us to recognize that for the poor, certain words that we consider nouns are better thought of as *verbs*. (And these conditions are even more powerfully present given the deadly warfare now enveloping so many regions of the world.)

Take "housing" for example. It is not a thing. Rather it is the result of a complex and ongoing – and often dangerous – trade-off among contradictory needs. Thus, the urban poor who live in the slums "have to solve a complex equation as they try to optimize housing cost, tenure security, quality of shelter, journey to work, and... personal safety." And while the very worst situation "is a...bad location without [government] services or security" (Davis, 2006, p. 29), in many instances these people have no choice. As Davis documents, the role of the IMF in this process is

crucial to point out. Its policies, ones expressly supported by the United States, have constantly created these conditions and have made them considerably worse over time (Davis, 2006, pp. 66-69).

If all of this is so visible to Davis and many other committed people, why do the realities and very real complexities in this situation seem to be so readily ignored by governments, international agencies, and, as Davis also demonstrates, a number of NGOs? Part of the explanation is that many Third World cities (and diasporic and poor populations of cities in the First World as well) exist in something like an epistemological fog, one that is sometimes wilfully opaque. Most governments – and unfortunately not a few teachers in our urban areas and the teacher educators who teach them – know least about the slums, about the housing in them, about the services that they need and (almost always) don't get, and so on. The lack of knowledge here provides an epistemological veil (Davis, 2006, p. 42). What goes on under the veil is a secret that must be kept from public view. To know is to be subject to demands.

It is important not to give the impression that the utter degradation that is being visited upon millions of people like the ones both Davis and I have pointed to has led only to a politics of simple acceptance. Indeed, as I argued earlier, one of the major elements we need to better understand is the agency of oppressed and diasporic people inside and outside of education. This is a crucial step in our rejecting the stereotypes that often go with an almost missionary sense that pervades teachers' perspectives on global immigrants. "They are passive, less intelligent, and need to be saved."

Davis's book provides a number of insights into where and how we should look to recognize the agency that does exist. Such agency may be partial and even contradictory, but it is nearly always present. As Davis shows in his own accounts, the "informal proletariat" of these slums is decidedly *not* passive.

> Even within a single city, slum populations can support a bewildering variety of responses to structural neglect and deprivation, ranging from charismatic churches and prophetic cults to ethnic militias, street gangs, neoliberal NGOs, and revolutionary social movements. But if there is no monolithic subject or unilateral trend in the global slum, there are nonetheless myriad acts of resistance. Indeed, the future of human solidarity depends upon the militant refusal of the urban poor to accept their terminal marginality within global capitalism. (Davis, 2006, p. 202)

Davis's discussion of the ways in which resistance operates and its organizations and forms is thoughtful. It helps us think through the manifold and sometimes contradictory voices and identities taken up by subaltern groups (Apple & Buras, 2006). Just as crucially, it documents how creative poor people are. This makes me stop and wonder whether many current and future teachers and many teacher educators actually recognize how powerfully resilient and creative the parents and communities of their diasporic students actually are. Only if these characteristics

are recognized can we engage in a politics of recognition and respect and see global diasporic people as *resources of hope* in our schools and communities. They have already demonstrated through their lives how much they are willing to sacrifice and constantly struggle to assist their children in having a better life. Why do so many educators here in the United States and elsewhere look at them as if they were uncommitted to education and simply knowable by their economic circumstances now? As I noted previously, perhaps by thinking of words such as housing and food as *verbs*, as requiring constant labor and constant strategic and intelligent action, we might give "the other" the respect they have earned.

Planet of Slums provides us with a deeply honest account of the realities and complex struggles in which diasporic people engage. We cannot, however, ignore education's role in challenging such immiseration. Indeed, as the aforementioned example of Porto Alegre in Brazil so clearly shows, when deeply connected to a larger project of critical social transformation, educational transformations in schools, in the relationship between schools and communities, and in teacher education can and do take on crucial roles in altering the relationship between the state and local communities, in radically challenging the unequal distribution of services, and in helping to create new activist identities for slum dwellers and for the teachers of their children, and in using local resources to build new and very creative forms of oppositional literacy (Apple 2010, 2013; Apple & Buras, 2006). Combining Davis's thoroughly unromantic picture of the conditions, struggles, and creative resilience of the poor with a recognition of the ways in which schools such as those in Porto Alegre can often serve as arenas for building toward larger social transformations (Apple, 2013; Apple et al., 2009; Apple, Ball, & Gandin, 2010) – and how teacher education programs can participate in assisting in these transformations – can provide us with some of the tools we need to go forward.

INSIDE THE GLOBAL NORTH

My discussion in the previous part of this chapter has largely been on the Third World and the "Global south." But even given the immensity of the problems that are occurring in the slums to which Davis bears such eloquent witness, we also need to focus a good deal of our attention on what is (perhaps too arrogantly) called the "First World." We need to do this for a number of reasons. First, there is ever-growing immiseration within this part of society, stimulated by exploitative economic conditions and the international divisions of labor and border-crossing populations that accompany this, by the move toward what has been called "knowledge economies" and new definitions of what are "required skills," and of who does and does not have them (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey, 2006), by the severe economic and political crises so many nations are experiencing, and by the fact that, in essence, "the Empire has come home" (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982).

Second, as I mentioned earlier, we need to think relationally. There are extremely important connections between crises in the "center" and those on the "periphery." Of course, even using such words to describe these regions is to reproduce a form of the "imperial gaze" (see, for example, Said, 1993). Yet, not to focus on what is too easily called the center can lead us to forget something else. Not only do economic, political, and ideological crises in those nations "at the center" have disastrous consequences in other nations, but the more privileged lives of many people in these more advantaged nations also require that other people living there pay the costs in the physical and emotional labor that is so necessary to maintain that advantage.

As Pauline Lipman (2004) has clearly demonstrated in her discussion of educational reforms in Chicago, the advantages of the affluent in global cities (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and so many others) depend on the availability of low-paid – and gendered and raced – "others" who are "willing" to do the labor that underpins the affluent lifestyles of those higher up on the economic ladder. No analysis of the realities of schooling in cities in the United States or of the relations between cities, suburbs, and rural areas in the United States can be complete without this understanding of how schooling is implicated in these relations. And no significant changes in preparing teachers to teach in these areas can be successful if these realities are not given due attention.

This is not only the case in our urban areas. Throughout the rural regions and small towns of the United States, large numbers of Latino/as are working on farms, in meat-packing plants, and in similar occupations. Their labor (often in deeply exploitative conditions) also underpins the "American lifestyle." This says something important about what teachers and teacher educators often assume about globalization. It is seen as a "problem" of cities. This is decidedly not the case. Just as the growth of the United States' economy depended originally on slavery, on the unpaid domestic labor of women in homes and on farms, on the removal of native populations from the land, on large numbers of workers from all over the world, so too do we now massively benefit from the often unseen labor of these urban and rural workers today. Thus, once again, rather than seeing poor diasporic students and their parents and communities as problems to be "fixed," we must first start out by acknowledging our *debt* to them. Their labor underpins our relative affluence. What would our education and the education of teachers look like if it was indeed grounded in the sense of the debt that is owed to poor people, to people of color, and to diasporic populations? This is a question I would like to see answered in practice.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have outlined a number of larger critical perspectives on globalization and its relationships to our economic and educational lives. I have argued that teachers and those who educate them need more adequate pictures, and perspectives that give these pictures meaning, that provide more powerful critical insights and descriptions of what all this means for our work. Having future and

current teachers come to grips with a critical analysis that connects schools and diasporic students and communities with their international contexts, that places all of this into national and international urban and rural political economies, that demonstrates how the lives of so many more middle-class and affluent urban and suburban dwellers are fully dependent on low-paid and often disrespected immigrant labor – all of these are crucial if teachers and their educators are to recognize the contributions of globalized workers both here in the United States and around the world. Critical perspectives and resources – historical, empirical, and ethical – are essential tools here. But increased knowledge and insights are not enough if we do not act on them.

NOTE

[1] An expanded version of the arguments presented here can be found in Apple (2010).

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EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

INTRODUCTION

Responsibility is one of the defining features of a democratic society, one that encourages its members to active civic involvement, i.e., responsible citizenship. And yet this orientation is rarely systematically discussed or properly incorporated as an educational goal. To teach responsibility should be the cornerstone of the education process from kindergarten, through primary and secondary schools, as well as in teacher training colleges. It is our opinion that inculcating responsibility should be the supreme goal of education.

Diverse educational approaches emphasize various forms of responsibility. We chose three quite distinct forms for in-depth philosophical examination: self-responsibility, responsibility to the other, and emotional responsibility. We have also outlined a clear and distinct model for educating towards responsibility.

In order to promote responsibility as a challenge to the educational system we defined it as follows: (a) an ability to actively and consciously choose between options; (b) an ability to anticipate the potential outcome of choices made, thus linking actions to events that follow thereof; (c) an ability to prevent unwanted outcomes; (d) possession of knowledge pertaining to the rules that govern the actions and roles one fulfills; and (e) enhanced awareness and capacity for a discerning self-evaluation (Abu Hussain & Gonen, 2013, p. 11).

Human liberty, dignity, and consideration for others are prerequisites for responsibility. To what extent is a person autonomous and sovereign versus being an agent, or a cog in one's society? Is an individual master of one's life and destiny, or a slave to values and behaviors dictated by the cultural environment? It would, of course, be pointless to speak of inculcating responsibility as a human and civic virtue in a society that does not uphold human liberty and dignity.

This essay is an attempt to grapple with the complex challenge of educating for responsibility through the educational system. We examine to what extent teaching pupils to become socially active members of society – creative, sensitive, empathetic, autonomous, and able to apply free and critical thinking – is viable, and whether the educational system can rise to the challenge by providing the necessary conditions.

First, we present an overview of the diverse conceptions of responsibility and then turn to examine the value under discussion as it relates to human dignity and personal freedom. We then proceed to a discussion of the educational discourse and praxis of responsibility, and conclude with examples of responsibility enhancement

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through a specific pedagogical program in use in an Israeli Arab teachers training college.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO RESPONSIBILITY

Responsibility towards the self and responsibility towards the other are two completely different things (Zaborowski, 2000); and emotional responsibility is yet another crucial version, generated from love, care, and empathy.

Self-Responsibility

Responsibility towards the self places at the center, the free individual who espouses responsibility as a mode of life. Existentialism, as approach, underscores the essence of freedom and the distinctions between oneself and the other, and their interrelations. Self-responsibility posits the individual as one who is charged with bearing the burden of one's own life and the results of one's actions, both of which demand a high level of self-awareness and discretion.

A human being is doomed to freedom. It is incumbent upon him to choose and to shape his own life. Even should he wish to escape this freedom by obediently shackling himself to the norms of his affiliation-group, so as to evade personal responsibility for his actions, he would still be held accountable. A human makes his choices by his own ethical yardstick and must take full responsibility for his moral worldview. This is what is meant by maturity – assuming responsibility.

"Man is responsible for what he is" (Sartre, 1979, p. 36). Some of this responsibility has to do with the fact that one's own decisions carry into the future and bear not only upon oneself but that of posterity (Sartre, 1992), much as our own vocational choice (to become teachers) bears on our students.

Sartre's doctrine may be said to stem from a kind of ethical egotism, meaning that care for oneself involves consideration for others, in as much as without such consideration one would injure oneself. This is a kind of integration of Kantian rational moral law as "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" and the existentialist moral approach. Sartre places a strong emphasis on the individual personality – the faculty of choosing, self-awareness, discretion, and the ability to anticipate the results of one's actions. It correlates with our definition of responsibility. It also gives rise to the recognition of the similarity between oneself and the other in that, like oneself, the other is a subjective entity entitled to be treated responsibly.

Responsibility to the Other

Responsibility to the other obviously places the other in the limelight, but at the same time those who act with responsibility view themselves as linked to all members of humanity. Seen as such, it is an ethical worldview with sympathy and compassion for the suffering of others at its core. A human being is responsible towards those whom

he may harm and he partakes in their suffering. This is Socrates' classic argument in *Crito*. As Plato writes: Better to suffer a wrong than cause one. Moreover, responsibility forbids us to cause harm even to one who did so to us (Plato, 1969). From this we can deduce that responsibility is the highest moral virtue.

Responsibility to the other is the basis of Levinas's ethical theory. Our ability to respond to the call of another is what makes us human; commitment to the other crystallizes our subjectivity (Levy, 1997, p. 86). It is an infinite responsibility, unquenchable and unconditional (Shepherd, 2003, p. 55), a commitment to respond to the needs of the other, unilaterally, without expectation of reciprocation or gain and independent of the chance to requite one's own needs. Concern for the other, as Levinas (2004) puts it, overshadows self-concern.

The individual practicing this kind of responsibility does not inquire "Why me?" but assumes responsibility as if he is the only one who can, with no option of ignoring or shirking it. Levinas's moral code posits charity towards the other at the core. His stance actually generates the compulsion to sacrifice one's life for a stranger in distress, notwithstanding the injury to oneself and his dependents that may accrue in such a case. Levinas's theory doesn't fit our proposal for responsibility because our model emphasizes the primacy of self-freedom and the ability to choose rather than unconditional responsibility.

Emotional Responsibility

Emotional responsibility is different from Sartre and Levinas theories since both of them emphasize a rational moral view. Emotional responsibility incorporates the emotional ability to empathize with others and understand them in their otherness, meaning to put one's self in the place of another. Noddings (1984, pp. 1-9) argues that women do not perceive moral dilemmas from the perspective of rules, social norms, and ethics, but rather in terms of caring and empathizing with others. Therefore, for Noddings, Kant's universal moral law is "paternal language," wherein maternal voices – the sensitive, attentive' and supportive voices of concern – are not heard at all.

Worry is the main emotion involved in responsibility. It surges whenever we feel that we could have anticipated poor results and prevented them but failed to do so. As suggested in our model, it stems from emotion and not from the intellect. Worry is a constant accompaniment of love and care. It is due to emotional ability, often attributed to the feminine quality, which comes from the heart and is associated with motherhood.

Krishnamurti claims (1969) that where there is obligation there cannot be love, and where there is love there is no need for obligation and responsibility.

> It is love, the only factor that can bring about a fundamental revolution. Love is the only true revolution. But love is not an idea; it is when thought is not. Love is not a tool of propaganda; it is not something to be cultivated and shouted

> about from the house tops. Only when the flag, the belief, the leader, the idea as planned action, drop away, can there be love; and love is the only creative and constant revolution. (Krishnamurti, 1958, p. 22)

Bauman (1998) believes that responsibility is the opposite of obligation and emerges whenever contractual obligation or authority declines or does not exist. Moral responsibility causes us anxiety and worry: "Ambivalence is the only soil in which morality can grow and the only territory in which the moral self can act on its responsibility or hear the voice of the unspoken demands" (p. 22).

THE INDIVIDUAL VERSUS SOCIETY

We should examine how the viewpoints we proposed earlier: self-responsibility, responsibility to the other, and emotional responsibility define the bond between the individual and society through education. The main argument between existentialism (which places the self at the center) and social determinism (whether religious or lay) is the distinction between personal autonomy and a preordained life. A child is raised in a society with certain values, which she gradually learns and assimilates. She is not aware of other value systems because she is socialized into accepting the one with which she is born and bred (Abu Hussain & Gonen, 2013, p. 72). When we grow up we may rebel against these values and the actions of our society. Then we can no longer blame society for any immoral action of our own, even if supposedly we didn't know it was wrong when we carried it out. Leaders and intellectuals often fail to take into account citizens' ignorance and their dependence on the apparent infallibility of authority. But, what is worse, some leaders cynically exploit such ignorance and dependence to advance their own ideologies. Loyalty and dedication to an established regime, while evading personal responsibility, is constantly being justified in the name of preserving social order. The demands for social order and uniformity abuse the rights of the individual, and lead him to shirk his personal civil responsibility (Bergman, 1969, pp. 26, 148; Gordon & Gordon, 1995). Thus, "loyalty" serves as a kind of glue, binding citizens to the general collective. It is upheld as a virtue while serving as a whip, which threatens to flay the disloyal or those who do not measure up to the required level of loyalty.

Sartre claims that the transition from *I* to *We*, and the integration of the collection of "*I's*," allows us to avoid worry and self-responsibility (Sartre, 1992, p. 130). Buber (1971) also opposed the collectivist theories that perceive humans merely as social creatures, because collectivism cancels out unique human interrelations. An individual acting as part of the collective renounces himself and his personality and cannot be held responsible. A constant danger lurks in all personal decisions made by anyone living in society, by the very fact of the existence of collective decisions.

The real choice, however, must be made between two possibilities. The first is to give in and act in accordance with beliefs, opinions, laws, standards, and norms determined for us by others – and whose goals we do not choose: this is "determinism." The second possibility is to participate in determining the goals of

society and exert an influence over the laws and norms stemming from these goals. Discovering and understanding, through critical thinking and awareness, the reasons that motivate us is the main purpose of our proposal to educate for responsibility.

From Responsibility to Education

Responsibility towards others includes caring for and defending the dignity, liberty, and equal worth of every human being; it is the foundation of humanistic society, it is a moral principle that must be acquired through education. Nonetheless, we believe we must also educate in the spirit of Sartre, empowering an independent personality not to be too obedient, in order to guide the youth along his path towards full maturity and acceptance of responsibility for the self. This may be achieved through continuous empathy and care.

Our role in society is defined by the commitments and expectations dictated by culture, beliefs, and traditions (Nuyen, 2008), within the framework of inter-relationships between our personality and the roles we fulfill. From within this framework, certain procedures are determined, along with borders and aspects of authority. To a certain extent, these create the boundaries of responsibility. For example, will a certain educational method help the student succeed? The connection between the teacher's training, personality, and ability to teach and the student's success is not unequivocal or certain. It is quite possible that the student's success in studies depends on his own maturity and skills and not on the teacher's at all.

Thus, we can say that responsibility towards the self and the other both depend on being willing and able to undertake the burden of our roles. This includes understanding that we have the tools to direct, guide, and protect the students, and that every action taken in the context of a role can influence the students and their future. In addition, it allows the youngster to acquire rules about reality in order to mature within his society.

Educating for Responsibility

Assuming responsibility gives meaning to and defines the essence of educational and pedagogical actions. We must investigate teaching methods and their implementation in educational institutions, since most institutions are very submerged in behavioral education, which is a kind of determinism encouraging neither freedom nor responsibility. To change this, we must first change our attitudes about the essence of education.

> Teaching is a daily exercise in vulnerability. Teaching is always done at the dangerous intersection of personal and public life. To reduce our vulnerability, we disconnect from students, from subjects, and even from ourselves. We build a wall between inner truth and outer performance, and we play-act the teacher part. (Palmer, 1997, p. 17)

In all educational institutions the pedagogical leadership must empower the teaching staff, for example, through offering teacher training to enable them to believe in themselves. Furthermore, it must develop a supportive, committed, and inclusive organic culture, which sets clear boundaries and standards, and is aware of and responsive to teachers' needs. Then there is a greater chance that teachers will take responsibility and educate their students to become responsible individuals.

It is necessary to develop a suitable pedagogy: teaching methods that provoke thinking, and disciplinary methods which are both fitting and empowering, and directed towards processes through which teachers and students are transformed from being objects required to carry out assignments, to subjects who take responsibility for themselves. There are two main contrasting theories about education and we discuss them briefly.

Behaviorist approach. Behavior is acquired through conditional learning processes, and is the link between different stimuli and responses providing both negative and positive reinforcements (Skinner, 1971). In other words, the students must act through various constraints and reinforcements, over which they have no control and no choice, therefore, they are not held responsible. Skinner (1971) claimed that it is a mistake to attribute autonomy and ability to control to an individual; and more importantly, it is a mistake to ignore the control of external factors over our lives. "In an attempt to refuse to recognize this, the defenders of freedom and dignity encourage the wrong usage of control practices, thereby impairing progress towards a more efficient technology of behavior" (p. 100). This statement points to determinism.

Back (2006, p. 15) claims that teaching can never be a practical profession of a technical, rational nature, in which the teachers' actions are rational, goal-oriented, based on knowledge, technical efficiency, and morality. This same technical-rational approach is anchored in the modern worldview of rationality and freedom. The Competency-Based Teacher Education (CBTE) method defines rationality as efficiency and accountability. The teacher is an educational technician, who can be programmed, like computers (p. 45). In this context, accountability stems entirely from the behaviorist-utilitarian theory, whose main idea is the maximization of efficiency in accordance with the goal (p. 111). According to Back (2006), the behaviorist technical-rational theory isn't suitable for teacher training. We must question its very validity and justification, and cast doubt on the conception of teaching as an applied profession (p. 190). Perhaps it is not a profession at all but rather a vocation. Dewey (1959), for example, considered education as an end in itself.

A key educational goal of most schools is to educate children towards freedom, responsibility, and independence (Dewey, 1959, 1963). However, a critical examination of the organizational structure of the average school shows that this is not permitted, because the organizational structure is, for the most part, characterized as authoritarian-hierarchical, competitive, and achievement-oriented. Most of the teaching methods involve educating for acceptance and compliance, in which there

is no general freedom to develop and choose. Thus, schools deprive children of their responsibility, denying their freedom and educating them to escape from responsibility.

Lampert (2008, pp. 10-12) claims that society recruits students to fulfill social, capitalistic goals. This transforms the students into producers–consumers measured only by grades; they enter a capitalistic world by willingly giving up other aspirations and personal feelings. This is imbued through a "healthy" experience of failure and a lack of self-worth. According to Lampert (2008, p. 139), education fails because it erodes the possibility to establish meaningful relationships between children and adults. Schools often deliberately ignore all emotional experiences, while self-realization and "success" are often perceived as being interchangeable. Thus, a sort of parallelism also exists between good teaching and success, resulting in teachers "giving up" on the students who can't keep up with the competition (p. 139). Today's schools lack compassion, espouse rationality and competition, and aspire towards excellence, achieved through deliberate emotional dulling (p. 192).

In teacher training institutions, teachers mainly instruct students not to be overly empathetic towards their pupils, to establish distance as if it is required for teaching and education, as if we must neutralize our feelings of compassion and the desire to share, in order to be able to remain rational and so teach effectively.

Humanistic approach. Rogers (1961) claims that each human has the capacity to choose and be held responsible for the consequences of choice. One could resist any effort to being controlled, though it might cost one's life. "To believe as Skinner holds, that all this is an illusion, and that spontaneity, freedom, responsibility, and choice have no real existence, would be impossible for me" (pp. 390-391).

The humanistic theory as opposed to the behavioristic emphasizes the uniqueness of the individual and his free will. Concern for children's welfare must be every school's main priority, before any teaching or knowledge transfer can take place (Lampert, 2008, p. 192). This must be based on love, empathy, empowerment for self-definition, and taking precedence over any specific worldview (pp. 10-12). Hence, educating for responsibility must exist through direct dialogue with individuals, in the manner proposed by Buber (1971).

Educational work is characterized by uncertainty and doubts; many decisions are spontaneous and dynamic, and none remain fixed. The challenge is comprised of a combination of responsibility and ambivalence that characterizes education (Inbar, 1983, p. 50). In general, since most schools are still quite authoritarian and ruled almost totally by the decisions and policies of the ministry of education and the teaching staff, pupils are often not allowed to experience responsibility. We must allow them to experience critical autonomy, authentic choice, moral deliberation, empathetic and narrative imagination, and reflective evaluation and judgment of the relative worth of diverse and competing options. Without cultivating these values, there is no way the desired mental capacities needed for personal and social responsibility will be developed (Aloni, 2013, p. 127).

However, the experience must be safe; it must occur under supervised, protected conditions so that children can gradually become exposed to the adult world, in which they will one day function as independent, responsible individuals. Preaching dos and don'ts will not suffice. We believe it's possible to educate towards taking responsibility if we raise the student's level of awareness, criticism, and autonomy. Only then will the aspiring teachers be fit and ready to enter their own classroom with an understanding of their actions and behavior, along with the fact that their conduct is not random or predetermined by authorities, but the result of choices they themselves makes.

For example, every teacher will have a group of students; the teacher will be a meaningful adult model for the students, and will accompany them throughout their school years. The teacher will be someone the student can turn to in times of distress, who will provide the necessary reinforcement and act as a mediator between the student and the system. This type of dialogic teacher, in contrast to the traditional counterpart, is first and foremost committed to responsibility; he is devoid of authority because this allows him to shirk responsibility (Shore & Freire, 1990). This lack of authority, however, is not the result of weakness, but rather the intensity of empowered individuals standing face-to-face.

Arendt wrote: "Anyone who does not take mutual responsibility for the world shouldn't have children, and mustn't be allowed to participate in their education" (as cited in Ben-Naftali, 2006, p. 81). This means we must educate the principals, educators, teachers, and parents of the future.

The following is an example of educating for responsibility and responsibility for education.

THE "RESPONSIBILITY, EDUCATION, AND TEACHING" PROJECT

Al-Qasemi College, located in an Arab town in Israel, is an Islamic college of education. The teaching language is Arabic and the students are Israeli Palestinians. Al-Qasemi College runs a program focused on educational responsibility. The program's main goal is to train aspiring teachers who would, in turn, be better qualified to guide and educate children, youth, and teachers-in-training to become responsible citizens and individuals.

The program exposes students to basic concepts and theoretical approaches to responsibility. Each lesson consists of both theoretical part and a workshop. Through dialogues, accompanied by illustrations, events analysis, role-playing games, and examples, they learn to integrate theory and field experience. After every four lessons the students submit a portfolio. The portfolio allows students to process the content and implement it in their experience. The feedback teachers offer intensifies their insight and initiates a dialogue between student and teacher. An ongoing process of building a practical, relevant body of knowledge and acquiring pedagogical skills for developing responsibility among students takes place.

The program utilizes examination of alternative theories as a practical tool, and addresses the difficulties that often arise when theoretical subjects are learned without effective integration of the tools needed in teaching such theory. Researchers in the field of teacher training report on students' low evaluation of the theoretical contents of their educational studies, perceived as largely irrelevant when it comes to actual teaching (Shulman, 2006; Zilberstein et al., 1998). Hopefully, these attitudes show a tendency to change when the kind of integration described is made, as can be seen from the students' portfolios. We based our dialogues and case study analyses on the students' lives themselves, rather than on structured lesson plans. Unfortunately, our attempts to hold a dialogue sometimes failed. We believe that this was due to the passivity and overdependence on internet information that characterizes the student body. High schools very rarely demand critical thinking from their pupils, and pupils usually suffer from high levels of stress and anxiety in the learning process. Consequently, most of them just want to pass their courses with as high grades as possible, doing only what is mandatory. The reasons for this are quite clear and reflect more on the system than the students.

Some Samples From our Project Portfolio

During the project we also wrote our impressions and insights into the process.

> While doing group work with the students on the subject of locus of control and responsibility, some questions arose in my mind: can an authoritative, patriarchal society, like the Arab society I belong to, provide education that can liberate its children, strengthen their sense of self, instead of leaving it as the absent presence that it is now? Can I, a father of teenagers, enable my children to live independently, make their own judgments and decisions? How can I help them develop an internal locus of control, when I continuously intervene in their lives, or demand that they take responsibility for their behavior, when it derives from my decisions and not their own? Suddenly, in the middle of the lesson, I am reminded that I am an educator expected to initiate processes of change in my society, a society in which I am a prisoner. Educator, father, human being… Thoughts clash in my mind, swirling in a painful conflict of opposing values. I want to be a liberated and a liberating educator, to change reality, but actually, reality has penetrated and changed me… In moments of truth, the social conventions neutralize my will to live as an individual – a person who thinks for himself and makes independent decisions. I want to live with my society in a balanced manner, to live a normal life, but my own, unique inner voice will not be silenced. The conflict is unavoidable. There is no escape from the complications of competing internal forces. For example, in Islam, a key tenet is: "Before religious commandments are imposed upon a person, he must be free and able to exercise free will; in this way, he will be responsible for all of his choices" (Al-Jabri, 2001, p. 79). Obviously the

religious statement is incompatible with our reality. Contemporary reality doesn't permit the individual to live freely, like an adult, and to choose what really suits him, including whether or not to keep the religious commandments. Paradoxically, this very basic insight of Islam and other religions is forgotten under the pressure society imposes on the individual to lead a religious lifestyle. In this kind of reality, is there room for individual freedom? Can I really take responsibility for my decisions? These types of questions constantly occupy my thoughts. (Jamal)

At the beginning of the project, there were some hesitation, and doubts about its chances of success. This was a new attempt for both teachers and students. The students were exposed to unfamiliar concepts and were required to speak in Hebrew. Communicating and learning through dialogue and discussion was new to them and foreign to their culture. This changed over the course of the group work and classroom workshops. The students learned to express themselves and perceive conflicts from the point of view of others. They underwent a change – exchanging an external locus of control for an internal one and a completely deterministic worldview for an understanding of responsibility and freedom of choice. Most students hold the opinions and beliefs conveyed to them by family and society in the course of their upbringing. From within Arab society it is difficult for them to realize to what extent their society interferes in their private lives, such as selecting a partner, when to get married, how many children to have, where to live and work. Likewise, it is not easy for them to admit that Arab society oppresses women, even though they understand how limited their freedom of choice is. They admit their lack of independence, but justify it by their parents' legitimate worries. For example, many of the students preferred to pursue other academic studies at other institutions. But in many cases the family not only discouraged this but absolutely forbade them to follow their preferred course, giving their worry and concern over social norms as the reason. (Smadar)

Education deals with concrete situations – personal examples, acquiring habits and routines, identification with and relating to the other – without which it is mere preaching. To examine this, students were grouped in pairs and discussed questions such as: to what extent does the society I live in limit my freedom and what can I do to expand it? The pairs engaged in profound discussions and arguments, incorporating the concepts of freedom and responsibility which they had learned in the theoretical lessons… As teachers we underwent a profound learning process. We reached interesting insights about the students' learning process. We understood that the learning experience must correspond to the learner's real life, so as to allow a transference process to occur. It became very clear to us that students must be given a more active part in class and much more responsibility for their own studies. We didn't give them answers but

raised dilemmas which they were to use to find their own way and solutions. The following section shows that it is possible. (Jamal)

A Sample of Student Feedback After the Project

After the workshop, I had a deep sense of having gained a new, strong system, which is the value of inner loyalty – to be myself, follow my heart, my desires, my passions – and a better understanding of myself and my environment. It was the most exciting workshop. I felt that the voice of the Arab girl is still heard in our society and that some people share our values and support us with love, even if this is not always compatible with societal norms. (H. V.)

Initiation into the education profession requires both demonstrations of good practices and guided active engagement in those very practices. One can study math alone but not education. At school, no one ever spoke about accepting and respecting the other. I was a bit racist, because I wasn't educated properly. The teachers threatened us with exams as a weapon. It was the easiest way for the teacher and the hardest for the pupils. The system dumps many children by the wayside, all those who simply can't fulfill the ridiculous and corrupt conditions of the system, and just give up on the entire learning process… The teachers' situation is also terrible because the administration doesn't allow them any freedom. I understand the teacher's difficulties when he tries to create a change, with no support, but this is the great thing about change. I am willing to face the stress presented by the system in order to be a different sort of teacher. I won't be overpowered by the system. (A. G.)

The project helped me develop my thinking, made me understand that I had been brainwashed by society. I learned to look at situations from different perspectives. I learned to put myself in the place of the other. Talking about my experiences was such a good thing for me, because I felt that my life was an inseparable part of the project. I couldn't realize my dream of going to university, but now I have acquired a new dream. One day I will be a famous university lecturer. One day I will be more empowered than I am now. (J. D.)

It's the first time in my life, after two years in college, that any project has affected me and given me an opportunity to express myself on a human level. It was a real mental development – like starting over again, from the beginning. I am much more open and am learning to love myself and accept myself, before pleasing others. I discovered that I'm strong enough to deal with changes and to try and bridge the gaps, cope with obstacles, and I am motivated to go out into the world and change it. (D. Z.)

By profession I am a special needs teacher – I support pupils with visual impairments. As part of my administrative duties, with parents and relevant staff, I rely mostly on my ability to explain, analyze, and process the incidents

> and cases discussed with the staff. The emphasis is on responsibility, carrying out every step, in a consistent and methodical manner. In my work with pupils, I mediate and provide guidance and instruction. I serve as a role model, teaching problem-solving and events analysis in accordance with their abilities and cognitive levels. I gradually transfer responsibility to the pupils. Our work model is to help students make the transition from dependence to independence, self-management, and leadership (H. A.) (Gonen, 2014).

CONCLUSION

From the students' feedback we can notice that they experienced profound development and underwent change from engaging in passive technical study to a creative critical dialog. They embodied the complexity of the essence of responsibility and how it both merges and conflicts with the three theories we chose to discuss. They experienced difficulties in moving from collective culture determinism to a humanistic, existential approach of education and responsibility. The dialogue between us contributed to their intellectual and emotional growth. Gradually they acquired the ability to apply pedagogical tools in their personal and professional lives.

The project has been running for several years and we believe that responsibility should become a core subject in both educational and professional studies institutes. This will lead us to a better, humanistic, responsible society.

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SILVIA GUETTA

PEACE EDUCATION

Contexts, Theories, and Methodological Aspects

PEACE EDUCATION AND A CULTURE OF PEACE

Peace education is a complex concept, which may take different forms according to local situations and the needs of involved populations (Harris & Morrison, 2013). Scholars see it variously as a philosophy, a mentality, or a progressive development of competencies that create a predisposition towards nonviolent conflict management and resolution (Sinclair, 2004). This chapter looks at theories of peace education, methodological processes of implementing it, and examples of peace education in various contexts around the world.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), arguably the most important international governmental organization involved with peace education, states as their goal:

> To contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture, in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations. (UNESCO, 1945 Constitution, Article 1)

While the preamble to UNESCO's Constitution notes that war is made possible by the negation of the democratic principles of dignity, equality, and reciprocal respect (UNESCO, 1945), more recently, when speaking of peace, the trend is to draw attention away from war, and towards a broader, positive concept of "a culture of peace" (United Nations, 1999). UNESCO now refers to "building peace in the minds of men and women," indicating a change in mentality leading to tolerance and respect for the well-being and rights of all people (http://en.unesco.org/).

The concept of a "culture of peace" began to be formulated in 1989, around the time of two pivotal events: the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent end of the Cold War. That same year, the UN ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which proclaims that children should be, "brought up in the…spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity" (Preamble, United Nations, 1989), implying that children must be educated to live in a peaceful world. Despite the terrible events of the 1990s such as the war in the Balkans and genocide in Rwanda, the approach of the new millennium brought about the prospect of change

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and the vision of a culture based on universal values. A culture of peace endeavors to prevent conflicts by addressing their underlying causes and proposing solutions in which each party is a *main character*, with equal legitimacy and opportunity for participation in discussion, dialogue, negotiation, and meditation. Only through the guarantee of means of social participation is it possible for an active citizenship to develop a democracy responsible for individual and collective well-being.

The development of a culture of peace necessitates participative communication and free exchange of information and knowledge. This poses the question of how to use sources of information with different perceptions and analyses of relevant issues, and how to create media such as newspapers and radio and television stations that will allow for expression of different perspectives, including those of groups considered enemies in a conflict. These itineraries bring into play reciprocity and acceptance of the mindset of the "other," creating concrete experiences for the development of the culture of living together (see, for example, the *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*).

A culture of peace simultaneously addresses the psychological, the pedagogical and the political (Salomon & Cairns, 2010). This necessitates the development and maintenance of social institutions (courts, health care systems, election processes) which promote equality as well as teaching children values of self-transcendence, universalism, and benevolence (Fry & Miklikowska, 2012).

Human Rights Education

A core element in the culture of peace is respect for human rights, because where war and violence rule, human rights are denied – including in wars, which are proclaimed to be defending people's rights. At the base of any culture of peace are the principles of equality, parity of rights, and social participation for all men and women, including those considered "the enemy."

Universal democratic participation is integral to achievement and maintenance of peace and security. International discussion on security focuses on guaranteeing individuals, groups, and communities the right to life and human development in local and global contexts in such a way that satisfies their needs. Thus, the concept of human security integrates three dynamics: social, economic, and environmental. Creating democracies capable of addressing existing inequalities in the social, economic, and environmental realms necessitates an understanding of the power structure in the age of globalization, beyond superficial appearances presented in the mass media.

The issue of women's equality must be given particular note. A culture of peace cannot exist as long as supremacy of men over women continues. The UN found that not a single country in the world has achieved full gender equality. They identified serious gender inequalities issues in 67 countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East; in 34 of these countries the situation is considered particularly critical. The UN initiated programs in conjunction with the governments of some countries such

as Chile, Colombia, the Congo, and Liberia to develop preventative strategies to combat violence against women, and to help victims of sexual violence (Francesch et al., 2009).

Human rights education promotes tolerance, allowing for the existence of ideas and positions that diverge from one's own and those of one's reference group. However, tolerance can assume a passive form, carried out in such a way that the "other" is ignored, uninvolved, distanced, and marginalized. To convey tolerance in a positive way means actively supporting, endorsing, and defending the rights of others to express their ideas, including their visions of peace and democracy (Iram, 2006). The concept of tolerance has its origin in the history of religious clashes of the seventeenth century, but today tolerance can be considered in a broader context, as an important instrument for the renewal and launch of pluralistic societies, fostering forms of exchange and reciprocal listening, and research into aspects that diverse humans have in common.

Peace Education in Various Contexts

Peace education and human rights education manifest differently according to the social context. In diverse situations, education can promote a culture of peace through curricula based on the values of the United Nations Charter. UNESCO broadly defines peace education as "a set of values, attitudes, models of behaviors and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations" (Preamble, United Nations, 1998).

A culture of peace can be supported by developing scholastic curricula that promote values of equality, and related attitudes and behaviors. It has been found that people with secondary school education are significantly more likely to support democratic values (UNESCO, 2008). Education can help rectify forms of social exclusion by creating programs that increase access to education among previously excluded groups such as girls, differently-abled children, indigenous communities, and those from the lowest economic strata (INEE, 2010). This includes teaching skills for non-violent conflict resolution, dialogue, and a participatory process of consensus. All of this is linked to the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, reducing poverty, and fostering conditions of social equality, security, and recognition of different people's desires and needs. This may necessitate interventions to assist groups with special needs.

In some educational settings, peace education follows a model of multiculturalism, concerned with issues of coexistence and reciprocal knowledge of different cultures, ethnicities, religions, and social backgrounds. These programs are based on the presumption that only by learning *from* differences and *within* differences is it possible to build the tools necessary for the development of dialogue and active participation. Programs may address topics such as racism, anti-Semitism, gender inequality, and other forms of social discrimination, such as bullying. Moreover,

peace education may be linked to related issues such as ecology, sustainable development, and weapons disarmament. The Associated Schools Project Network, a peace education initiative launched by UNESCO in 1953, now includes almost 8,000 educational institutions in 176 countries, sponsoring activities such as linking schools from different countries or regions, international camps, conferences, and student competitions oriented towards enhancing respect for other cultures and traditions (Page, 2008). Numerous other peace education programs guided by the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights have the goal of reducing stereotypes underlying conflicts (Harris & Morrison, 2013). Examples include international programs through which students learn about ecological issues affecting them, while also learning about their peers in other countries (Tye, 2003); the Compassionate Listening meetings for Jews and Muslims (Harris & Morrison, 2013); and empathy training and anti-bullying campaigns in US public schools (Clayton, Ballif-Spanvill, & Hunsaker, 2002).

It has been found that to be effective, programs teaching multiculturalism or conflict mediation should create a tolerant learning atmosphere by offering students opportunities to interact with students from different backgrounds/cultural groups in cooperative experiences with mutual goals; teach them negotiation and mediation skills; promote pluralism as a value; and impress upon them the long-term importance of tolerance and non-violence to the larger society and community (Clayton, Ballif-Spanvill, & Hunsaker, 2002; Harris, 2010; Johnson & Johnson, 2005). "Education for sustainability" links the fields of peace, human rights, and ecology by focusing on a broad view of human survival on the planet (Harris & Morrison, 2013).

Peace Education in Wars and Emergency Situations

In regions experiencing social conflict (wars, civil wars, independence movements, struggles for political transformation, or extreme poverty) peace education tends to be more focused on basic human rights. There is generally a strong presence of non-governmental organizations involved to support human and economic development, peace movements, and social issues (global and local). Important parts of this process are the development of the education system, curricula, and educational interventions that emphasize providing knowledge and tools for human resource management and use of technologies in socially deprived areas so as to improve people's perceived social opportunities. For the goal of a global culture of peace and understanding to be realized, education is a necessary, fundamental, and central strategy of social engagement, requiring study methods and tools that would allow this to happen.

It should be noted that in some contexts the concept of tolerance may have connotations which were not always positive, based on historical experiences. Societies involved in intractable, decades-long conflicts develop a "culture of conflict" or "ethos of conflict" sustained by anger and fear, and a belief in the superiority of one's own culture. This involves emotional, cognitive, and behavioral

responses towards an external group as well as within the group itself. The education system may reinforce stereotypes and resistance to dialogue. Such cultures of conflict can be seen in the Middle East (Bar-Tal, 2000; Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009), Sri Lanka (Kapferer, 2011), and Rwanda (Hilker, 2011), and among extremist groups in Greece (Halikiopoulou & Vasilopoulou, 2013).

In settings of active armed conflict (and other emergencies such as natural disasters), educational needs are often overshadowed by the pressing needs of health, security, and food. Education – particularly peace education – is not considered a priority. Historically, education has been viewed as a long-term process, rather than a response to an emergency (MacKinnon, 2014). However, planned educational activities in crisis areas can develop learning processes oriented towards the construction of better living conditions. Education can save lives in disaster areas by providing essential support, skills, and knowledge, for example, how to navigate minefields or avoid infectious diseases (Save the Children, 2008). The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (www.ineesite.org) considers instruction an investment to safeguard people's lives, physical well-being, and psychosocial health.

The impact of conflict on education is clear. Low levels of literacy and high levels of gender inequality are prevalent in war zones. Entire school systems may be destroyed. Tens of millions of children do not have their right to formal education guaranteed. Of the world's children who do not attend school, more than 40% live in countries experiencing armed conflicts (UNESCO, 2011). Therefore, it may be argued that interventions to fulfill the right to learn are a basic type of peace education (Anderson & Mendenhall, 2006). UNESCO's Education for All program combats illiteracy by working among the world's most disadvantaged communities to provide universal, free, mandatory, high-quality basic education and promotion of life skills for children and adults, male and female, beginning with early childhood education (UNESCO, 2015).

This is especially critical because many *emergency* situations continue for a long time, denying children not only physical health and safety, but also education and the opportunity to play, to imagine, and to be creative. The absence of education leads to a vicious cycle in which an uneducated, vulnerable, socially marginalized, and traumatized population remains dependent on local and global powers. Quality education that considers social and environmental problems at local and global levels can improve security on several levels by enabling people to be directly and responsibly involved in creating a better future rather than remaining passive and dependent. Violence often leads to submission and inability to see solutions. Education can support social change through review of curricula (since education can perpetuate conflict, as well as reduce it), training teachers, and encouraging involvement of all interested parties in the resolution of social, environmental, political, and economic issues (Davies, 2010). The nature of interventions needs to be holistic and integrated, capable of catalyzing change. They must have the goal of guaranteeing people's safety and well-being while creating conditions for participation that are rarely present in social settings of vulnerability (Sinclair,

2001). Educational interventions among socially vulnerable populations should consciously involve people in a bottom-up way and involve the entire affected community (Mosselson, Wheaton, & Frisoli, 2009).

Examples of peace education programs in regions of conflict include summer camps and bilingual school programs exposing Israeli and Palestinian students to “contesting narratives” of the conflict (Bekerman & Zemblylas, 2011; Biton & Salomon, 2006), and civics education in post-conflict societies such as South Africa, the Balkans, and Cyprus. These programs face numerous challenges, such as ongoing violence in the society; predominance of negative images of the “other” in macro-society and the media; teachers who promote stereotypes even within the peace curricula (*we* want peace/*they* are causing war); and students challenging the values promoted in the program (Clarke-Habibi, 2005; Quaynor, 2013; Zemblylas, 2010). In some cases the peace initiative itself unintentionally reinforces divisions through its “Westernist” discourse, as happened in the Sudan (Breidlid, 2010). The Peace Education Programme, implemented in over a dozen countries, found that to be successful, peace education should target all school children, not only those on one side of a conflict, and if possible involve people who are themselves victims or refugees as educators (Baxter & Ikobwa, 2005).

An extremely critical situation is that of refugee children. The UN Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees acknowledges public education as a primary need to protect the development of these children at the extremes of social marginalization (United Nations, 1951, Article 22). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees supervises, in coordination with local and international partners, educational interventions for children in refugee camps, some of whom have been in this extreme situation from birth (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). For example, a third generation of Somali refugees is being born in camps in Kenya, which house over half a million refugees, including about 180,000 school-aged children. Less than half these children attend primary school and only 5% reach secondary school. Fewer than 10% of the teachers have any training in education (MacKinnon, 2014).

Creating spaces for social interactions and providing structured activities helps children address the traumas they experienced, and may mitigate the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder (Dyregrov, 2010). Children in a safe and stimulating learning environment are less at risk of exploitation (sexual, economic or recruitment by criminals or terrorists). Direct educational interventions may address the primary trauma and indirect interventions can safeguard exacerbation of the situation by creating social and political awareness of the need to satisfy children’s education needs. These approaches require sensitivity to how children express their feelings verbally and non-verbally.

Interventions sponsored by international organizations enable refugee children to attend school. The goal is to give them, in addition to basic school competencies, skills and values that will give them a better chance of having a peaceful life. This includes instilling a respect for human rights as well as understanding the roots of conflict which made them refugees. Peace education, in particular, addresses stereotypes

created by the hostilities. Additionally, the issue of cultural maintenance and identity following loss of home must be considered (UNHCR, 2012). Achieving these goals simultaneously is far from simple. A pilot UN-sponsored peace education program in the refugee camps in Kenya focused on communication and conflict resolution skills, self-image, cooperation, critical thinking, and promotion of values of tolerance. The teachers themselves were refugees; they used materials developed by the UN Human Rights Commission. The program faced numerous challenges, such as low attendance (especially by females), ongoing violence within the camps, and negative attitudes towards the concept of "peace," seeing it as equivalent to submission to the refugees' aggressors (Sommers, 2001). Similarly, teachers at schools in a refugee camp in Iraq (administered by the Kurdistan Regional Government) tend to link the concept of human rights with the Kurdish nationalist movement, rather than universal human rights (Osler & Yahya, 2013).

Clearly, educational interventions in refugee camps require a commitment to teachers' and educators' training, enabling them to address the needs of these children. Currently, the level of training and recruitment of educators for peace and human rights education in areas of conflict is too low to meet the needs of the millions of displaced children around the globe.

THEORIES AND RESEARCH ON PEACE EDUCATION

To be effective, peace education must be grounded in a theory guiding its development and implementation. Modern, academic studies of peace education from a theoretical perspective that considers social changes and international relations were pioneered by Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist and mathematician. He wrote his first book at age 24 while in jail for refusing to do military service. In the decades following the Second World War, Galtung founded the Oslo Peace Research Institute and the *Journal of Peace Research*. Galtung and his disciples examine broad and diverse aspects of the field, including conflict and reconciliation, international relations, human rights, theory of civilization, human needs, ideology, religion, methodology of social sciences, communication, economics, and globalization (Galtung & Fischer, 2013; www.galtung-institut.de). His epistemological approach is transdisciplinary, in that it not only crosses borders between disciplines (as in an interdisciplinary approach), but goes a step further and explicitly examines the links between disciplines with the goal of healing the rifts between them (Nicolescu, 2002). In this way, research on peace can enlighten multiple aspects of interventions, to identify and help achieve the conditions for peaceful coexistence among people and nations.

Galtung divides studies on peace according to three typologies: empirical studies (past), critical studies (present), and studies on the construction of peace (future) (Galtung, 1985). Empirical studies systematically compare between theory and the empiric reality, to see how theories match the emerged data, in order to verify elements of theories – for example, how neoclassical economic doctrine on the

world market reflects the history of different countries' development, and how the resultant division of labor has resulted in structural violence over resource extraction and production (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, pp. 54-55).

Critical studies compare values with current reality, in order to intervene or evaluate policies, programs, and actions – for example, a critique of media coverage of wars, comparing portrayals of war as a "gladiator circus" with analyses that focus on conflict resolution (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

Finally, the constructive peace studies systematically compare theories and values in order to create new perspectives of reality, such as Galtung's use of health/disease as a metaphor for peace/war, including stages of "diagnosis-prognosis-therapy," and his proposed "eight-fold path to peace" with "preventative" and "curative" approaches to cultural, economic, military, and political violence (Galtung, 1996).

One of Galtung's key contributions to the field is the differentiation between "negative" and "positive" peace. In the former, peace is explained through a negation: the absence of war defines peace; peace is the lack of something (conflict). Positive peace, in contrast, is a condition of social coexistence; it is not related to war, but is created through social forms of inclusion, democracy, and participation – the introduction, not removal, of something (Webel & Galtung, 2007).

Galtung and his disciples maintain that peace research must be accompanied by a creative analysis of conflict. To know peace we need to understand the social dynamics of the conflict, and how they can be transformed in a creative and constructive way. Therefore, Galtung views peace studies as an implementation of social sciences, with an explicit value-judgment orientation (Baranov & Galtung, 2004; Galtung, 1996). Cultures often legitimize structural and direct violence by perpetuating assumptions of what is normal and natural in human relations through an ongoing socialization process related to language, sciences, art, religion, laws, media, and education. Through symbols such as flags, anthems, parades, and heroes, cultures legitimize their superiority and control of others. Such "cultural violence" leads to both indirect structural violence and direct physical and psychological violence (Galtung, 1967). Structural violence, including various forms of social injustice, creates conditions of suffering, exclusion, marginalization, exploitation, and dependency. Direct violence is more tangible: killings, mutilations, expulsion, detention and repression. Power is expressed in the four realms of culture, military power, politics, and economy (Galtung, 1967; Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

Stages of Creative Conflict Resolution

According to Galtung, this cycle of violence can only be halted through a dynamic of reconciliation with the past, mediation in the present, and creative planning for transformation of the situation in the future. Each of these stages involves strategies of intervention.

The first phase after parties agree to negotiate is reconciliation with the past. Parties involved in a conflict begin by mutually recognizing each other and their motivations, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions experienced. Mediators help interpret

the conflict, leading the different parties to understand how all the participants have a different vision of the problem, depending on how the conflict delineates their living conditions (Fisher, 1990; Kriesberg & Northrup, 1989). Being open to listening and understanding differences is the beginning of the creative work necessary to transform the situation. Reconciliation should include the obvious but often-ignored fact that many conflicts emerge within a social reality of coexistence, in which people disagree about conditions affecting their lives at the individual and collective level. Reconciliation continues through the subsequent phase of mediation.

In the second phase, mediation, a facilitator helps the involved parties identify modalities and strategies to be used to research solutions and formulate mutually acceptable agreements. Transformative mediation concentrates on identification of possible solutions through direct and active participation and research of the people involved in the conflict and responsible for its resolution (Horowitz, 2007). While some scholars claim that successful negotiation indicates a possible resolution (Salomon & Nevo, 2002), a first positive result does *not* guarantee durable success. As is well known by those involved in intractable conflicts such as in the Middle East, Sri Lanka, and Somalia, who have experienced repeated unsuccessful attempts at mediation, relations between the parties can degenerate, returning to violent behaviors and negative attitudes (Bar-Tal, 2000; Nadler, Mallow, & Fisher, 2008). To overcome this, reconciliation must address the "ethos of conflict," including social and cultural models of adversity which have been passed from generation to generation, and the prejudices rooted in the collective knowledge of involved groups.

After agreements are reached, parties must renegotiate the terms of coexistence. This involves constructive investment to transform and shape new social relations. This is a slow but drastic social change. Trusting relations between the involved parts need to be gradually established, both at the horizontal level (individual people) and the vertical (formal groups and political and institutional delegations). The matrix of creative mediation is the "three Cs": conditions, consequences, and context (Horowitz, 2007). The work of reconciliation must take place within each group, as well as between groups; inter- and intra-group social relations need to be reformulated for the reconstruction of a peace ethos. If either or both parties cling to their feelings of victimization, reconciliation runs the risk of increasing distrust and being damaging, rather than healing. Horowitz (2007) posits that creative mediation must transcend contradictions and enter into new perspectives and visions of problem resolution. Participants, therefore, must be flexible, capable of listening in an active and empathetic way, to what the involved parties propose. The creative aspect is the fundamental prerequisite for the launch of every planning for transformation and change.

The final stage of the process is planning for transformation of the situation to bring about resolution of the conflict (Webel & Galtung, 2007). There must be a commitment to cooperation to implement operative and concrete aspects necessary for peaceful coexistence and the respective needs for all sides' security and survival.

Participants must take responsibility for the process of realizing accepted solutions. This process includes emotional, communicative, and hypothetical aspects in order to use the experience as a transformative moment of personal and relational growth (Arielli & Scotto, 2003). Creativity gives flavor to the realization of the change and transformation, allowing parties to go beyond archaic models of peacemaking (Savir, 2008). For example, many people involved in the peacemaking process are ex-warriors, with a past of violence, both endured and enacted. This has a bearing on their perceptions of peace, its goals and strategies to reach it.

Each social process (economics, politics, military, culture) can be considered an element of peace building, because only by starting from meeting people's needs for wellbeing on multiple levels is it possible to work towards peaceful coexistence. There are many aspects of society that can be managed in cooperation for the wellbeing of people, but, first of all, people's deepest knowledge needs to be engaged. As long as the quest for immediate knowledge continues to be considered superior to awareness of the benefits that planning towards the future can give to present and future generations, every action of peace building will remain limited and sterile. It is in this complexity of positions and roles that human rights, values, respect for one another, human dignity, gender equality, and safeguarding the planet become cardinal points of the path for peace culture development. All of this must be integrated in the perspective of sustainability that can be pursued, by the awareness of what we want to leave to our grandchildren and future generations.

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THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF DIALOGUE AND REMEMBRANCE IN ISRAEL/PALESTINE

> If we who lost what is most precious can talk to each other and look forward to a better future, then everyone else must do so too.
> – Tzvika Shahak, Israeli Forum participant; former Israeli general who lost his teenage daughter Bat-Chen to a suicide bombing in 1996

> We're meeting about issues that politicians use to justify killing.
> No. Don't use us as an excuse. We're united.
> – Ali Abu Awwad, Palestinian Forum participant; imprisoned for involvement in the first Intifada, lost his brother Youssef to an Israeli soldier at a checkpoint in 2000

Since 1995, members of the Bereaved Families Forum[1] have been meeting and talking with one another. This group is comprised of roughly the same number of Israelis and Palestinians (now estimated to be about 600 families in total), all of whom lost a close family member to the violence in the region. Some members joined readily and others more reluctantly. Regardless of how members find their way to the Forum, one thing is clear – the dialogue that transpires amongst participants can be transformative.

DIALOGUE

The transformative power of dialogue to which I refer and with which I begin my analysis is captured in the documentary *Encounter Point* (2005).[2] The impact of this film has stayed with me ever since I first saw it in 2006. I use it as a teaching tool to help students see the sheer power the Forum creates by its very establishment. My students learn that the Forum paradoxically calls for its own destruction. One Forum online video says, "We do not want you here."[3] This message is repeated in alternating Arabic and Hebrew by various Forum members. They do not want their ranks to grow; to expand means additional losses. Until there are no more senselessly bereaved, the Forum serves its purpose to challenge the violence that has come to define the region. The kind of power the Forum participants achieve is akin to that theorized by Hannah Arendt.

In *The Human Condition*, Arendt (1958) says: "Power is actualized only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds

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not brutal, where words are not used to veil intentions, but to disclose realities, and deeds are not used to violate and destroy but to establish relations and create new realities" (p. 200). "Establish relations" and "create new realities" the Forum's participants certainly do. According to Arendt, "power springs up" between people when they act and speak together (pp. 200-303). Such power is opposed to force. Following this Arendtian conception, I maintain that power occurs each time Forum members engage with one another. These participants improve the conditions of their lived relations by realizing their "human capacity to act and speak together" (p. 203). Violence cannot generate power, only destroy it. This understanding of power as creative is defined by building relations, not tearing them apart. Forum members resist the path of reprisal, renounce violence, and aspire to "create new realities."

The Forum's existence constitutes an appeal to the world, an ethical plea. In the first epigraph that opens this essay, Tzvika Shahak enjoins others to follow the Forum's example. He says, "If we who lost what is most precious can talk to each other and look forward to a better future, then everyone else must do so too" (*EP*). And that is what the Forum members do. They talk with each other. Through such dialogue, they transform their perspectives and enlarge their views to validate those whom their respective communities frequently diminish, if not demonize to death.

Shahak is a former Israeli general who lost his teenage daughter to a suicide bombing. Bat-Chen was on her way to celebrate her birthday and Purim in Tel Aviv. The year was 1996. When his wife, Ayelet, heard that a bomb had gone off in the neighborhood where Bat-Chen was enjoying festivities, she called her husband. Shahak thought the odds were against their daughter's demise, and he told Ayelet as much. There were so many others in the area where their daughter was that fateful day. But to satisfy Ayelet's concern, he went to the morgue to rule it out. Instead of confirming her safety, he found himself saying goodbye to his daughter who was now a corpse.

Since Shahak joined the Forum, he fights a different battle from the militarized one into which he was strongly socialized. This former general says, "We've occupied, we've won, and there is still no peace" (*EP*). He has found new meaning by joining with others, including many Palestinians who, like him, have lost family members in what is often called the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The film captures many humanizing moments born of despair. For example, in an exchange between Shahak and George Sa'adeh, a Palestinian man, it is soon revealed that each wishes the other was not bereaved. Like Shahak, Sa'adeh also lost his young daughter. The year was 2003. The Israeli army shot 18 times at the family car. Sa'adeh kept asking the Israeli soldiers, "Why are you shooting at us?" But to no avail. They killed Christine. She was 12. Sa'adeh later learned that the Israeli army mistook the family car for one belonging to three wanted Palestinians. Sa'adeh finds his way to the Forum as follows. He describes: "A member of the Bereaved Forum contacted us to ask if we were interested in meeting Israeli families. At first I thought it was a strange idea. But after thinking about it logically, I didn't see any reason not to meet them and let them know our suffering" (*EP*).

Tragedy brings Shahak and Sa'adeh together. Both men joined the Forum about a year after losing their daughters. They share their grief and aspire to live together without violence. They translate their mourning into collective power, a unified purpose for peace. Shahak and Sa'adeh acknowledge each other as fellow human beings who are situated in their specificity. They call one another by name. They reveal themselves to each another through their dialogue. They grieve and remember their daughters in turn, reaching greater consciousness about what is possible because they are making it so. Shahak says: "There were many things that touched me. We see that there are Palestinians who suffered a lot, who lost children, and still believe in the peace process and in reconciliation. If we who lost what is most precious can talk to each other and look forward to a better future, then everyone else must do so too" (*EP*).

This power achieved through Forum members talking to each other is Arendtian. It stands in contradistinction to power defined more conventionally in terms of force or domination. Shahak's imperative – for everyone to talk to each other – is an ethical demand to understand and experience power creatively. Shahak and Sa'adeh are but one example of an Israeli and Palestinian who are facing their realities and shaping their futures together. They are not alone. Like many others who have joined the Forum, they seem to realize they will rise or fall together. And they choose to rise. Consequently they challenge what is so often taught, namely that Israelis and Palestinians are unable to connect to one another or are destined to have antipathy for each other. A key aspect of exemplary leadership in Israel/Palestine today belongs to those who are talking with each other and creating humane circumstances out of their grief.

Ali Abu Awwad, a Palestinian leader committed to nonviolence, is another exemplary figure who is deeply devoted to transforming deleterious attitudes through dialogue. He takes the Forum's slogan "Without dialogue, no change" to heart and speaks with anyone willing to engage with him. Abu Awwad advocates a nonviolent future for Israel/Palestine, but his message is not immediately embraced, even by those who love him.

This becomes evident when Abu Awwad visits his nephew Youssef, whose leg is healing from an Israeli assault. Abu Awwad speaks with Youssef and other Palestinian young men in the Bethlehem Rehabilitation Center, Occupied Palestinian Territories. They are all young and vengeful as was Abu Awwad when he was their age. They tend to see all Israelis as one, undifferentiated enemy. Abu Awwad understands these young people filled with revenge and he seeks to win them over. He encourages the group to resist oppression nonviolently. He informs them that there are many Israelis who are working for alternatives and want peace. Initially skeptical, Youssef eventually agrees to attend a Forum meeting with Abu Awwad.

Abu Awwad says he has suffered enough to count as a conventional hero in his community. But he shuns this kind of veneration as misdirected. As a teenager, Abu Awwad was very involved in the first Intifada, or uprising (1987-1991). He was imprisoned for throwing stones and protesting Israeli occupation of the West Bank

and Gaza. Whereas the rehabilitating youth seems to want Abu Awwad to have remained the more familiar type of hero – the stone thrower he once was – Abu Awwad seeks instead to convince them that this form of protest is futile and needs replacement with a more collective vision for all involved.

In 2005, Abu Awwad said to Palestinian male youth: “For 56 years we’ve been talking about slaughtering the Jews, and we’ve only gone backwards. For once, let’s change our tactic. Maybe it’ll work” (*EP*). He is keenly aware of how his turn to nonviolence can be read as a disavowal of Palestinian resistance to oppression, particularly to young people with so little hope whose wounds are physical, psychological, and historical. But he encourages this youthful group of Palestinians, the third generation living under Israeli Military Occupation, to see that his fight against injustice is a very active kind of resistance that has precedence in great world leaders.

He says: “I could be considered a hero by my people. Given what I’ve been through...I was shot, imprisoned, my brother was killed. All of this gives me credibility in my society, since I’ve suffered. I could be spreading hate and that would be seen as justified. But this is no longer a personal issue for me, it’s a collective one” (*EP*). This move from personal to collective is quintessentially political. It contains a consciousness of the need to live together and to cultivate something better together. That this can be achieved, Abu Awwad will not abdicate, but one nevertheless needs to be “a mountain” and “a little crazy” sometimes to keep going in this direction.

The film records how Abu Awwad’s tireless work to get people together brings him into conversation with an Israeli settler, a first-time experience. He meets with Shlomo Zagman, raised in the settlement of Alon Shvut. Zagman, who lived for 23 years among other settlers, says: “I’m ashamed to say I never had contact with Palestinians. No debate, no real talks, no connections” (*EP*). For him Palestinians did the work on the settlements that his parents did not want to do. In describing a preponderant view, others put the matter more forcefully. For example, Ilan Pappé recently testified: “Anyone who has been in Israel long enough, as I have, knows that the worst corruption of young Israelis is the indoctrination they receive that totally dehumanizes the Palestinians. When an Israeli soldier sees a Palestinian baby he does not see an infant – he sees the enemy” (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015, p. 31).

About Palestinians Zagman says, “For me, they were figures who would do work for us” (*EP*). He adds, “I saw them as laborers, as cleaners, janitors” (*EP*). And “Arabs did the work my parents wouldn’t do” (*EP*). He shares that his first party was Moledet, which supports the deportation of Arabs. But his outlook started to change after meeting a religious man who was a leftist. Zagman says: “The bottom line of my new outlook is that the price we’re paying today to hold on to the Occupied Territories is so high that it’s endangering the existence of the Zionist Jewish state in Israel” (*EP*). He met some other young religious men and they founded the movement Realistic Religious Zionism. With some others, he put out a petition calling on settlers to recognize the need for Israel to leave part of the Occupied Territories. He himself moved out of Alon Shvut, the only place he had ever lived.

He says "the move is hard," and that "he's not used to it yet" (*EP*). Abu Awwad reached out to Zagman and visited with him after his move.

I include some of their exchange here:

> *Shlomo Zagman*: First of all, I want to hear a little bit about you personally. What you've been through, what brought you here.
> *Ali Abu Awaad*: I was involved in the first Intifada, at age 16. I grew up in a political household. My mother was in jail. My brother was in jail. Another brother was also in jail.
> *Zagman*: For what?
> *Abu Awwad*: For participation.
> *Zagman*: Participation in what?
> *Abu Awwad*: In the struggle against the occupation.
> *Zagman*: They didn't put you in jail for throwing stones and the like?
> *Abu Awwad*: Yes, I was in jail for four years.
> *Zagman*: You were in jail?
> *Abu Awwad*: Yes. Does that surprise you?
> *Zagman*: No, no.
> *Abu Awwad*: How does that make you feel?
> *Zagman*: I was living in the Alon Shvut settlement during the first Intifada.
> *Abu Awwad*: Okay.
> *Zagman*: **[***Smiling*] Maybe you threw stones at me? [*Laughs*]. Just Kidding. I was lucky that I only had stones thrown at me twice.
> *Abu Awwad*: In a private car or in an army vehicle?
> *Zagman*: On a bus.
> *Abu Awwad*: No, I never stoned private cars or buses [*Smiles*].

They converse like this, getting to know each other a little bit. Their conversation concludes as follows:

> *Zagman*: I feel and I think I have more in common with settlers than you. When I speak to them I think it would only be possible to sit and to start with the smallest things. Stop talking about ideals and big dreams and history and background and, you know, 3,000 years. I'm carrying all the Jewish people on my back. I protect all the Jewish people in all history and all we've been through. How can I give up anything now after all we've been through? I don't really believe I can change the view of settlers or the right wing.
> *Abu Awwad*: You just start.
> *Zagman*: [*Laughs*].
> *Abu Awwad*: Believe me.
> *Zagman*: Yeah, you're right.

Many things are revealed in this exchange between Abu Awwad and Zagman, but that they are even speaking is the major point. Their dialogue is transporting

them to new ground. This encounter between Abu Awwad and Zagman develops a human connection and accords with the claim put forward by Gavriel Salomon that "opponents need to be personalized" (Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006, p. 36). Despite the fact that each endures taunts from within their intimate communities, Abu Awwad and Zagman challenge their own lived narratives positioning them to be against the other. They can even laugh about it. Theirs is not a "dialogue between deaf people," a Hebrew phrase that does not apply to them.

It is important to teach young people about such exchanges. If they are raised to deny the humanity of others, then it becomes more arduous to connect them later. Abu Awwad and Zagman notwithstanding, it is better to bring youth into encounters much earlier. This is especially important when "narrative beliefs are included in texts for school socialization" (Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006, p. 34). Research has shown that "developing relationships between Jewish and Israeli-Palestinian youth through encounter groups generally make Jewish participants more willing to have contact with Palestinians and more amenable to accepting the Palestinian perspectives on the conflicts" (Bar-Tal & Salomon, 2006, p. 37).

Just as Abu Awwad, Zagman, and Shahak (the latter was once speaking to a crowd of young Israelis, one of whom told him that he would not speak to anyone associated with those who had killed one of his family members) are ostracized by their communities, so too is Forum member Robi Damelin. Damelin, an Israeli via South Africa, lost her son David to a Palestinian sniper. The year was 2003. Damelin struggles with this loss, of course. She has spoken out many times about her loss and seeks to convince others about the logic of reconciliation. Her uncle was Nelson Mandela's lawyer and her commitment to reconciliation is evident in nearly all she says about moving forward in Israel/Palestine. Damelin wrote a letter to the sniper's family and requested a meeting with him. He is in prison. Her motive is to stop senseless killing. She says: "The real reason we're doing the work we're doing is to prevent further death" (*EP*). She adds, "We're here to put all our problems on the table" (*EP*).

She trusts the transformative power of dialogue, but some cannot bear what she says. When she accepts an interview with an Israeli TV station, the interviewer, incredulous that she would even consider talking with the family of the Palestinian sniper who killed her son, or the sniper himself, quickly cuts the interview short. Damelin manages a final question: "Why was David guarding settlers who said their safety was more important than David's?" (*EP*). She explains that David was a reluctant soldier, called up from the reserves, but his heart was in his commitment to finish his advanced degree in education. His mother has taken up the mantle of education and part of this contains a renunciation of a militarized and occupying Israel.

Damelin has been reviled by some members of her community, as have others previously discussed. Yet these Forum participants speak up, sharing their activities with others. For example, Damelin has teamed up with Abu Awwad for years, visiting high schools and speaking to audiences about their collective movement for

peace. They have also traveled internationally to do the same. In recent years, she has traveled with Seham Abu Awwad (Ali's sister), spreading their message of nonviolence and reconciliation.

These groups of activists, who are defying their cultures' respective dominant dictums to proceed from positions of diminishing "the other side," are certainly "beyond bystanders." They are neither reduced to utter despair, nor have they accepted violence as a solution to their problems. Instead, they assume responsibility for their own conditions. Thus, they are great inspirations for everyone else. They are role models. Young people are the greatest beneficiaries of knowing that alternative relations are not only possible, they are transpiring.

Since his involvement with the Forum, Ali Abu Awwad has started a nonviolent Palestinian movement called *Taghyeer* (Change) and set up a Center for Palestinian nonviolence called *Karama* (Dignity) on family property in the West Bank, maintaining that this, not Tel Aviv, is the site of the real struggle. He continues to speak with any who will engage with him, inviting Israelis to participate in his dialogues at Roots, another initiative he co-founded. Logistical challenges make it difficult for Palestinians and Israelis to meet together in the West Bank because they are very often prevented from setting foot in each others' communities. But Abu Awwad perseveres and seems to be winning some hearts and minds, including Rabbi Hanan Schlesinger who hosted him and invited dozens of neighbors to listen. One such neighbor said of Abu Awwad: "It's hard not to be convinced." Still others have asked why the Rabbi meets with a terrorist.[4]

In any case, some Palestinians and Israelis join forces regularly to figure out a way to live together. In fact, they always have, but it has become increasingly difficult. Narratives that grew up with the establishment of the Israeli state in Palestine have implanted a mutual bellicosity on the past between Arabs and Jews without registering the many attempts to forge civil connections. All actions that defy reciprocal enmity scripts should be the fundamental exemplars we teach our youth. Such actions are achievements and particularly noteworthy for communities fraught with violence and militarization.

Despite the violent founding of Israel in 1948,[5] which killed and displaced hundreds of thousands of Palestinians,[6] as well as the aftermath that has left so many dispossessed, significant numbers of Palestinians and Israelis come together to create better experiences for themselves. They show how to live together with greater generosity than current political arrangements legally allow or socially encourage. Though my essay largely focuses on the Forum, there are many people involved in peace groups and organizations that seek some sense of humanity and display bravery. For example, the Israeli women who risk arrest to bring Palestinian women, who have never been to the sea though they can see it from their landlocked communities, to the beach[7] They experience collective joy in contrast to the often nightmarish situation in Israel/Palestine, the overcoming of which is frequently seen as utterly intractable.

In 1948, on the eve of Israeli independence, Arendt's essay entitled "To Save the Jewish Homeland: There is Still Time" was published by *Commentary*. In this piece, she claims: "Many opportunities for Jewish-Arab friendship have already been lost, but none of these failures can alter the basic fact that the existence of the Jew in Palestine depends on achieving it" (2007, p. 306). And yet, there are, and long have been, many such achievements despite lost opportunities for more.

Examples of Jewish-Arab friendship are re-membered by Ariella Azoulay in her highly creative film *Civil Alliances, Palestine 47-48* (2012).[8] It chronicles hundreds of cases from 1947 and 1948 in which Jews and Arabs worked together to address their problems. Restoring these "vehement joint efforts of Jews and Arabs to preserve their shared life" and "find peaceful solutions to conflicts and disputes, reach compromises, be mutually attentive to needs, make agreements and promises, all these did not cease once violence erupted, and these efforts lasted even while some of the agreements were not observed." As Azoulay shows, "In most cases promises were broken not by the inhabitants themselves but rather by members of national militias who tried to impose a new political reality upon the land." She concludes, "In May 1948, the founding of the state of Israel put an end to this mutual recognition of Jews and Arabs of their responsibility for their shared life. The new sovereign rule replaced the old civil rules of the game with the new – national – ones" (*CA*).

Yet I claim that even the establishment of the Israeli state has not obliterated the coming together of Israelis and Palestinians searching for a better collective life. In some of the darkest hours of Israel's existence, Palestinians and Israelis forge new realities beyond the death and destruction that surround their lives now. That we can find many more political and neighborly friendships, and "civil alliances" from pre-state times between Jews and Arabs is crucial to remember for envisioning a new future of peace. Remembering the civil alliances of the past and confirming the efforts of today's Forum members opens up an alternative path for Israel/Palestine.

Those making civil connections – past and present – are the true leaders of the region. Once again, I maintain that our youth benefits from knowing about these actions. Our students can counteract the otherwise hopelessness that they are likely to accept if they are mostly listening to the scornful accounts of official governing bodies. The real power-makers are on the ground. Yet, what else might move our youth to refuse any kind of demonization of the Other, as they embrace the humanization of others? Reaching even further back could provide a potentially productive springboard for future understanding and reconciliation.

REMEMBRANCE

While the Forum shows us the power of dialogue, there is also the importance of remembrance. In a fascinating discussion of Edward Said's *Freud and the Non-European*, Judith Butler (2012) writes, "he leads us back to the figure of Moses, to show that one key foundational moment for Judaism, the one in which the law is

delivered to the people centers upon a figure for whom there is no lived distinction between Arab and Jew" (pp. 28-29). This is a powerful act of remembrance. The call to acknowledge that Moses was simultaneously Arab and Jew, and non-Ashkenazi as well, poses a profound challenge to identity politics. I find this questioning of identity politics transformative and particularly relevant today as Israel/Palestine lies bleeding.

Butler expresses profound gratitude to Said for putting Freud's claim that Moses was an Egyptian at the center of his discussion. Cannot the remembrance of Moses as both Arab and Jew act as an invitation to rethink identity politics and what it could mean to share both land and life deemed important to both Israelis and Palestinians? Is not the memory that Moses, who lived as both Arab and Jew, an invitation to find more associative ways to live together? Recall that Forum members continue to do battle against so many from their most intimate communities who regard them as traitors of a kind for *dialoguing* with the putative enemy.

For Said (2003), the real challenge of Freud (1939) is to see one's recognized liberator as both *us* and *them*, and this is a perspective-changer. Butler seems to concur with Said's reading of Freud insofar as it opens up possibilities to scrutinize the dangers that flow from those who maintain an identity that they wish to see as somehow pure, utterly unalloyed.

Said's turn to Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* constitutes a brilliant move for further reflection on the hazards of over-investing in identity politics. A critique of identity is necessary if part of that very identity, singular or collective, rests upon vilifying an Other. Lingering upon the lived phenomenon of Moses, who existed as a non-European Arab Jew, might produce insights useful for arresting the contemporary carnage and oppression in Israel/Palestine.

Said suggests that a recognition of Freud's Moses moves beyond "palliative" solutions. Freud's Moses is a challenge to dispense with the far weaker calls for "tolerance" or "compassion" and to opt for the deeper cure of bursting asunder any fixed sense of identity. Toleration is but a partial soothing of an ill that if better diagnosed and remedied requires no treatment. The ill is fixed identity. Without addressing fixed identity as the real malady in need of a cure, palliatives return as sedative-like solutions that can only salve a festering wound that constantly threatens to re-open because it lacks a deeper remedy.

Some may claim Said is too quick to dismiss compassion. It seems that Forum members, sharing their grief, have achieved a productive sense of compassion. Recall how Tzvika Shahak and George Sa'adeh connect via their abilities to wish the other was not bereaved. This requires compassion on each man's part. However, Said seems right that a more fundamental questioning of identity is also needed to cut through the learned animosity that pits many other Arabs and Jews against one another. In other words, as long as fixed identities are used to fuel destruction of the Other, calls for compassion are limited. I believe that compassion can do more than "palliate," but it is unlikely to fundamentally change circumstances in which the acquired vitriol for the Other is more solidly anchored.

Nevertheless Freud and others, such as Said and Butler, who take some insights from him, see promise in examining the lived intersectionality of Moses. If the very figure who stands as the liberator of the Jews is both Arab and Jew, then what does that mean for Jewish identity that seeks to extinguish that which is Arab? Freud's project maintains that Moses was Egyptian. The very first lines from his *Moses and Monotheism* reads: "To deny a people the man whom it praises as the greatest of its sons is not a deed to be undertaken lightheartedly – especially by one belonging to that people. No consideration, however, will move me to set aside truth in favour of supposed national interest" (Freud, 1939, p. 3).

Be this as it may, it seems clear why Butler, following Said, has seized upon this last text of Freud's. Freud's tension with his identity is palpable to his readers, and his struggle provides an opening, a provocation for them. Butler and Said find in Freud's exploration of Moses a rich resource that challenges any hard-and-fast definition of identity. Or, as Butler puts it very compellingly about Said, "it is clear that what he likes most in Freud's embrace of Moses as the non-European, the Egyptian founder of the Jews, is the challenge the figure of Moses posed to strictly identarian politics" (Butler, 2012, p. 31). She adds that "if Moses stands for a contemporary political aspiration," then "it is one that refuses to be organized exclusively on principles of national, religious, or ethnic identity." Moreover, such a "political aspiration" is "one that accepts a certain impurity and mixedness as the irreversible condition of social life" (p. 31).

There is hope in the remembrance, as emphasized by Said (2003) and Butler (2012), in Freud's claim that the leader of Judaism was both Arab and Jew (Freud, 1939). Freud's struggle, and Butler's too, over Jewish identity bears fruit for thinking about the ways in which identity is inherently fraught. This can speak to "other besieged identities," posits Said (2003). Violence accompanies those seeking too pure an identity, such that the Other is repressed, even made expendable.

I have no doubt those who make their way to the Forum would welcome Moses, as would promoters of "civil alliances," past, present, and future. But what of the state of Israel, with its separation wall and militarized ways? Could this state that forbids any official remembrance of the *Naqba* the catastrophe of 1948 that killed and/or sent fleeing hundred of thousands of Palestinians from their homes, welcome the likes of Moses? This is a remembrance so badly needed, yet unrecognized by Israel.

The more the Israeli government defines itself through purging Palestinians from their homes, the less the people can dialogue. Yet some do as they seek alternatives for the region. A new way of governing is needed, an approach that could foster cultural spaces, great and small, while also creating more educational centers that welcome Arab and Jewish populations. Separation walls need to come down and alliances further cultivated so that Jews and Arabs may arrange the conditions for building greater civil life together.

As Butler reminds us, one can find resources within the Jewish historical tradition to challenge oppression and work for greater social justice. Thus, "it would be a

painful irony indeed if the Jewish struggle for social justice were itself cast as anti-Jewish" (Butler, 2012, p. 1). What kind of a polity would be most socially just?

Many claim there are two choices facing Israel/Palestine today: a one-state or a two-state solution. The scope of this essay limits an extensive and critical review of these debates. Suffice it to say that some, such as Noam Chomsky, opt for the two-state solution (which has the blessings of the international community) because it is preferable to the only other perceived alternative of a Greater Israel (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015, p. 191), the logical outcome which Arendt had foreseen prior to the establishment of a sovereign Jewish state (Arendt, 2007, pp. 396-397). Others, such as Ilan Pappé refer to the two-state solution as the "old peace orthodoxy" and untenable at this point (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015, pp. 10-21). He argues for a new binationalism. Like Arendt (2007), Pappé views this as the most compelling proposal. He is joined by other leading scholars, preeminent among them Butler (2012), who further maintains that the path of binationalism, while seemingly impossible, remains necessary to achieve. Its supposed impossibility does not disqualify its fitness to become. In Butler's words: "It may be that binationalism is an impossibility, but that mere fact does not suffice as a reason to be against it" (p. 30). Indeed, Butler goes on to claim that the current situation can be defined as one of "wretched binationalism," in which Israelis and Palestinians are "bound together" via "a regime of Israeli law and military violence." She adds that this has led to both nonviolent and violent resistance. Once again, with Said, she points to Freud's Moses as a "figure of cathexis" and "a living conjuncture" that might help us "think in new ways." She says: "If we consider that Moses was not European, this means that the non-European Jew, the Arab Jew, is at the origin of our understanding of Judaism – a figure within which 'Arab' and 'Jew' cannot be disassociated" (p. 30). We might then be moved beyond the Jew/Palestinian binary that, in any case, is "belied by both the Arab Jew and the Palestinian Israeli" (p. 31).

Yet, is it death for those who advocate binationalism? Hailing from Sweden, Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations' mediator in Palestine, was a pacifist. During World War II he negotiated the release of approximately 31,000 prisoners from German concentration camps. Among these prisoners were 450 Danish Jews from the Theresienstadt camp, who were released in April 1945. Subsequently, he worked to negotiate a binational solution to Mandatory Palestine in 1948. He was murdered by the Revisionist Lehi group or Stern Gang. There were in David Ben-Gurion's time, and there are now, other choices than consolidating a Jewish state.

Violence, power's opponent, is ever a threat to those who act and talk together. As I have shown, Forum members join together to create "new realities." Their acting and talking together suggests the seemingly impossible is already possible. Attending to present and past examples of civic connections reveals the kind of power that seems compatible with a new binationalism. In addition, Freud's remembrance of Moses as simultaneously Arab and Jew might provide yet more inspiration to work for a new binationalism.

NOTES

1 Officially named The Parents Circle - Families Forum (PCFF), the group is also known as the Bereaved Families for Peace and Bereaved Families Forum. I will refer to the group as the Forum hereafter. For more information about the Forum, established in 1995 by Yitzhak Frankental and several Israeli families who were joined in 1998 by bereaved Palestinian families, see its website: http://www.theparentscircle.com/

2 Each time I quote someone from this film, the abbreviated *EP* will follow the speaker's words in parentheses.

3 See the following online video at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dgo1MpWuwgE

4 See the following piece that describes some of Abu Awwad's post-Forum activities: http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Making-a-difference/2015/0612/Ali-Abu-Awwad-chose-nonviolence-over-revenge

5 Here we do well to remember that most states are founded through violence, which raises the further question about organizing ourselves according to state formations in the first place.

6 Estimates for Palestinians who were either expelled or probably fled out of fear for their lives vary from 750,000 to 900,000.

7 See, for example, the article entitled, "When Politics are Complex, Simple Joys at the Beach" *New York Times*, July 27, 2011.
http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/27/world/middleeast/27swim.html?_r=0the

8 Azoulay's *Civil Alliances, Palestine 47-48* cited hereafter as *CA*.

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EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABILITY

Using the Society/Environment and Global/Local Binaries as Catalysts for Pedagogical Renewal

The past few decades, have seen the rise of a phenomenon that cannot be ignored – a new educational field known as "education for sustainability." A field that has managed, in a relatively short time, to carve a significant space for itself in the curricula of many countries around the world. This is in no small part due to the result of countless international conferences, publications, and international agreements that have, since the Earth Summit in Rio (United Nations, 1992), set out to address the ever deepening environmental and social crises of a more globalized world.

Education for sustainability is in fact a product of a vast literature and extensive debate that heralded the transition from its predecessor – the field known as "environmental education" that arose in the late 1960s. The latter evolved from a more "biocentric" approach, focusing on nature conservation and preservation, to the more rationalist scientific paradigm of environmental quality with its emphasis on humanity and its interests. In its latest guise, "education for sustainability" integrates a socio-environmental perspective, shifting the focus of the educational agenda away from rural and natural environments to address topics like urbanism, food, health, and social justice issues (Schwartz, 2001). In its best of forms, education for sustainability offers the possibility of challenging binary divisions so central to the modern imaginary: the division between "nature" and "society," and the dichotomy between the "local" and the "global." Or, put differently, it lies between particularist and universalist affiliations.

As environmental educators, citizens, and teacher trainers on the Kibbutzim College (KC) staff, we have, over the years, been deeply engaged in navigating these shifts in socio-environmental perceptions and particularly their ramifications for education. In this paper we wish to share reflections and insights drawn from our attempts to leverage sustainability pedagogy and practice at KC. We begin by briefly unpacking what we mean by the dichotomies highlighted here, their underlying tensions, gaps, and potential for education. In this sense, the college offers a case study of a higher education institution's evolution towards sustainability. We present several vignettes and examples of practice to illustrate how sustainability became a fruitful site to initiate institutional educational innovation. By charting both macro-institutional changes at the college organizational level (vision, policy, the Green Council, and green construction), and new curricular-pedagogical approaches

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adopted, we look to shed light on some of the makings of a broader shift towards a sustainability agenda for education. Committed to praxis, we end this chapter with a few programmatic recommendations, based on insights from the KC example, for individuals and institutions looking en route to creating a truly transformative education for sustainability.

Certainly, there have been pitfalls and difficulties along the way. For one, goals associated with practical and lightweight sustainable behaviors are relatively easy to achieve (McIntosh, Gaalswyk, Keniry, & Eagan, 2008; Wright, 2002), but deep changes in the attitudes and lifestyle of the entire college population are by far a more challenging task. Most school reforms to this day are not designed with a holistic view of sustainability in mind, and shy away from confrontational issues touching on social and environmental justice. And sustainability and environmental educational programs, as the literature attests, rarely go beyond "green" activities, nor dare to delve any deeper than the most superficial of levels of what the transition to sustainability must include (Berkowitz, Ford, & Brewer, 2005; Pepper & Wildy, 2008).

How far then has KC gone in traversing these divides and deepening pedagogy and practice? The following seeks to reveal a nuanced and fair picture. Our reading is informed by a critical and transformative approach to education. Michael Apple (2000), aptly describes the role of education in social change with an instructive insight:

> Education is a site of struggle and compromise. It serves as a proxy for larger battles over what our institutions should do, who they serve and who should make these decisions. Education is one of the major arenas in which resources, power and ideology specific to policy, finance, curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation are worked through. (p. 3)

We find this a useful metaphor inviting us to reflexively examine our own "struggles and compromises" in working for institutional and pedagogic change. And at the same time, we are cognizant that these efforts are ultimately shaped and embedded in much wider cultural, economic, and political transformations still in process.

MIND THE GAP 1: THE SEMIPERMEABLE MEMBRANE BETWEEN ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIETY

The transfiguration from the chiefly biocentric to the socio-environmental approach to the environment is not merely semantic. It is a shift that in many ways challenges one of the most trenchant modernist binary divisions – the wall between "humanity" and the "environment." This dichotomy leaves nature as a kind of warehouse for spare parts and resources, there solely for human needs and purposes.

The coming of "sustainable development" onto the global arena represented the merger of two pathways hitherto considered separate or even contradictory: specifically, the environmental discourse about nature conservation and the

development discourse regarding the third world, closing economic gaps, and eradicating world poverty. "Sustainable development" acknowledged them as two sides of a single coin: humanity's welfare is dependent on Earth's life-supporting systems, and managing the environmental crisis means addressing the ethical, political, and economic implications of perceiving environment and society as interconnected (Tilbury, 2010).

Despite these shifts, common perceptions still hold "sustainability" to be about the "green stuff" – a field concerned with (biocentric) nature conservation and with a (primarily) scientific-technological effort to prevent air and water pollution and increase recycling. But sustainability's mandate has never been limited to environmental parameters alone. Defined broadly, it encompasses no less than a social vision committed to healing social rifts like discrimination, grudges, and disputes, which are no less a source of pollution than are chemical spills (Benstein, 2007). It is based on a holistic, multidisciplinary, and multidimensional understanding that addresses ostensibly "environmental" issues – like maintaining biodiversity, protecting the resources of ecosystems, solving the problems of climate change, replenishing our resources of air, water and soil, and preventing the mass extinction of other species. All these require us to simultaneously examine socio-economic assumptions and political interests that lie at the heart of destructive trends, as well as to make an ethical challenge to economic interests that influence public health and erode social solidarity, social and environmental justice (including equitable distribution and fair access to public resources), equal opportunity, connections to place and community, and multicultural democratic participation (Benstein, 2007; Pepper & Wildy, 2008).

Despite the progress that has been made in the field of education for sustainability and its overall widespread acceptance, most educational institutions still seem to avoid the deeper conceptual and ethical challenges implicit in the shift to sustainability. Educators tend to shy away from addressing the complexity of the dilemmas at the heart of sustainability's economic-social-environmental architecture, and are rarely armed with the critical and transformative pedagogy needed to take on such tasks.

MIND THE GAP 2: NAVIGATING THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL IN EDUCATION

The proverbial "think global, act local" has become the rallying cry in both environmental and social action circles. Place and community have come to be perceived as significant arenas for learning and activity, with "place-based pedagogy" a growing educational trend concomitant with the expansion of sustainable development discourse. These approaches tap into aspects of local identity and culture to encourage people's involvement in activities for the benefit of their own community and local environment. Thus, local solutions are increasingly seen as healthier for both people and the planet. There is, however, an irony often missed: the turn to the local is in itself very much a reaction to hypercapitalist globalization

which does not stop corporations and marketing savants to rebrand products as "local" in support of healthy food and family.

Few students today gain a nuanced understanding of the "glocal" duality of their reality, or the tools with which to critically respond. Nor are they aware that essentially there is no "global" phenomenon that does not also have local implications – and that no issue is ever wholly local, but influenced by trends that go far beyond an area's limited borders. In this sense a locality like a village is neither global nor local in its entirety, but rather an amalgamation of the two, making it sometimes difficult to determine where the influence of global processes stops and local influence takes over.

Education, in our view, must cultivate in students an ability to unpack these vectors and to critically assess the drivers of the McWorld consumer culture. Forces that affect their lives, and at the same time fuel climate change, exacerbate world hunger and poverty and undercut environmental resilience. These interrelated issues lie at the heart of the social and environmental crisis of our time. Unfortunately, the common practice of sustainability education on the whole still tends to gloss over these complex issues.

THE CONTEXT: SETTING THE STAGE FOR SUSTAINABILITY AT KIBBUTZIM COLLEGE

Kibbutzim College, the largest teacher education college in Israel, revised its mission statement in 2008 to mandate "social-environmental responsibility" to be one of the college's seven basic guiding values. KC went on to be certified as a sustainable campus and is well known as a leading teachers college that educates for sustainability.

This was not always so. Prior to this period, the college developed along two distinct strands, precursors to what became conjoined much later. One strand emphasized nature, ecology, and the environment, while the other, social issues and humanism. These two schools of thought developed side by side as the college progressed, with little cross-fertilization between them. The "green" foundations were laid as early as 1939, the year that Prof. Yehoshua Margolin – a zoologist and one of the originators of the idea for the college – founded the biological-pedagogical institute in Tel Aviv. Margolin believed that learning about nature was a central part of education, and that this was the way to forge the connection between nature and humanity in Israel. The ecology and environment school, developed within the Department of Nature and Environment, gathered lovers of nature – ecologists, botanists, zoologists, and many more. Only much later, at the turn of the millennium, did these "nature people" come to see themselves as part of the burgeoning global environmental discourse around such issues as biodiversity, environmental quality, and the preservation of open spaces.

The second strand at KC, even more dominant, has been humanities, with values of social solidarity, equality, and community involvement being cornerstones of a college whose roots lay in the Kibbutz socialist movement. The focus on social

action and engagement was perceived for a long time as largely disconnected from the "environmental" strands of the college.

For decades these two approaches (nature and social) developed side by side in the college, with little contact or cooperation, very much in line with the binary division propounded by the modern mindset (Pepper, 1996). How then did "socio-environmental responsibility" come to become part of the core mission and how did sustainability become a lynchpin of educational practice at the college? We track these developments more closely in the next section.

Micro- and Macro-Level Changes: Trends Affecting the College's Vision and Its Implementation

At first glance, it would appear that the implementation of sustainability education in the college ostensibly arose from global trends that were externally triggered. A worldwide concern for environmental issues since the 1970s, bolstered by UN resolutions and media exposure to global environmental and social tragedies around the world, no doubt influenced the shift. But this alone would not have been enough. In our assessment, four local undercurrents converged to accelerate change: the humanities educational heritage at KC, student activism, and institutional and academic-pedagogic changes.

The core humanist educational values have always welcomed student participation and social involvement. This, in our view, predisposed the college to lend an ear to student-activist, student-led groups which from the late 1990s initiated campaigns – such as Earth Day community activities and an eco-cinema project – along with programs like teaching other students about sustainability, which promoted normative and behavioral change on campus (e.g., recycling, water conservation). This, in turn, set the stage for more institutionalized actions to implement social and environmental principles on a wider scale. A key step was the creation of the Green Council, which led to a program to develop local sustainable leadership amongst the college's management, followed by the nomination of an "environment and sustainability campus coordinator," which in turn led to the allocation of a yearly budget for Green Council activities. These activities made it possible to create deeper connections as part of the sustainability agenda adopted by the college. The Green Council was designed to represent *all* of the college's various factions, encompassing in its work both the social and the environmental aspects of sustainability.

The Green Council's vision, goals, and plan of action were defined through joint discussions. Its vision was to implement the principles of sustainability both on campus and in communities beyond, and to fortify them for long-term stability. The Council members defined their goals as follows:

1. To implement the principles of sustainability in the college's vision and policy.
2. To increase the college's sustainable activity.
3. To lead initiatives that strengthen environmental awareness and behavior amongst the college's students and its academic and administrative staff.

4. To turn the college into a central, involved, and influential figure in sustainability education on a national level.

The founding of the Green Council led to government recognition of KC as a certified "green campus." All and all, this move reflects a conflation of global as well as local influences. It is an illustration of a fruitful product of the tension between these dichotomies. The Green Council acted on a number of fronts, based on international models (James & Card, 2012; Shriberg, 2004) for developing sustainability oriented infrastructure, education and curricula, community, academic research, leadership, and assessment. Thus, for example, major infrastructural changes were made in areas like water and energy conservation, reducing the use of paper, and the separation of waste for recycling.

The changes in infrastructure were undoubtedly influenced by both local and global trends. Energy conservation, for example, and carbon footprint calculation are part of an international effort to address the problems of global warming and resource depletion. Water conservation, on the other hand, is a variant of a deeply ingrained local policy in Israel, where climate and geographical conditions have long fostered a strong awareness of the need to conserve water.

No less important, however is the character of the Green Council's activity exemplified by the cooperation forged between students and staff, with everyone considered equal to take leadership towards change. This again is very much in consonance with the humanistic heritage and culture that exists within the college, which places a high value on democracy and the participation of students, lecturers, and administrators working together non-hierarchically. We surmise in this case that local capacity and tradition enabled KC to reach global benchmarks set abroad.

Another important example of how global/local and environmental/social tensions can become fruitful inducements to action was the college management's decision to build a new building that combines the principles of green construction with social principles. The decision to build a LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) standard green building was not based on financial considerations, but rather on social and ethical considerations that reflected the college's revitalized vision. This, despite the fact that the original plans for the college, which were drawn up over a decade before, did not include principles of green design. This decision percolated up to the college management from the Green Council, which initiated the dialogue and suggested the program to provide the management with sustainability oriented leadership training. Today, the management leads the planning process, taking full responsibility for its implementation, including investing additional funds to allow public participation in the planning.

The idea of green building most certainly has its source in a wider global conversation but its implementation in the college paints these actions with a decidedly local brush. In addition to its concern with environmental factors like energy and water conservation, the planning process came to imbibe a concern with the social-educational significance of a "building as teacher" (Orr, 1997), including

the public in decision-making to create living and learning spaces that showcase the college's commitment to both ethical and environmentally sound dwellings.

It was not always easy; these changes involved much "struggle and compromise," in the words of Michael Apple. Debate, advocacy, discussion, and conflicts along the way are the woof and web of democratic life and KC is no different. "Top down" institutional changes, in our view, would not have been sufficient on their own. Perhaps the greatest challenge still to be faced was to influence the core business of an academic institution: the spheres of learning and teaching. In the next section we look more closely at two attempts at KC to mold new pedagogic and academic frameworks that integrated a sustainability agenda for education.

Masters in environmental education. This program opened in 2004, and was the first of its kind in Israel. Its founders came from the fields of science; they held positivistic, highly biocentric views, and were interested primarily in nature conservation and environmental quality and science education, integrating very few social elements into the program. The original program bore little resemblance to the more holistic social-critical views associated with sustainability (Tilbury, 2010).

At the time of the program's inception, environmental education in Israel was still in its infancy, and even more so reference to sustainable development. With the coming of age of these disciplines, more academic staff members were taken on who gradually changed the program's character. The newer staff people were imbued with a more activist orientation and sought to revamp the programs to include social and environmental action as pedagogic aims and goals. In 2012, the program underwent a major overhaul that incorporated the civic elements in a fully integrated way. The cornerstones adopted for the MA program seek (a) to develop principles and practices for teaching outside the classroom and to develop students' critical thinking and systems thinking; (b) to provide up-to-date academic quality in both the social and natural sciences; and (c) to foster educators who see themselves as active citizens who can catalyze and lead sustainability and environmental education initiatives in their schools and communities (www.smkb.ac.il/en). The changes in the MA program expanded the pool of students applying. It not only brought students with science backgrounds, as in the past, but also from a variety of fields of interest united by a passion to develop as environmental educators.

The developments in the master's program mirror changes that have taken place in environmental education programs around the world, transitioning from a focus on learning about the environment, in the environment, and for the environment (Lucas, 1979) to a more complex approach that combines issues like social justice, socio-environmental activism, and critical thinking (UNEP, 2011). Several courses in the program, dealing with social and environmental justice in Israel, were taking on the study of controversial issues from a critical socio-environmental perspective. Thus, for example, students take a study tour of the separation barrier along the "green line," a highly contested Israeli-Palestinian issue, and meet with minority groups such as Israeli-Arab communities, and study development towns to gain a

better understanding of issues of environmental justice. This is a chance to grapple with issues of unequal distribution of land and resources and the burdens placed on the health and welfare of poor, marginalized, peripheral communities.

The program puts a spotlight on the "glocal" nature of reality, merging the study of global trends and influences with strong local-based learning. The students are required to take on an environmental education research project that focuses on the local arena, and their courses in socio-environmental critical thinking are based on local examples, encouraging students to engage in activism on a local level. The program thus seeks to be a fruitful combination of the global and the local "sustainability" translated into and implemented in a local context.

Globalization from a "third world" perspective – student internship in Nepal. Another example at the college on the spectrum between global/local, and social/environmental motifs is the five-week trip to Nepal that ten students and a lecturer embarked upon in 2012. The idea for the trip, and for the creation of an "educational internship" course in Nepal, was a student initiative. The course was designed in cooperation with the Israeli-Nepali NGO Tevel b'Tzedek (The Earth in Justice), which has been working in Nepal for the past eight years.

The students flew to Nepal and took a course entitled "Globalization From a Third World Perspective," which covered environmental, social, economic, and historical aspects of Nepal and their implications for the world at large. They also conducted observations in the field, in Kalimati (an impoverished neighborhood in Kathmandu) – observing in schools during lessons and breaks and speaking with kindergarten and primary school teachers and school principals. They had cultural exchange learning sessions with Nepali teaching staff. The students also designed training for Nepali teachers, initiating activities like "Red Green Day" to engage the topics of ecological footprint, globalization, society, and environment. Students took away many insights from this trip that enriched their view of sustainability. As one of the participating students, Esther, later reflected:

> As an educator, and as someone who has been twice to Nepal – developing global awareness is crucial to taking responsibility and making decisions on social and environmental issues. We are currently making more and more use of services and goods that come from third world countries... This means that we have to develop responsibility and judgment in everything connected to buying products or relations with workers abroad. This needs to start in school or in the educational frameworks where we work... This is a world in which we are responsible for more than just our "immediate environment," since our environment is changing its dimensions and becoming transcontinental!

We clearly note in Esther's words an increased awareness of the fact that the local must include the trans-local, a pedagogy that sees the "other." Good citizenship may start at home, but in the global village all are responsible.

Final Discussion: Education and Sustainability at KC – What Can We Learn?

The previous section describes a part of a larger effort to bring sustainability education to KC, the largest teacher education college in Israel. We have tried to showcase practices that to us exemplify how education for sustainability renegotiates traditional divisions between the global and the local, and between environment and society. What, then, can we learn from these examples? In the section that follows we examine our examples in the context of theoretical considerations about learning-for-sustainability institutions.

Environment and society. For better or for worse most of us continue to live our lives according to a set of modern assumptions that guide and shape our daily decisions. One of these central taken-for-granted assumptions is the binary thinking which maintains the epistemic divide between humanity and the natural world. Arguably this division is at the heart of the growing social and environmental crisis. Sustainability thinking challenges this distinction by suggesting an ethical, social, and political reconnection. The examples presented earlier shed some light on how the field of education for sustainability draws strength from "grassroots" action – in the environmental movement, in civil society, and in the academic community – and acts to blur and challenge this binary division.

But sustainability education is still a relatively marginal part of the education system, competing with alternative mainstream approaches, like the idea that technological advancement and market economy will be able to solve any problem. How then must we view the small gains in light of the wider unsustainable trajectory of human society?

To a large extent education for sustainability is at once seeking its own legitimacy as an accepted field of study and challenging the common, biocentric assumptions within the field that continue to separate out the social from the environmental. We have seen how this dichotomy, institutionalized at an early stage at KC, through "struggle and compromise" evolved into the process of building bridges between the two camps and projects that combine the two have become more common.

On the global/local spectrum. The tension between the desire to attain legitimacy and the need to denounce and challenge existing norms is also evident in relation to the global/local binary. Thus, for instance, there is an irony in the fact that privatization and decentralization, often critiqued by a critical discourse, can become a potential source of "legitimacy" for sustainability. Sustainability education continues to draw inspiration and support from sources outside the formal system, by connecting with external (global and local) NGOs, and even with people in government offices looking to foster local grassroots movements.

Ultimately, the competing, conflicting social and economic forces that surround education *writ large* have their impact on the form and shape that the practice of sustainability in education takes on. As we have seen in this chapter, KC has sought

to challenge limits like budgetary and academic constraints. In doing so, it made room for initiatives with global ethical significance (like the Nepal project), as well as local projects like its own green construction and involvement with the local community.

Final Reflections on Transformative Institutional and Curricular Change

The case of KC illustrates how the moves towards introducing education for sustainability can have far-reaching consequences often unintended at the start. The opportunities for educational renewal and implementation in this light often *necessitate* adopting a more systemic perspective, and with that the formulation of a critical and transformative pedagogy: no less to redesign education – its contents, structures, and pedagogy – to fit the challenge of adapting to twenty-first-century reality by transitioning to sustainability.

Making such a change is by no means simple, and will require a great conceptual and organizational leap forward. Daniella Tilbury (2010), an environmental and educational theorist active in designing the agenda of sustainability in higher education, describes the difficulties and the opportunities as follows:

> The need to align education systems and practices to sustainable development is...a priority. This consists of the adoption of new ways of thinking about teaching and learning; the active engagement of the learner in an exploratory learning process which builds capacity as well as knowledge; changing education policies and curricula, changing the professional development of facilitators and the education of teachers. (p.148)

Reforms, not unlike the college's master's program, and the fruitful advances of environmental education described herein are without a doubt a necessary precondition of moving towards the "realignment" Tilbury discusses. But gradual piecemeal approaches to change bear their one price. For the most part, they rarely manage to even dent the glass ceiling of the taken-for-granted cultural assumptions fortified within the education system, failing to drive it towards a systems-level view of the problems and their solutions. In practice till now, sustainability education reform has been a far cry from the changes in policy and teacher development that Tilbury rightly suggests are necessary steps towards an education consistent with the principles of sustainable development.

Reflecting critically on the instances of sustainability education that the KC managed to create, it is clear that they signal the various positive educative possibilities inherent in the field. Still, they are yet a far cry from undertaking the in-depth reexamination needed of today's basic cultural and economic assumptions. The ethos of globalization and the culture of conspicuous consumption are more rampant than ever, defining features of our way of life. To a great extent, they draw the boundaries in which education is allowed to work. Much more is yet to be done in developing critical transformative pedagogic practices that can embrace conflictual

areas and show an alternative path forward for healing and resolution. Educational institutions must explore new ways to disrupt the present trends, to play their part in the transition towards a sustainable, healthy, and just world – a vision of a world for which a transformative education, in the fullest sense, is still sorely needed.

EPILOGUE: EDUCATING FOR SUSTAINABILITY – SOME PROGRAMMATIC RECOMMENDATIONS

By way of summary, we offer several insights extracted from our experience, for use by other institutions and educators wishing to make changes designed to promote an in-depth implementation of sustainability. Looking back, we can identify several features that contributed to the success of the actions taken so far that we recommend:

- Working towards a comprehensive, interdisciplinary learning process at the organizational level of the college as a whole – one that involves the academic staff, the administration, and the students, and functions as a complete system both in and outside of the college.
- Implanting the principles of sustainability – which combine the social and environmental, the local and the global – as part of the college's basic vision and policy: a necessary first step, though by no means a sufficient one.
- Integrating these principles not only into the college's vision, but also into its yearly plan of action.
- Creating mechanisms for continuity: a means of guidance and supervision like the Green Council, and a continuous track for training in environmental education.
- Taking social action alongside environmental actions (e.g., resource conservation). An academic institution that aims to become a green campus must include this step.
- Examining the academic curriculum – as a whole and in terms of each individual course – to see if it combines social and environmental, global and local aspects.

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ENVIRONMENTAL VULNERABILITY AND RESILIENCE POTENTIAL

The Immigrant Experience in Staten Island's Port Richmond Community

INTRODUCTION

Undocumented immigrants are vulnerable (physically and psychologically) due to both individual and social circumstances. From the moment they decide to leave their territory and cross the border to the United States, the fear of being captured and deported or even dying is very real. Once they begin their lives in the United States, following their often-difficult initial journey, they remain under constant threat from multiple sources. These threats range from being stopped by the authorities (and then incarcerated and/or deported), to being exposed to toxic substances or dangerous situations in their work places, to living in substandard or otherwise vulnerable housing. This chapter explores the complex vulnerabilities inherent in the environment through which undocumented immigrants move in their daily lives, and reveals how these vulnerabilities become sources of both imminent danger and potential resilience during natural disasters. It addresses how a local community, Port Richmond, and Wagner College developed a partnership that unites students, faculty, and community members in the common goal of understanding and addressing these vulnerabilities.

As professors of Wagner College, a liberal arts college committed to civic engagement and service, we have had opportunities to work with organizations dedicated to serving undocumented populations. Wagner College's liberal arts curriculum and the experiences that we offer students outside of the classroom also shape the lives of our students in unique ways. Our learning communities, in which students participate throughout their four years at Wagner, instill the academic, social, and other life skills necessary to be citizens in a globally connected, rapidly changing environment. In particular, we emphasize the connections between the classroom and real world experiences throughout the learning process. In this way we are bringing global issues to our students through their work in local spaces, in which "the intersection of social activities and social relations and, crucially, activities and relations…are necessarily, by definition, dynamic, changing" (Massey, 1994, p. 136).

Our work in the learning community is part of a college-wide program called the

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Port Richmond Partnership (PRP), formed between Wagner College and community-based organizations serving the Port Richmond area of Staten Island, a borough of New York City. One aspect of the PRP is to generate and sustain opportunities for students to participate in diverse community projects.

> The Port Richmond Partnership was first proposed by community leaders in 2008 as a way to augment Wagner's highly successful Civic Innovations Program. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed in the spring of 2009 officially establishing the Partnership. Based on an agreement between Wagner College and leading organizations and institutions in Port Richmond, the Partnership was designed to extend Wagner's commitment to learning by doing and to rejuvenate an economically distressed community. Recently, Port Richmond has experienced a large growth in its immigrant population, especially from Mexico. This rapid influx has deeply influenced the social and economic fabric of Port Richmond and has created complex needs in the areas of health care, education, housing, and employment. (Port Richmond Partnership, n.d., para. 1)

Considering that largely Central American immigrants populate Port Richmond, it is important to create opportunities that support families in their process of adaptation to the American system. Partnership projects seek to meet specific needs identified by members of the Port Richmond community. During the past six years, our efforts have been focused on local initiatives that include after-school programs, health fairs, art projects, community gardens, educational opportunities to prepare students for college, community theatre projects, and transnational projects, among many others. At the same time, it is also vital to support their efforts to keep their core cultural traditions alive and to maintain connections with their places of origin. This is of particular relevance for those who are also members of indigenous groups, many of whom are subsumed within the broader Latino culture upon arrival in the United States.

The Learning Community in Action

Drawing on the example of our First Year Learning Community, "Place, Culture, and Community: Living Local in Global Times," we use the disciplines of anthropology and Spanish language and culture to explore the ways in which the environment shapes people's everyday lives. In this learning community, we encourage the students to begin by considering what "the environment" – taking into account social, political, and economic structures, in addition to the natural and built environments – means. Through readings and experiential learning, we focus on the experiences of undocumented immigrants, showing how even under extreme stresses, people can work together to reclaim and re-envision their communities in ways that nurture their histories and futures. The connection between immigration and human rights, the concept of forced migration, and the vulnerability of undocumented immigrants

from Central America are some of the themes that we explore throughout the linked courses. The experiential component of the learning community takes place in Port Richmond, an area located twenty minutes from campus. Some of our students serve as volunteers in after-school programs for children, while others prefer to focus their efforts on the adult segment of the population, working with day laborers and domestic workers.

In this learning community, the experiential learning begins with an orientation to the neighborhood and community-based organizations. Within that context, the students immediately become acquainted with residents in various programs, and begin to establish relationships with children in the after-school program. At the beginning of the program, the students' written and conversational reflections often focus on the distance they feel due to their social, cultural, and linguistic privilege. As their experiences deepen, they become aware of the complex vulnerabilities of immigrant families who are at the margins of the legal and educational systems. In addition to adults generally seeking assistance in finding work, children and their parents often seek help with other challenges through Make the Road New York, the Staten Island Community Job Center, and El Centro del Immigrante, non-profit organizations dedicated to providing assistance to immigrants and people in need. Mothers, many of whom have primary responsibility for their children, are often distressed because many of them do not speak English and are not familiar with the US educational system. Most of them come from isolated villages in Central America where access to formal education is scarce. However, the well-being of the younger generation is a priority and they are prepared to make incredible sacrifices for the future of their children. Their willingness to engage with formal institutions outside their own sphere is a primary instance in which they demonstrate elements of their resilience in the face of vulnerability.

Theoretical Orientation

The concept of well-being is holistic, and therefore an understanding of it relies on the inclusion of a range of variables. However, in many contexts, the presumption is that the bases of well-being are stable material circumstances, and recent global measures bear this out across cultures (Deaton, 2008). Although the final goal in the search for happiness might be to find some type of spiritual peace or other types of qualitative satisfaction, it is incredibly difficult to get there if one has to struggle in order to meet the basic needs of survival. Individuals who leave their home territories in the quest for a better future define their lives through their own measures of persistence and resilience, and their definitions of success may not clearly align with US ideals of accomplishment and success (see Cutter et al., 2008). Conceptualization of well-being, for many immigrants, is at the level of family, rather than the individual level typical within American culture.

The equivalent of "well-being" in the Spanish language is *bienestar*. The formulation of this verb is instructive in understanding its deeper meaning for

Spanish-speaking peoples. Instead of using the verb *ser*, the form of the verb "to be" that refers to permanent and essential qualities, the word includes *estar*, the form of the verb connected to temporary conditions, to the location of objects and people. The idea of location and temporary conditions is key to the history of families forced to migrate. Migrating is not the same for everyone, as historical and geographical aspects will shape the experience of individuals and groups. Migrants may share certain qualities and experiences, but research on Latin American migrants to the United States indicates some particular aspects of their experiences may have special salience with respect to health. The literature on health and migration has long asserted that migrants are inherently healthy, due to the demands of travel and establishing oneself in a new place. However, recent studies suggest that among Mexican immigrants to the US (the population most significant in our Port Richmond partnership communities) this may not hold true, in comparison to the health status of Mexican nationals who do not migrate (Mulvaney-Day, Alegria, & Sribney, 2007). Additionally, those migrating without the benefit of documented legal status suffer disproportionately due to the stresses of the migration experience (Familiar, Borges, Orozco, & Medina-Mora, 2011). They may also lack access to regular and preventative care once they arrive, due to their lack of documentation of legal residence. Working within the community helps our students incorporate into their developing critical analysis Caren Kaplan's (2000) insight that binary oppositions do not characterize the "localities" in which people actually live.

One of the commonest symbols of the malaise of the twenty-first century, with its conflicts, traumas, fears, ruptures, and discontinuities, is the difficulty of finding a place where human beings can feel safe and free from the nightmares of poverty, violence, and abuse. Undocumented immigrants can lose their consciousness of a fixed space and must create anew the intimate spaces without which human beings cannot emotionally endure. Without a feeling of permanence, social networks take on greater salience. In the absence of permanent spaces, undocumented immigrants in the Port Richmond neighborhood make alliances with other people, give their own meanings to the places they occupy (however transitionally), and negotiate new participatory-spaces; in effect, they enact citizenship without respect to political boundaries. As Kaplan (2000) notes, "[i]mmigrants, refugees, exiles, nomads, and the homeless also move in and out of these discourses as metaphors, tropes, and symbols but rarely as historically recognized producers of critical discourses themselves" (p. 2). The work of our students in the community exposes them to a range of ways in which undocumented immigrants, typically marginalized in our society, are actively creating new narratives for themselves and their families.

Community Participation and Resilience

Port Richmond is a New York City neighborhood that has attracted new immigrants for decades. Once a busy, thriving commercial area, the suburbanization of the southern shore of Staten Island has caused many middle-class residents to retreat,

leaving space that is imperfect, but apt for revitalization. New immigrant arrivals often find connections through the process of seeking employment, through organizations such as the Staten Island Community Jobs Center (SICJC), also known as *La Colmena*. The Center provides a range of services to support immigrants looking to sustain their families, through job safety training, DACA and DAPA advocacy, after-school tutoring, and the transnational project, *Ñani Migrante*, dedicated to the reunification of migrant families. DACA and DAPA refer to the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals and Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents. Considering that our students have mostly participated in the transnational project and the after-school program, we will focus on these two initiatives. While the after-school program supports the younger population, the transnational project provides opportunities for immigrant families to reconnect with family members who remained in their homeland.

In 2009, Wagner College began participating as a partner in the after-school program, where our college students work with elementary school children, helping with homework and reading skills. Most students at Wagner College have their first experience in Port Richmond during their first semester. Some continue to volunteer in centers that serve the immigrant population after they have finished with the required experiential hours. In the specific case of Anthropology and Spanish majors, it is eye-opening to be able to link course materials related to oppressed, indigenous communities with real-life experiences. The lives of immigrants become increasingly tangible and relevant to students as they connect the theory with the narratives of individuals with whom they interact in the Port Richmond community. In volunteering with families initially isolated by differences in language, culture, or ethnic group identity, the literature about minority groups moves beyond the intellectual experience for students, and becomes tangible. Engaged students become better able to understand and accept their social responsibility, and many ultimately commit to more substantial civic engagement projects.

For two consecutive years, Wagner College has also participated in the groundbreaking transnational project *Ñani Migrante*, which brings migrant families together after years of separation.[1] A group of families in Port Richmond comes from a remote and small indigenous community in southeastern Mexico: San Jerónimo Xayacatlán, a municipality in Puebla. Most of these immigrants are undocumented, have come to the US out of economic necessity, and have not seen their families for ten years or more. The existing potential of social networks among families in Port Richmond, Staten Island, and San Jerónimo Xayacatlán, México, was essential in the creation of *Ñani Migrante*. Since 2013, the members of the group have been able to reconnect with their relatives, learn about each other's lives, and understand the priorities of close relatives whose socioeconomical and geographical situation has changed because of migration. The focus of the "Transnational Project: San Jerónimo Xayacatlán-Port Richmond" is to connect communities linked by family ties in both the United States and Mexico and to preserve the continuity of their cultural identities.

Before the reunifications, the members of *Ñani Migrante* organize and work on the transnational project in order to create economical, educational, and cultural opportunities for the broader communities in both countries. [2] Members who attend community meetings in their respective country of residence (in either San Jerónimo or Port Richmond), and who commit to work on common projects, qualify to enter a lottery system which pays the expenses for family members to be reunited. The ones chosen, who have the necessary documents (e.g., birth certificate), receive support throughout the US migration and visa application process. Among the nine individuals who traveled in 2014 and 2015 to the United States, were three grandmothers who had previously lost hope of ever seeing their children again. They never thought they would meet their American-born grandchildren. Other members of the group were sisters, mothers, daughters, and one grandfather, who traveled by plane to meet their dear ones, something that had seemed unfeasible six months prior to the trip. The participants are dedicated to achieving an immediate set of goals, and such commitment has the potential to create broader social cohesion and resilience that resonates throughout the immigrant community in Port Richmond, and even Staten Island as a whole. Recently, the community of San Jerónimo has been trying to find alternatives to solve a serious drought. *Ñani Migrante*, the transnational organization coformed by members of families in both communities, is focusing on finding local solutions to adapting to this environmental problem.

Participation in these programs helps recent immigrants integrate into a new social and cultural setting, especially those whose families may be of mixed immigration documentation status, or may be entirely undocumented. Beyond receiving services that support workers and families, those who become particularly active with the SICJC, including participating on the institution's Board of Directors, become community leaders in many ways. For example, two construction laborers active with the SICJC recently received Occupational Safety Administration (OSHA) training to train other workers to protect themselves with personal protective equipment (PPE). Gaining this knowledge and experience, and providing workshops to other workers, creates both personal and community-wide empowerment that resonates beyond employment issues. Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pferfferbaum (2008) argue that "resilience is a process that leads to adaptation, not an outcome, not stability" (p. 144). Adaptation itself is the quality that arguably most characterizes the Port Richmond community. One of the strengths underlying that ability to adapt is the social networks of workers coming together through organizations like *La Colmena* (SICJC), in which working members of the community share resources and help support one another through social and political activism.

Thus far, the social networks they are building face turmoil, such as when the environmental disaster Hurricane Sandy threatened the community in 2012. When floodwaters destroyed neighborhoods where both immigrant families and long-term residents lived, brigades of volunteer day laborers rallied out of Port Richmond to help with immediate assistance to try to make homes livable again. Although members of the Latino community were of course concerned about the harm the

storm leveled at recent migrants, many of whom lived in unregulated apartments in the damaged neighborhoods, they also reached out equally to all who needed their help. In recent discussions with survivors of Hurricane Sandy, it is apparent that the social cohesion, built through community-based work by migrants, will be vital in ongoing preparedness programs. For communities without access to the basic disaster recovery mechanisms provided by the federal government, preparedness and community action are vital, and have the potential to revitalize and create social movements (see Luft, 2009).

The Educational Outcomes of Community-Engaged Participatory Learning

Many Wagner students observe and study the perspectives of different generations of immigrants from Mexico, through reading and volunteering in the community. However, witnessing the testimonials of those family members who continued their lives in their home villages adds a new dimension to their understanding of the topic of forced migration. The temporary reunification of families throws into relief the suffering and resiliency of families affected by migration. The work of our Learning Communities brings our students into the social conversation and action of those who are continually working to create more stable and productive lives for themselves and their families across a range of borders and limitations. The stories of the ones who remained or had to stay behind help to complete a complex collective narrative.

We witness great resilience in the families who decide to migrate to the United States, and in the family members who remain at home. Both make profound sacrifices for the younger generation in the hope that they will attend college and succeed in the American system. At the same time, they are responsible for the elders who remained in their territories. The remittances that they send cover the cost of living and provide a comfortable lifestyle for their families in Mexico. Even if they have a higher degree of education, these immigrants take low-skill jobs and work endless hours in order to provide for the children and the elders. Their participation in the after-school program and the transnational project helps to secure the success of their children in school and the possibility of seeing their dear ones after years of separation.

What follows are some examples of the reflections our students have written after working in the Port Richmond community with the families from Mexico.

> Most importantly, my view of different cultures is no longer blurred by stereotypes.

> Throughout my experience with the Breakfast Club I have had my expectation and fears dispelled time and time again.

> I have discovered that Wagner's goal is to inspire, to help shape a well-rounded student…The connection between my experiential learning and the courses at Wagner has really helped me to look at the world in a different way.

> [volunteering] gave me the amazing opportunity to expand my home and give

> back to a part of my community I did not even know existed. At first, I was really scared and timid, just like most of the kids… I was able to cope and relate with these kids through our similar sense of home and community.
>
> Every Tuesday I am physically and mentally transported out of my comfort zone or what I call my home. I enter a place where undocumented immigrants are a significant part of the population. Although my job of helping children complete elementary school homework may seem small, it has already made an impact on my life. Tutoring at Make the Road New York and the Staten Island Community Jobs Center has given me the opportunity to learn about myself as well as the lives of others.
>
> My time at PS 20 is not a one-way street. I learn many things from the children, some small, some big.
>
> I have learned that I enjoy helping people who are willing to work hard even though they may be going through tough times outside of the classroom… I think that it is my civic duty as a human being to help these kids.

In addition, experiential learning promotes thinking from a global perspective. In our learning community, we often utilize the fact that one of us was raised in the first world, and one in the third world, to underscore for our students differences in perspective (and sometimes we exaggerate the distinctions for the purpose of demonstrating a point). We have also consistently designed our experiential learning (and we have used different models) so that students are presented with a global perspective outside of the classroom. This positively affects our students and opens their minds to the importance of a global perspective. Our idea is to start the global experience locally.

Of course, students immediately realize how privileged they are in comparison with undocumented immigrants who can barely communicate in English, who do not have access to state or government aid, who can easily get deported, and who have an uncertain future in the United States. One student who was inspired to become a Spanish teacher observed:

> If not for my bicultural experience at *El Centro*, my view of the Spanish language would be a bit obscured. My learning of Spanish would be limited to textbook activities and in-class discussions…no matter who you are, where you come from or whether you're the student or the teacher you are always in the position to learn something. Even though I was Carmen's "teacher," Carmen taught me more than I could have imagined.

Some students express that it is their duty to help community members and make them better citizens. We are very clear on this. Reciprocity is the key for this experience, and through the Learning Community content classes, we also explore this idea in terms of social theory. Their engagement is an exchange of knowledge and experience. As one student, now a Peace Corps volunteer, noted:

> My social responsibilities as a human being include using my skills to work with communities and community members to create sustainable models of living. My social responsibilities include getting to know people of different cultures and places, bringing with me the knowledge that I have to teach them and learning from them the knowledge that they have to teach me.

In some areas of learning, students gain more than the other community members do, and it is important for them to think again about this question of inequality. Another student told us:

> I was aware of the poverty, hunger, inequality and injustice that plague our world from a very young age. I expected to come to Wagner and learn, to have my eyes opened to new information. What I didn't expect was to come to Wagner and have everything I believed challenged. I didn't know I could take the bus 10 stops and find poverty, hunger, injustice and inequality that is comparable to what I have seen in a third world country.

From our perspective, our students are not going to the community to feel good about how fortunate they are. They go to learn about different cultures and to understand that they have social responsibilities toward others because our lives are not, in fact, separate from those of the rest of the world.

As evidenced here, our students are using the courses in the learning community and the experiential learning as stepping-stones for personal transformations with regard to their understanding of their place as both moral and global citizens. We believe that the experiential learning is central to the kind of learning in which the students engage, and it must be combined with introduction to the critical theoretical ideas that help them make sense of their experiences. Interdisciplinary learning, combined with experiential learning, deepens the students' engagement with the material. It also inspires students to think of themselves as both students and citizens. In this framework, learning has a new, and renewed, purpose. Finally, this type of interactive and engaged learning is particularly suited to today's students. Students expect to leave college with real-world experience and skills that they can transfer into a career. Interdisciplinary and experiential learning provides students with a transferable skill set, such as the ability to communicate and make connections between seemingly disparate bodies of knowledge. It also helps students transition into thinking of themselves as citizens of the world, people who will take part in shaping the future.

NOTES

1. *Ñani* is a word in Mixtec that means "brother." The English translation of the group's name is "Brother Migrant."
2. The funding and support for the Reunification of Families has been provided by Staten Island Arts, Wagner College, and Hispanic Federation.

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FROM CRITIQUE TO TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP

Afterword by the President of Wagner College

The essays in this excellent anthology illustrate the pedagogy of hope and the practice of democratic education. Each one presents a progressive vision and an inclusive path toward social transformation against the bitter tide of heightened inequality and social despair. Each one points toward a liberating educational goal of developing students as engaged, progressive, global citizens prepared to address the growing and indefensible economic and social inequalities that they have inherited. As such each author places student learning at the center of the academic enterprise. The first consequence of that approach is an educational model emphasizing the traditional goals of a broad and deep liberal education leading to the development of reason over opinion, critical thinking, active learning, constructing evidence-based arguments, and effective communication skills. These goals are joined to broad content areas that include engagement with different historical epochs and cultures, the dynamic elements of the natural world and environment, the social institutions and different structures of authority that shape the menu of choices available to individuals and communities, and the nature of the human experience across its different aesthetic written, performed, and artistic representations. All of these elements are the expected ones within the context of an educational program that liberates individuals from the parochialism of their own experience while fostering a cosmopolitan understanding of the social construction of modern life.

But the democratic model examined in this anthology transcends the traditional paradigm. It calls for the nurturing of a democratic sensibility framed around inclusivity, caring, and most importantly, direct civic engagement. Originating with the profound work of John Dewey, this new model locates learning within the integration of lived experience and deep reflection. In our current world we find this approach within the emerging paradigm of community-based learning, where students and faculty partner with local, and sometimes global, communities in linking courses and curriculum to the immediate lived challenges and institutions that shape modern life. As students pair their new knowledge with the service of working with community residents in engaging on-the-ground issues, they learn several key democratic skills. When done responsibly, community-based learning develops the arts of democracy. Students develop relationships outside the classroom and the campus in tandem with those largely left on the sidelines of modern economic life. This type of learning fosters collaboration with others different in any number

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of ways from oneself, empathy, reciprocity, problem solving, and direct action. These are the arts of democracy that prepare students and community residents for engaged citizenship. When joined to the traditional ideals of liberal learning, this new pedagogy ushers in a new paradigm of democratic education. The essays in this anthology join a new rich literature on the path set for us by Dewey.

I refer to this new form as community-derived learning. Its best form is the strategic long-term partnerships between institutions of higher education and their nearby economically distressed communities. At Wagner College in New York City on Staten Island, the Port Richmond Partnership represents this new democratic paradigm. Here Wagner College has aligned many of its sustainable assets in teaching and learning with the needs of a local neighborhood composed of undocumented immigrants, African Americans, and a small portion of white ethnic working-class residents. The work is directed at arresting economic inequalities lodged in ineffective schools, inadequate health resources, immigrant rights, economic development, and artistic representation of community voices. The Port Richmond Partnership is a leader in this type of education now emerging across many neighborhoods. For instance in the United States, the reinvigorated higher education national association, Campus Compact, includes over 450 college and university partnerships dedicated to pre-kindergarten through college (preK-16). A number of other such national consortiums work in this same space, each with specific niches in the arts and public scholarship, metropolitan and urban spaces, individual psychosocial development, and the like.

Fundamental to this work, the partnerships are democratic in nature. Their success lies within the conjunction of student civic development, disciplinary learning, and community development. Changing the coefficients of inequality provides an equal standard of success, as does students' civic and classroom learning. The learning is bimodal. Community residents gain the democratic arts while they also play the role of a second type of faculty, teaching students about the complexities of distressed communities dealing with nuances of economic inequality, racism, and political neglect. In its best moments students, faculty, administrators, and local residents learn how to identify local assets, gain new ones, and begin the process of democratic change.

This type of learning requires progressive university leadership. It is not built on hierarchy, rather founded on inclusion, respect, and shared commitment. Ultimately this means that resources must be aligned with these goals. Faculty and staff must be provided with the support necessary to teach in this manner. Student civic learning must be placed as one of the primary institutional goals. But most importantly partnerships are sustained around personal relationships founded on personal trust and individual integrity. This is not business as usual where careerism and secular meritocracy are the arbiters of status. They are replaced with the teacher-public-scholar-engaged-citizen ideal.

There is one critical challenge that will shape the success of this work. For far too long progressive faculty and university leaders have been content to fit their

democratic practice within the conservative system of university meritocracy. They have found solace as literate critics of the status quo but far removed from the realities of the lives of their local communities. In keeping with the title of this anthology they have been content to be bystanders, comfortable with, or resigned to, the privileges afforded them within university life. It is time to find personal value and social contribution in this new community-based practice. They will find so much more meaning in joining their autobiographies to their neighbors' biographies as democratically engaged citizens helping to construct a more equal and just reality. This will require a redefinition of some essential concepts. To be engaged is to be in *leadership* constructing a new progressive *authority*. In the end, moving "beyond bystanders" requires the willingness to lead and to be judged. Nothing less will issue a new democratic practice.

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