SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DIVERSITY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ATEE WINTER CONFERENCE
15-17 APRIL 2014, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

EDITED BY
GYÖRGY MÉSZÁROS – FRANCISKA KÖRTVÉLYESI

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DIVERSITY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Proceedings of the ATEE Winter Conference
15-17 April 2014, Budapest, Hungary

Editors:
György Mészáros – Franciska Körtvélyesi

Association for Teacher Education in Europe – Magyar Pedagógiai Társaság
Brussels – Budapest

MAGYAR PEDAGÓGIAI TÁRSASÁG

E·L·T·E PPK

Social Juctice and Diversity in Teacher Education.
Proceedings of the ATEE Winter Conference
15-17 April, Budapest, Hungary
Editors: György Mészáros – Franciska Körtvélyesi
Technical editor designer: Tamás Május Tóth (PED)

Published in 2015 by
Association for Teacher Education in Europe, ATEE aisbl, Rue de la Presse 4, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium and
by Magyar Pedagógiai Társaság (Hungarian Pedagogical Association), Kazinczy utca 23-27. H-1075 Budapest.

ISBN: 978-963-7123-38-2 (Magyar Pedagógiai Társaság)

Contents

Contents

PERFACE

I gladly present the Proceedings of the ATEE Winter Conference that was held in Budapest 15-17 April 2014. The ATEE (Association for Teacher Education in Europe) is a European, international, non-profit organization that is engaged in the promotion of research and dialogue on teacher education and teachers' continuous professional development in Europe. The Conference is one of the annual events organized by ATEE. The Association has several Research and Development Communities (RDCs) that deal with different topics of teacher education, and carry on the core activities of the Association: dialogue, research, collaboration, organization of events. According to the traditions of the ATEE, the Winter Conference is always connected to one of the RDCs focusing on its specific topic, while there is an Annual Conference with a larger theme[1]. The Winter Conference 2014 was organized by the Education for Social Justice, Equity and Diversity RDC of the Association in collaboration with the Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Education and Psychology, Budapest, the Hungarian Pedagogical Association together with the Foundation for School Development.

The main aim of the Conference was to facilitate scientific dialogue around the theme of social justice and diversity in connection to teacher education in a wide sense through reflections offered by solid research studies. While traditional conferences often give very limited place for real dialogue around findings and problems, the Winter Conference was characterized by a particular atmosphere of sharing. The research papers were circulated among the participants before the Conference, and they had read the articles in advance, so during the sessions only two papers were presented briefly and there was more time for dialogue. Another characteristic of the Conference was the connection of the work of such an international and scientific conference with the needs, practice and agency of the local communities. Local NGOs, schools and municipality institutions actively took part in the organization and programme. The voices of different stakeholders (researchers, teachers, students) were represented in the workshops and in the round table discussion.

This volume is the result of the scientific commitment of the Conference. The papers were published after rigorous peer review (by two reviewers). They are the fruit of the participants' work and of the collegial sharing during the ATEE Winter Conference, since the authors used the feed-backs and reflections received during the sessions in the re-elaboration of their chapters. During the Conference, 54 papers were presented, 25 papers were submitted for the Proceedings, and 11 of them were rejected. The 14 papers published in this volume want to contribute to further the dialogue around the topic of social justice and diversity in teacher education with their high quality reflections and research evidence. The papers are organized into thematic chapters following a conceptual framework created by the Editors and preceded by an Introduction of Professor Geri Smyth, one of the Editors of the European Journal of Teacher Education, former Chair of our RDC, and keynote lecturer of the Conference. After the papers there is a chapter of Professor Peter McLaren, one of the main architects of critical pedagogy today, which is based upon some reflections presented in his keynote lecture. In the last part of the volume you can find three videos: Prof. Peter McLaren's and Prof. Geri Smyth's keynote addresses transmitted

1 About the other ATEE conferences and about the activities of the Association you can read more on the website of ATEE: www.ateel.org.

and registered during the Conference, and the round table discussion of the Conference: *Diversity, democracy, justice: visions of change. What can teachers do?* with researchers, activits, representatives of NGOs, a teacher and a student.

In the volume you will find an advertisment of the book: Smyth, G. and Santoro, N. (2014) *Methodologies for Researching Cultural Diversity in Education: international perspectives*. London: Trentham Books at Institute of Education Press and the programme of the Conference with the names of all the contributors.

This online edition makes it possible that the volume offers some useful interactive tools: links to sources, websites, videos.

I would like to particularly thank all the NGOs that worked with us to make the Conference a more authentic event of social justice and diversity, to the members of the Academic Committee that ensured the scientific quality of the Conference as reviewers and of this volume, and to the members of the Organizing Committee who dedicated their energy in the accomplishment of the conference.

György (Gyuri) Mészáros
Head of the Organizing and Academic Committee
Assitant Professor
Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Educaiton and Psychology
Budapest, H-1075
Kazinczy utca 23-27.
meszaros.gyorgy@ppk.elte.hu
meszarosgyuri.d@gmail.com

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

Anne-Lise Arnesen (Norway)
András Benedek
Attila Horváth
Erika Kopp
Sándor Lénárd
Monique Leygraaf (Netherlands)
Geri Smyth (United Kingdom)
Éva Szabolcs
Péter Tóth
László Trencsényi

MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

(surname and name following the Hungarian order)

Balogh Sz. Vivien
Csereklye Bözse
Csermák Attila
Czető Kriszti
Égi Zsófia
Fábry Ilona
Gazdag Emma
Györfiné Körtvélyesi Franciska
Haraszti Kinga
Klicsu Anna
Kvesztár Emese
Lénárd Sándor
Lendvai Lilla
Majoros Zsuzsanna
Meggyesfalvi Boglárka
Pitlik László
Rapos Nóra
Szente Dorina
Szőcs Brigitta
Szondi Boglárka
Tóth Tamás Május
Trencsényi László
Varga Dávid
Varga Dóri

THE ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT TOOK PART IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE:

USC Shoah Foundation

Zachor Alapítvány (Zachor Foundation)

Zöld Kakas Líceum (Green Rooster High School)

UCCU Roma Informális Oktatási Alaptívány (UCCU Roma Informal Education Foundation)

Krétakör Színház (Chalk Circle Theatre)

Református Menekültmisszió (The Refugee Mission of the Reformed Church)

Amnesty International Budapest

Esély Közösségi Alapítvány Romani Platni Közösségi Étterem (Chance Community Association - Romani Platni Roma Community Restaurant)

Artemisszió Alapítván (Artemisszió Foundation)

Helyzet Műhely (Working Group for Public Sociology „Helyzet")

Gólya Közösségi Ház (Gólya Co-operative Community Hub)

Megálló Csoport Alapívány (Megálló Group Foundation)

European Parents Association

INTRODUCTION

Professor Geri Smyth

I am delighted to be writing the Introduction for this important collection of papers. The sixth ATEE (Association for Teacher Education in Europe) Winter Conference was organised by the Research and Development Community *Education for Social Justice, Equity and Diversity* with the theme of *Social Justice and Diversity in Teacher Education*. The conference was an exciting opportunity for delegates to gather together and reaffirm the importance of education in the global struggle for social justice and to discuss approaches to ensuring teacher education is more equitable. Many of us have been inspired by 2014 Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai, the 17 year old teenager shot and critically injured by the Taliban on her way home from school. She was shot for her campaigning for education for girls in Pakistan. Her recovery has led to her extending and expanding her campaign and she is a leading voice in the global Education for All movement. Her inspiring speech to the United Nations on the occasion of her 16th birthday included the words *Let us pick up our books and pens. They are our most powerful weapons.* The papers in this collection represent researchers and teachers educators from countries in Europe and North America, all of whom are committed to education for all and whose research addresses this imperative in a time when the structural and systemic barriers to education for all seem to be increasing.

My role in writing this introduction is as a former chair of the RDC and also as one of the keynote speakers at this conference. My own paper at the conference discussed methodologies for researching in culturally diverse classrooms. It does not appear in this collection as it is a version of a chapter in my edited book on methodologies (Smyth and Santoro, 2014) and can also be watched on the conference video link.
I have enjoyed reading the papers in the collection which provides an interesting reader for those interested in the work of our research and development community. Readers may also wish to use it to find potential collaborators for their own work in this important area. The papers selected for this collection have been organised into four sections and I shall lead the readers through this content.

The first section, *Concepts of Social Justice*, opens with an important theoretical paper from Monique Leijgraaf from the Netherlands, which helps to contextualise the work in the subsequent papers. In *Education Contributing to Social Justice* Leijgraaf argues for the need for critical teacher education which will contribute to social justice in a neoliberal era. She urges for the need to overcome the challenge of putting *silenced injustices (at) the heart of agonistic debate within teacher education.*

This section continues with two quantitative studies from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid group. In *Empirical Representations of Social Justice and Citizenship* García-Vélez et al report on a study of concepts of citizenship among secondary students and teachers in which they conceptualise citizenship on *a continuum between traditional view and cosmopolitan vision*. In *Empirical Social Justice Representations of Primary and Secondary Spanish Teachers and Students* Sainz et al investigate concepts of social justice among primary and secondary students and teachers using a questionnaire that sought to analyse the perceptions and positions that Spanish students and Spanish teachers have towards social justice.

The second section, *Inequity, Participation and Ethnography*, consists of three empirical papers by authors who have studied the educational experiences of specific groups. *From Ritual Conformity to Ritual Resistance: Pupils' Strategies in De-Segregated Classroom* reports on an ethnographic study conducted by Jana Obrovská in the Czech Republic. Obrovská's study took place in mainstream public schools where Roma pupils are integrated. The study considered pupils' and teachers' interactions from the interaction ritual perspective in a country *where indirect institutional segregation of Roma in the Czech context persists.* There is an *important* recognition in the paper of the intersectionality of ethnicity and gender. The findings worryingly indicate that *teachers unconsciously participate on ethnic disadvantage of Roma pupils since they are perceived as problematic and failing.*

The next paper in this section, *Asylum Seeker and Refugee School Aged Minors in Hungarian Public Education* by Beatrix Bukus offers an insight into Hungarian education and Hungarian asylum policy. Bukus draws on her fieldwork to make policy recommendations for the educational incorporation of asylum seeker and refugee minors in Hungary, including recommendations for teacher education.

In the final paper in this section, *Addressing Educational Inequity through Service-Learning*, Barbara Greybeck from the USA discusses the impact on secondary school students and teacher education students of engagement in a service learning programme. Service learning involves the integration of meaningful community service with reflection to enrich the learning experience, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities. Greybeck engaged in phenomenological research using qualitative data gathered in the planning stages and during the service-learning sessions. The programme under consideration involved teacher education students *implementing service learning with secondary students in an in-school suspension program in an attempt to transform the deficit focus of the program to a culturally-responsive one.* She poses this approach as a positive alternative to *criminalizing school disciplinary practices and removing students from classrooms.* Greybeck raises the fact that a disproportionate number of African Americans, particularly males, had been placed by the school in this suspension programme and argues that working with diverse populations such as these students should not be optional for teacher education students.

The third section of these proceedings is entitled *Equity, Teachers and Intervention* and includes papers from Hungary, Switzerland and Kosovo. In *Early School Leaving: Perceived Reasons, Responsibilities of Different Actors and Successful Pedagogical Methods of Prevention* Juhasz and Mihalyi conducted an attitude survey on how different practitioners working with young people in Hungary perceive the issue of early school leaving and see the responsibilities of different actors. They then go on to discuss their pilot study as to how animation as a learning tool may overcome issues which can result in early school leaving.

In Distributed Leadership for Equity - Systemic Influences on Teachers' Work and Professional Development Schnellbach and Révai from Hungary conducted a quantitative investigation of large scale existing data sets to investigate possible connections between distributed leadership and equity outcomes. They found that *distribution of leadership can be a*

powerful tool for bringing about change in a school, however in order that this tool is targeted at increasing the quality of learning, a holistic development of the school is needed.

Leutwyler and Mantel's theoretical paper *Teachers' Beliefs and Intercultural Sensitivity* from Switzerland provides a *conceptual approach to understanding teachers' beliefs about intercultural education*. The authors helpfully problematise some of the normative and causal assumptions made about what constitutes intercultural understanding.

This section concludes with a paper from Kosovo, *Different Mathematics Education Perspectives in a Multicultural Society. A Preliminary Study in Kosovo's Institutions* in which Xhevdet and Valbona provide a semiotic analysis of text and discourse in three Kosovan mathematics classrooms to explore if Kosovan teachers are prepared for approaches to mathematics education that are culturally responsive to the contexts and lived experiences of all learners in multiethnic classrooms.

The final section is *Initial Teacher Education and Social Justice* which opens with the paper *Challenges to Embedding Global Social Justice into Initial Teacher Education - an Irish Perspective* in which Mags Liddy discusses the embedding of global development education into initial teacher education for the post-primary sector. She offers a *consideration of the tensions arising between a critical development education perspective (and) the discourse of increasing managerial and output sector reform.* While Liddy's work is in an Irish context, the challenges and conflicting perspectives will be familiar to many. This can be clearly seen in the next paper, *The Position of Social Justice in the Teacher Education Curriculum in Hungary* in which Kopp et al consider how structural changes in teacher education can impact negatively on the orientation to social justice. Their analysis is derived from focus group interviews with teacher educators and textual analysis of curriculum documents in Hungary. Maeve O'Brien's theoretical paper *Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in Careless Times: Caring as Professional Ethical Praxis and Identity* similarly engages in critical discussion of teacher education in a contemporary context. She draws on critical theory to argue for the formation of caring teacher professional identities which will attune to justice issues, and engage respectfully and actively with difference and with distant others.

The final paper in the section is *What Is the Goal of Reflective Practice in Teacher Education: Social Justice or Personal Development?* by Petr Svojanovský from the Czech Republic. This is a concept paper which explores the development of an approach to reflective practice in Czech teacher education. Svojanovský proposes that the goal of reflective practice in teacher education should integrate both social justice and personal development.

The collection ends with a chapter from Peter McLaren, *Comrade Jesus: An Epistolic Manifesto* which formed the basis of Professor McLaren's keynote address to the conference and gives all readers much to think about as we continue to consider how we really achieve Social Justice, Equity and Diversity in education.

It is important that as we consider Education for All we do not only focus on the immediates of how teachers do or should respond to pupil diversity in the classroom diversity being interpreted as ethnicity; behaviour, ability and so on. The intersectionality of social groupings which results in greater or lesser access to education and power is addressed in some

of the papers (ROMA and service learning) but needs to be addressed more thoroughly in our work so that response to learners is not reduced to one aspect of identity. Social class is not an issue which is directly addressed in any of these papers although poverty remains a major indicator of educational success or failure. There is a need for more work being done on teacher education per se and the lack of diversity across the Western world in terms of who are the teachers and the teacher educators. A variety of methods have been used in the empirical work being presented here but in the main these involve traditional methods of data collection such as surveys and interviews which does not address the issue of whose voices are heard.

I commend this collection to you and urge readers to engage with the Association of Teacher Education in Europe and its journal, the European Journal of Teacher Education.

REFERENCE

Smyth, G. and Santoro, N. (2014) *Methodologies for Researching Cultural Diversity in Education: International Perspectives.* London: Trentham Books at Institute of Education Press

Professor Geri Smyth

Co-Editor, European Journal of Teacher Education

School of Education

University of Strathclyde

SCOTLAND

44 141 444 8087

g.smyth@strath.ac.uk

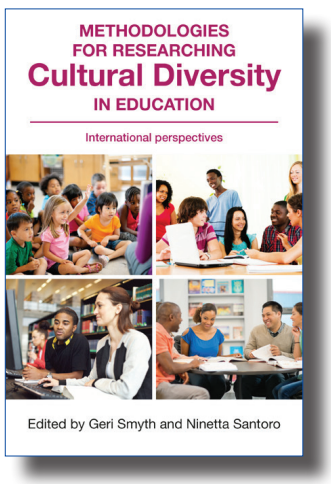
New from Trentham Books @IOE_Press

IOEPress Trentham Books

Methodologies for Researching Cultural Diversity in Education: International perspectives

Edited by Geri Smyth and Ninetta Santoro

September 2014 • Paperback • 138 pages • ISBN 978-1-85856-523-1• £24.99



'Woven through this unique and timely book is the proposition that research methodologies can no longer be seen as valid or appropriate in a vacuum. Instead, validity emerges from the complex process of negotiating relations of power, agency, and identity in specific contexts and with diverse actors.' — Professor Emeritus Jim Cummins, OISE, University of Toronto

As teachers, education policymakers and school managers seek to meet the needs of students from cultures and language backgrounds different from the dominant majority's, research needs to reflect the perspectives of the students themselves and of their parents and teachers, while taking account of the broader socio-political context. This book brings together research conducted in Scotland, Australia, Canada, Norway, Italy, Ghana and Pakistan, which addresses the ethical conduct of education research in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts.

The relationship between researched and researcher is crucial, but it can be problematic when the researchers are from the dominant group and not the groups whose experiences they aspire to understand. These authors highlight the challenges of researching in culturally and ethnically diverse contexts, and describe innovative approaches such a mapping, shadowing and photography that give agency to the children who are being researched, rather than to the researchers.

The book is of interest to academics and to classroom teachers researching their own practice, and also to education students and social science researchers working in culturally diverse contexts.

Geri Smyth holds a Chair in Education at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, where she is also Director of Research in the School of Education. **Ninetta Santoro** has recently taken up a Chair in Education at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, having previously been a Professor of Education and the Head of the School of Teacher Education at Charles Sturt University, Australia.

CONTENTS: Introduction; 1. Discursive shadowing as a methodological approach in a study of bilingual teachers, by Joke Dewilde; 2. Power and knowledge in research with immigrant teachers: Questioning the insider/outsider dichotomy, by Clea Schmidt; 3. Unsettling truths: Poststructural ethnography as a tool to trouble schooling exclusions, by Kathryn Edgeworth; 4. Being a socio-professional insider-researcher in Pakistan: Possibilities and challenges for educational research, by Saeeda Shah; 5. Overcoming barriers in researching diversity, by Geri Smyth; 6. Researcher as cartographer: Mapping the experiences of culturally diverse research participants, by Ninetta Santoro; 7. Participatory action research in a high school drama club: A catalyst for change among English language learners in Canada, by Antoinette Gagne and Stephanie Soto Gordon; 8. Children's agency in research: Does photography empower participants?, by Giovanna Fassetta.

To order:

You can order this book now from **ioepress.co.uk**. It is also available from good bookshops and online retailers
Distributors: **UK and Europe**: Central Books Ltd. Tel: +44(0)84 5458 9911,
E: orders@centralbooks.com
North America: Stylus Publishing **www.styluspub.com** Tel: (001) 800 232 0223/703 661 1581
E: stylusmail@presswarehouse.com
For more ordering information and regular blogs by our authors visit **ioepress.co.uk**

@IOE_Press **ioepress.co.uk**

CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

EDUCATION CONTRIBUTING TO SOCIAL JUSTICE

Monique Leygraaf
University of Applied Science iPabo, Academy for Teacher Education
Amsterdam, The Netherlands
M.Leygraaf@ipabo.nl

ABSTRACT

This theoretical paper critically examines the hegemony of neoliberal visions and practices accompanied by neoconservative views within the field of education, resulting in increasing inequity and social class polarization, leading to worsening working conditions for teachers and the near abandonment of the question as to what good education is for. Due to the interaction between education and the broader society, the normative question of good education and judgements about what is educationally desirable also evoke the normative question of a good and desirable society. In order to stimulate debate, normative questions like these will be explored in the second part of this paper in light of the concept of social justice, being guided by the work of Sen, according to whom the exploration of the normative question of a good and desirable society has to concentrate on the reduction of actual injustices people experience. Within his pursuit for a reliable idea of social justice, public reasoning – necessary to transcend the positionality of observations – is inevitable. Therefore, the final part of this paper, serving as the beginning of a broader discussion on the question of how to design teacher education contributing to social justice in a neoliberal era, some consequences for teacher education will be put up for discussion.

KEYWORDS

Neoliberalism; (Teacher) Education; Social Justice; Public Reasoning

INTRODUCTION

Analyses of today's text and talk in the educational context indicate the rising hegemony of neoliberal ideology within the discourse of education. For example, Ayers' critical discourse analysis of United States community college mission statements uncovers pervasive neoliberal assumptions threatening to engulf the mission and purpose of the community college and refashioning "the meaning of community college education so that it serves the interests of those in the upper social strata" (Ayers 2005). A New Zealand example of the dominance of neoliberal

vocabulary within educational discourse is provided by Olssen, quoting the brief to the incoming government 1987, *Government Management* (Volume 2), in which the Treasury maintains

> *"that education should be more responsive to business interests and to the needs of the economy (p. 27); (...) that the educational system lacked a rigorous system of accountability, there being a lack of national monitoring procedures or of any satisfactory ways of comparing the effectiveness of schools in order to account for the public resources employed (p. 108); that educational management should be decentralised; (...)and that government intervention and control has interrupted the 'natural' free-market contract between producer and consumer with all that entails for efficient and flexible producer responses to consumer demand (p. 41)" (Olssen 1996, 339).*

Another example can be found in Kelchtermans's essay commissioned by the Education Council of the Netherlands, in which he explicitly draws attention to the penetration of economic, market-oriented vocabulary within the educational discourse: schools are being held accountable, maximizing their output by using standardized testing and scripted curricula, striving for effectiveness and efficiency, competing with other schools (Kelchtermans 2012). Examples like these can't be taken lightly, because discourse is "inherently part of and influenced by social structure, and produced by social interaction" (Dijk van 2001, 352). Social power, dominance and (in)equality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by the way people talk and write within certain social and political contexts. Consequently, questioning the type of language being used within a context also means questioning the context itself, and vice versa.

Being aware of this interrelationship of language and social context, Biesta (2010) elaborates on the call for evidence-based education, considering 'what works' as the basis for decisions about education, within a context of growing interest in the efficiency and effectiveness of educational processes. This elaboration explicitly brings up the issue of neutrality, a position often claimed by educational practitioners, researchers and policy makers endorsing a neoliberal vision of education. Biesta, however, rejects the possibility of a neutral position, stating that the normative question of good education – the question as to what education is *for* – is neither optional nor replaceable by technical and instrumental questions as to what works in education. This statement is being illustrated in various ways, for instance by an example on physical punishment:

> *We may well have conclusive empirical evidence that in all cases physical punishment is the most effective way of deterring or controlling disruptive behavior. Yet, as Carr (1992, 249) has argued, 'the practice should nevertheless be avoided because it teaches children that it is appropriate or permissible in the last resort to enforce one's will or get one's own way by the exercise of violence.' (...) The means we use in education are not neutral with regard to the ends we wish to achieve. (Biesta 2010, 36).*

Even conclusive empirical evidence on educational practices won't prevent teachers from avoiding exactly those practices if the practices don't cohere with teachers' normative judgements on what is educationally desirable. For this reason, Biesta emphasizes the importance of discussions about education focusing on aims, ends and values without taking positions prior to the exploration of the question itself.

That is why this theoretical paper focuses on the question as to what good education is for, taking into account the hegemony of neoliberal ideology within the field of education. The paper has been divided in four parts. The first part deals with neoliberalism, whereas the second part focuses on the impact of neoliberalism on education. It will then go on, in the third part, to an exploration of the relationship between education and social justice as an attempt to stimulate debate on the normative questions of a good society and good education. The final part on consequences for teacher education serves as the beginning of a broader discussion on the question of how to design teacher education contributing to social justice in a neoliberal era.

NEOLIBERALISM

Although the term neoliberalism has rapidly become an academic catchphrase – Boas and Gans-Morse reveal that from only a handful of mentions in the 1980s, the "use of the term has exploded during the past two decades, appearing in nearly 1,000 academic articles annually between 2002 and 2005" (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009, 138) – the meaning and definition of the term have elicited little scholarly debate. Reviewing 148 articles on neoliberalism published in journals between 1990 and 2004, Boas and Gans-Morse conclude that the term neoliberalism is hardly ever defined; that the term is used to apply to a wide range of phenomena; and that the term is most frequently employed by scholars who criticize neoliberal theory and practice. Furthermore, Boas and Gans-Morse demonstrate that the term neoliberalism has shifted in meaning from a positively perceived, more moderate form of classical liberalism in scholarly writings of Freiburg School economists from the interwar years to a negatively perceived, radical, marked-based form of liberalism from the 1980s on. One of the characteristics of the Freiburg School interpretation of neoliberalism is the "willingness to place humanistic and social values on par with economic efficiency" (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009, 146), thereby assigning the term neoliberalism "to a normative ideology, with specific claims about how society should be organized around conceptions of liberty and humanistic values (Hanslowe 1960, 96)" (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009, 147). Whereas the early Latin American use of the term neoliberalism in the 1960s referred to this Freiburg School interpretation and its implementation in post-war Germany, the use of the term changed between the 1960s and the 1980s resulting "from neoliberal's association with economic reforms in Augusto Pinochet's Chile and other countries of the Southern Cone in the 1970s" (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009, 150).Neoliberalism in this changed, marked-based form, for the first time occurring as a state formation in Chile after Pinochet's coup in 1973, in fact is the type of neoliberalism whose political-economic story is highlighted by critical social theorist David Harvey in *A brief History of Neoliberalism* (2007 [2005]).
Harvey defines neoliberalism as a

> *"theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2007 [2005], 2).*

This institutional framework, in which these political and economic practices can flourish, has to be created and preserved by the state. This means, for instance, the state has to create properly functioning free markets, has to secure private

property rights, has to guarantee the quality and integrity of money; but beyond tasks like these the state should not venture.

> *"State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit" (Harvey 2007 [2005], 2).*

These minimal state interventions within neoliberal theory and practice, presented by Harvey as one of the elements of neoliberalism, is presented as a crucial difference between classical liberalism and neoliberalism by Olssen.

> *"Whereas classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power in that the individual was to be taken as an object to be freed from interventions of the state, neo-liberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state's role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation. (...) In neo-liberalism the state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur" (Olssen 1996, 340).*

The individual, characterised by classical liberalism as '*homo economicus*', practicing freedom and relatively detached from the state behaving out of self-interest, changed into the neoliberal 'manipulatable (wo)man', created by the state, encouraged by the state to make a perpetual enterprise of him-/herself and controlled by the state through constant and comparative public assessment. As Apple (2000) points out, the combination of neoliberal visions on (quasi-)markets like education on the one hand and neoconservative pressure to regulate content and behaviour on the other hand leads to an even stronger role of the state, being expressed in for instance national curricula, national standards and national systems of assessment. This combination of neoliberalism and the neoconservative longing for a lost past of high standards, discipline, values and 'real' knowledge is historically not absolutely necessary, but

> *"there are characteristics of neoliberalism that make it more likely that an emphasis on the weak state and a faith in markets will cohere with an emphasis on the strong state and a commitment to regulating knowledge, values, and the body" (Apple 2000, 238).* [1]

Many (critical) thinkers on neoliberalism underline that neoliberal practice,through its stress on flexible, de-regulated labour markets, accountability, efficiency and competition, actually generates increasing social inequity and "more of those described as 'social excluded'" (Hill 2001, 136), thereby achieving the restoration of class power. Economic data strongly suggest "that the neoliberal turn is in some way and to some degree associated with the restoration or recon-

1 Hill brings in the combination of neoliberalism and neoconservatism in a different way, asking why workers would vote for (neoliberal) fiscal policies of increasing taxes on workers on the one hand and decreasing taxes on business and the rich on the other hand. "This is where neoconservative policies are important. On the one hand they persuade the poor to vote (right-wing Republican) for a social or religious or antiabortion or homophobic or racist agenda against their own (more left-wing, more Democrat, or further left) economic self-interest." (Hill 2010, 121)

struction of the power of the economic elites" (Harvey 2007 [2005], 19), involving a "momentous shift towards greater social inequality and the restoration of economic power to the upper class." (Harvey 2007 [2005], 26)

NEOLIBERALISM AND EDUCATION

Neoliberalism, theoretically outlined by for instance von Hayek and Friedman and brought to life by politicians like Thatcher and Reagan, has become hegemonic as a mode of discourse in all kinds of areas within society, having been "incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world" (Harvey 2007 [2005], 3). This involves that the hegemony of neoliberal thought and practice is not restricted to the financial sector and private enterprises, but also expands to public areas like health and education. Making the demand for profit the motor of policymaking (instead of the public or social good of the people), "neoliberal policies have transformed education according to the market principles of accountability, choice, and efficiency" (Grady, Marquez and McLaren 2012, 986).This transformation generates a devaluation of diversity in curriculum and pedagogy, making for instance "the national assessment program attached to the national curriculum (...) more and more dominated by traditional models of testing and the assumptions about teaching and learning that lie behind them" (Apple 2000, 247-248). At the same time, equity and social justice issues, being replaced by economic values like efficiency, speed and cost control, are becoming less visible. Hill summarizes today's situation as follows:

> *"The current neoliberal project (...) is to reshape the public's understanding of the purposes of public institutions and apparatuses, such as schools, universities, and libraries. In schools, intensive testing of pre-designed curricula (high-stakes testing) and accountability schemes (such as the 'failing schools' and regular inspection regime that somehow only penalizes working class schools) are aimed at restoring schools (and further education and universities) to what dominant elites – the capitalist class – perceive to be the schools' 'traditional role' of producing passive worker/citizens with just enough skills to render themselves useful to the demands of capital. (Hill 2010, 119).*

According to Hill, this neoliberal project affects education in various ways, having an impact on (1) equity, on (2) the educational workers, and on (3) democracy and critical thinking. First, a marked-based, competitive educational system results in increasing inequity and social class polarization, being "disproportionately beneficial to those segments of society who can afford to pay for better educational opportunities and experiences" (Hill 2010, 134). Besides, a market-oriented economy requires highly educated elite workers in high positions, whereas a cheaper and inferior education suffices for manual and service workers. Second, neoliberal visions and practices within the educational field lead to worsening working conditions for teachers, becoming manifest in declining wages, decreasing professional autonomy, work-intensification through increasing class-sizes and levels of surveillance and decreasing influence of teachers' unions. Alongside with these worsening conditions, a discourse of denigration used by governments and media emerges critiquing public service workers like teachers "for being expensive self-interested workers who have 'captured' the professions with their restrictive and expensive practices" (Hill 2010, 135). Third, neoliberal visions combined with neoconservative ideas of education replace liberal-humanistic, social democratic or socialist ends of education in favour of production focused, politically

neutered education enforcing consent, de-legitimizing deep dissent and weakening oppositional or critical thinking. Clarke elaborates on this absence of politics within neoliberal education policy arguing that "contemporary neo-liberalism in education disavows its political nature" (Clarke 2012, 298) by reframing political issues in economic terms and thereby presenting normative issues as matters of technical, instrumental efficiency. Analysing Australian policy documents on education and speeches by the Australian education minister, Clarke describes different key components of this politically neutered, instrumental discourse, among them the presentation of the political project of neoliberalism as an incontrovertible fact; the logic of competition whereby everybody involved in the educational system (including the system itself) is evaluated and compared; and the shift towards individuation assuming that individuals alone account for excellence and success, thereby ignoring possible systemic inequalities and structural disadvantages. Furthermore, Clarke's discourse analysis indicates that this apolitical instrumental discourse is complemented and supported by the consensual discourse, privileging consensus over contestation, promoting consensus and preventing debate. Along with Mouffe, Clarke argues that "contemporary late capitalist society lacks an adequate definition of the political in the sense of an arena of antagonism over fundamental questions regarding the nature of society" (Clarke 2012, 305), thereby establishing consensus and consequently excluding dissensus. Mouffe considers the (antagonistic) impossibility of achieving a fully inclusive rational consensus, inherent in human relations ('the political'). Whereas 'politics' "consists in domesticating hostility and in trying to defuse the potential antagonism that exists in human relations, (...) aim[ing] at the creation of unity in a context of conflict and diversity" (Mouffe 2000, 15), Mouffe's 'agonistic pluralism' aims at the transformation of antagonism into agonism whereby people with 'contrary' ideas will no longer be perceived and approached "as an enemy to be destructed, but as an adversary." (Biesta 2011, p. 148) According to Clarke, a vital step in the critical task of renovating the absent politics of educational policy is to advocate for a political view of education based on a debate between genuine alternatives;[2] a plea familiar to Biesta's appeal for genuine discussions about education focusing on aims, ends and values (Biesta 2010).

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Without aiming to simply add another opinion to the discussion about the normative question of good education – not to mention defining an answer to that question – this paper aims to stimulate debate on the question as to what education is for by exploring the relationship between education and social justice.

Within a democratic society, education can not be considered an entity or institution isolated from society as a whole. Whereas in the previous paragraphs the impact of the neoliberal hegemony in society on the educational system implicitly demonstrated this interdependence of education on the one hand and society on the other hand, this paragraph will focus on the way education interacts with the broader democratic society. Arendt characterizes school as the place where the child, whose traditional place is within the private domain of the family, is first introduced to the public domain of the broader society:

2 Clarke characterizes this debate as an "antagonistic debate" (Clarke 2012, 307), but in line with Mouffe it would be more accurate to characterize it as an agonistic debate.

> *Normally the child is first introduced to the world in school. Now school is by no means the world and must not pretend to be; it is rather the institution that we interpose between the private domain of home and the world in order to make the transition from the family to the world possible at all. Attendance there is required not by the family but by the state, that is by the public world, and so, in relation to the child, school in a sense represents the world, although it is not yet actually the world. (Arendt 1961, 188-189).*

Whereas Arendt emphasizes that the school represents the world without being the world, Dewey considers the school as a miniature community, an embryonic society, where democratic living-together can be practiced, freed from economic stress. "The aim is not the economic value of products, but the development of social power and insight." (Dewey 1915 [1900], 16) Nussbaum (1997; 2010) focuses explicitly on the interaction between education and the broader society as well, describing and endorsing the Western philosophical tradition and its human development paradigm (Rousseau, Dewey, Froebel, Montessori et al.) defining the aims of education in terms of stimulating and supporting students to think critically and become knowledgeable and empathetic citizens of the world.

Due to this interaction between education and society, the normative question of good education and judgements about what is educationally desirable also evoke the normative question of a good and desirable society. Because for what type of society do we educate people? What type of society are we educating for? In order to stimulate debate, questions like these will be explored in light of the concept of social justice, being guided by the work of Sen, who considers the concepts of justice, democracy and public reasoning inseparable. To Sen, the question of justice is a practical question focusing on enhancing justice and removing injustice, instead of an abstract question about the nature of perfect justice. Therefore, his theory of justice serves as a basis of practical reasoning including

> *"ways of judging how to reduce injustice and advance justice, rather than aiming only at the characterization of perfect just societies – an exercise that is such a dominant feature of many theories of justice in political philosophy today" (Sen 2010 [2009], ix).*

With this approach, Sen critiques the theory of justice presented by Rawls (1999 [1971]), acknowledging being influenced by and in debt to Rawls for transforming contemporary political philosophy in a radical way reviving philosophical interest in the subject of justice. Central to Rawls's theory of justice is his foundational idea that justice has to be seen in terms of the demands of fairness, whereby fairness refers to the need to avoid being influenced by one's own interests, personal priorities, eccentricities and prejudices. Because of this demand for impartiality, Rawls constructs the idea of the 'original position' as an imagined situation of primordial equality, where the people involved are under a 'veil of ignorance', being unaware of their personal identities and positions within (real) society, and therefore able to unanimously choose the principles of justice. "[T]he original position is the appropriate initial status quo which insures that the fundamental agreements reached in it are fair" (Rawls 1999 [1971], 17), and because of this fairness, these under-the-veil-of ignorance, unanimously chosen principles of justice determine the basic social, just institutions structuring society. Sen's critique towards Rawls concerns both Rawls's concern for the identification of just institutions and the transcendental aspect of the 'original position' of primordial equality and:

> *“There is a strong case (...) for replacing what I have been calling transcendental institutionalism – that underlies most of the mainstream approaches to justice in contemporary political philosophy, including John Rawls’s theory of justice as fairness – by focusing questions of justice, first, on assessments of social realizations, that is, on what actually happens (rather than merely on the appraisal of institutions and arrangements); and second, on comparative issues of enhancement of justice (rather than trying to identify perfectly just arrangements). (Sen 2010 [2009], 410).*

According to Sen, the exploration of the normative question of a good and desirable society has to concentrate on the reduction of actual injustices people experience during the life they live and the enhancement of justice within people’s lives. “A theory of justice must have something to say about the choices that are actually on offer, and not just keep us engrossed in an imagined and implausible world of unbeatable magnificence” (Sen 2010 [2009], 106).

Because judging the justice or injustice of an actual situation is never a matter of simply recording immediate perceptions but always involves interpretation, general consensus about judgements has to be considered an impossibility. Consequently, at the heart of Sen’s pursuit of a reliable idea of justice is his insistence on the role of public reasoning, through which still not examined feelings, impressions, opinions and ideas can be critically examined. According to Sen, democracy has to enrich this public reasoning through enhancing informational availability and the feasibility of interactive discussions. “Democracy has to be judged not just by the institutions that formally exist but by the extent to which different voices from diverse sections of the people can actually be heard” (Sen 2010 [2009], xiii). These ‘different voices from diverse sections of the people’ form a constitutive element of public reasoning because of the difficulty of transcending the limitations of one’s own positional perspective and achieving a positionally unbiased comprehension. Every human being is occupying and being held by a given observational position, defining his or her understanding of the world. This reality of position dependence of observations explains the difficulty of achieving a position-independent comprehension:

> *For example, in a society that has a long-established tradition of relegating women to a subordinate position, the cultural norm of focusing on some alleged features of women’s supposed inferiority may be so strong that it may require considerable independence of mind to interpret those features differently. (Sen 2010 [2009], 162).*

This independence of mind, necessary to transcend the positionality of local observations within societies, can be stimulated by meeting and dialoguing with people from different societies bringing along their own positional dependence. Observations from other positions can be helpful to become aware of one’s own positionally limited vision.

This open-minded meeting and dialoguing with people with a different positional dependence, involving no prompt rejection of contrary ideas – no matter how implausible those ideas might initially look – also means the acceptance of a plurality of reasons, the possibility of durable conflicts of non-eliminable principles and dissensus:

> *When we try to determine how justice can be advanced, there is a basic need for public reasoning, involving arguments coming from different quarters and divergent perspectives. An engagement with contrary arguments does not, however, imply that we must expect to be able to settle for conflicting reasons in all cases and arrive at agreed positions on every issue. Complete resolution is neither a requirement of a person's own rationality, nor is it a condition of reasonable social choice, including a reason-based theory of justice. (Sen 2010 [2009], 392).*

What can be considered an omission in Sen's exploration of people's positional dependence is an explicit reference to the influence of power and power relations within society on a person's position. Critical thinkers like Freire (2000 [1970]) – pleading for critical and liberating dialogue, presupposing action – would have argued that differences in position also mean differences in influence and power. Consequently, public reasoning for the purpose of judging the (in)justice of a situation has to be a kind of reasoning including people from different positions of power.

Since contributing to this public reasoning within the pursuit of a reliable idea of social justice is not a natural capability but a capability to be developed, education can play an important role within this development by stimulating this capability. Nussbaum's distinguished capabilities of a critical citizen can be helpful to (teacher) education aiming to stimulate students' capability to take part in public reasoning for the purpose of making judgements on social justice: (1) the capacity for Socratic self-criticism and critical thought about one's own traditions, including the ability to discuss, explore and disagree on issues with different people, (2)the ability to think as a citizen of the world bound not to simply a local region or group but to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern and (3) narrative imagination, meaning the ability to be an intelligent reader of the story of a person different from oneself and therefore to be able to understand at least some of the emotions and wishes and desires that a person so placed might have(Nussbaum 1997; 2010; 2011). Education centred around capabilities like these supports students to participate in public reasoning necessary in the process of judging the justice or injustice of an actual situation and acting on that, thereby reducing injustice and enhancing justice between people.

CONSEQUENCES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Education in general and teacher education in particular aiming to contribute to social justice in an area of neoliberal hegemony is like a (Socratic) gadfly on the back of a market-oriented horse, hoping to wake up society by critically questioning an apolitical instrumental educational system and market-based competitive society. Thanks to the sluggishness of the horse, caused by the penetration of neoliberalism into the common-sense way people interpret and understand the world, the exchange and development of ideas on how to design (teacher) education contributing to social justice is vital. For instance, Clarke describes an example derived from his own practice:

> *One way in which myself and some of my colleagues are attempting to pursue this line of work is by drawing pre-service teachers' attention to the contested and political nature of education, contrasting this view with the emphasis on teaching as an individual and technical craft implicit in the contemporary teaching standards*

> *movement. (...) To confront the contemporary policy consensus around these 'truths' and instead to advocate for a properly political – that is, one based on (...) debate between genuine alternatives – view of education is a vital step in the critical task of renovating the increasingly absent politics of education policy. The democratic potential of education deserves nothing less. (Clarke 2012, 307).*

Besides designing critical curricula like this one, teachers' responses to students' ideas and remarks can be of critical importance as well. To derive an example from my own practice: a bachelor's student living and working in Aruba for three months because of her internship tells in an email about the unwillingness of her Aruban mentor to let her teach "because I don´t speak Papiamento, although Dutch is the official language!" (student's email, March 16, 2014). Part of the curriculum is a small research project based on a situation unfamiliar and incomprehensible to the (Dutch) student studying abroad. In reply, I advise this student to conduct research into her mentor's feelings and ideas about the Dutch language and The Netherlands in general, and into the colonial history of the Netherlands (being a subject rarely critically discussed in Dutch society), thereby challenging the student to become aware of her own position dependent perspective on Aruban education and to critically think through both her perspective and the Dutch colonial history.

Establishing (teacher) education contributing to social justice becomes more complicated with regard to social injustices silenced within (neoliberal) society, like research reports revealing growing poverty amongst children in The Netherlands (Steketee, Nederland and Mak et al. 2013) or continued discrimination against minorities on the Dutch labour market (Nievers and Andriessen (ed.) 2010). Because of the fact that the publication of reports like these evokes little upheaval within the media or broader society, it is a challenge to find ways to make silenced injustices the heart of agonistic debate within teacher education. But we have to keep trying, for the sake of social justice.

REFERENCES

Apple, M.W. 2000. Can critical Pedagogies interrupt rightist Policies? *Educational Theory* 50, no. 2, 229-254.

Arendt, H. 1961. The Crisis in Education. In *Between Past and Future. Eight Exercises in Political Thought*, ed. H. Arendt, 173-196. New York: The Viking Press.

Ayers, D.F. 2005. Neoliberal Ideology in Community College Mission Statements: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *The Review of Higher Education* 28, no. 4, 527-549.

Biesta, G. 2010. *Good Education in an Age of Measurement: Ethics, Politics, Democracy.* Boulder / London: Paradigm Publishers.

Biesta, G. 2011. The ignorant Citizen: Mouffe, Rancière, and the Subject of democratic Education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 141-153.

Boas, T.C., and J. Gans-Morse. 2009. Neoliberalism: From New Liberal Philosophy to Anti-Liberal Slogan. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 40, 137-161.

Clarke, M. 2012. The (absent) politics of neo-liberal education policy. *Critical Studies in Education*, 297-310.

Dewey, J. 1915 (1900). *The School and Society* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Dijk van, T.A. 2001. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin and H. Hamilton, 352-371. Oxford: Blackwell.

Freire, P. 2000 (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (30th Anniversary ed.). (M. Bergman Ramos, Vert.) New York / London: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc.

Grady, J., R. Marquez, and P. McLaren. 2012. A Critique of Neoliberalism with Fierceness: Queer Youth of Color Creating Dialogues of Resistance. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 982-1004.

Harvey, D. 2007 (2005). *A brief History of Neoliberalism.* New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Hill, D. 2001. State Theory and the Neo-Liberal Reconstruction of Schooling and Teacher Education: A Structuralist Neo-Marxist Critique of Postmodernist, Quasi-Postmodernist, and Culturalist Neo-Marxist Theory. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 22, no. 1, 135-155.

Hill, D. 2010. Class, Capital, and Education in this Neoliberal and Neoconservative Period. In *Revolutionizing Pedagogy. Education for Social Justice within and beyond global Neo-Liberalism,* ed. S. Macrine, P. McLaren and D. Hill, 119-143. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Kelchtermans, G. 2012. *De leraar als (on)eigentijdse professional. Reflecties over de „moderne professionaliteit" van leerkrachten.* Leuven: Centrum voor Onderwijsbeleid, -vernieuwing en lerarenopleiding.

Malott, C., D. Hill, and G. Banfield. 2013. Neoliberalism, Immiseration Capitalism and the Historical Urgency of a Socialist Education. *The Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 11, no. 4: 1-24.

Mouffe, C. 2000. *Deliberative Democracy or agonistic Pluralism.* Vienna: Institute for Advanced Studies.

Nievers, E., and I. Andriessen. eds. 2010. *Discriminatiemonitor niet-westerse migranten op de arbeidsmarkt 2010.* Den Haag: Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau.

Nussbaum, M. 1997. *Cultivating Humanity. A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education.* Cambrigde, Massachusetts / London, England: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. 2010. *Not for Profit. Why Democracy needs the Humanities.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Nussbaum, M. 2011. *Not for Profit. Tweede van Eeden Lezing.* http://www.isvw.nl/nl/nussbaum; www.moniqueleygraaf.yolasite.com

Olssen, M. 1996. In Defence of the Welfare State and publicly provided Education: a New Zealand Perspective. *Journal of Education Policy* 11, no. 3, 337-362.

Rawls, J. 1999 (1971). *A Theory of Justice* (2nd rev. ed.). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. 2010 (2009). *The Idea of Justice.* London: Penguin Books.

Steketee, M., T. Nederland, and J. Mak. et al. 2013. *Kinderen in armoede in Nederland.* Den Haag: De Kinderombudsman.

REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND CITIZENSHIP

Tatiana García-Vélez, Everardo Pérez-Manjarrez, Vanesa Sainz
Interfacultative Department of Developmental and Educational Psychology
tatiana.garcia@uam.es

Antonio Fernández
Department of Didactics and Theory of Education
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

ABSTRACT

In this paper we analyze the representations of Secondary Spanish teachers and students about cosmopolitan citizenship issues. From our point of view, cosmopolitan citizenship is linked to the framework of social justice across 10 theoretical subscales relevant for citizenship education. Results indicate that a more cosmopolitan conception of citizenship is related to higher educational level and teacher experience, showing a more social awareness towards social justice and citizenship issues, such as being more concerned on social participation and on the recognition of diversity and human rights.

KEYWORDS

Cosmopolitan Citizenship, Social Justice, Citizenship Education.

COSMOPOLITAN CITIZENSHIP

Our starting point is the cosmopolitan vision of citizenship, as opposed to a traditional view of the same. We understand the traditional position as a rather passive approach, self-centering and less pro-social, which means citizens tend to represent themselves as subjects whose civic engagement is basically more oriented-towards the exercise of their duties and responsabilities such as voting and other obligations, such as paying taxes. (Cortina 2001; Freijero 2005; Moro 2007). A traditional citizen tends to be primarily focused on his or her own problems, trying to solve them individually, paying much more attention to the local or national context but with less interest in a more global context. It implies a tendency to consider diversity as a dispersion of cultural identity, and therefore recognition of the rights of minorities do not occupy a central role. Traditional citizenship is more based on specific traditions and customs as laws and regulations, which are quite reluctant to change, even if they are involving injustices and structural inequalities.

On the other side, cosmopolitan view of citizenship (Osler 2011, Berman and Philips 2000), is characterized by the adoption of a more active and pro-social approach (Crick 2002, 2003), and less self-centering. From a cosmopolitan citizenship view, people are oriented towards the promotion and realization of human rights, searching for Social Justice and participating actively in different types of democratic processes that go beyond voting in the national or local elections. There is an explicit recognition and defence of other people´s rights, and not just of their owns´ rights (Nussbaum 1999). Cosmopolitan citizens work collaboratively to solve social problems in search for social justice, including a recognition and celebration of difference and diversity, which also implies adopting a global and universal respect of human rights and duties recognizing the value of the context (Trotta, Jacott and Lundgren 2008; Argibay, Celorio and Celorio 2009). The cosmopolitan position is clearly oriented toward the achievement and defense of social justice.

Some authors (Osler and Starkey 2003; Banks 2004 and Banks et al. 2005) suggest that cosmopolitan citizenship is oriented toward multiple and individual identities of each social agent, by promoting the achievement of peace, human rights and democracy both a local and global level.

The cosmopolitan citizenship view proposed by several authors (Banks et al. 2004, Osler and Starkey 2003, 2006) includes a number of components or subscales that give concrete shape to such citizenship, and through which young people should be educated in a globalized world today. Table 1 shows the different subscales that were taken into account in order to design the questionnaire that has been applied in this research.

SUB-SCALES
Democracy
Diversity
Globalization
Sustainable Development
Empire
Migration
Human Rights
Prejudice
Justice
Digital Rights

Table 1. Cosmopolitan Citizenship Subscales

In our conception of citizenship, we understand the representations that people have on citizenship can be represented ranging through a continuum, ranging from a more traditional approach of citizenship toward a more cosmopolitan approach oriented toward social justice.

From our point of view, this conception of citizenship could be analyzed using a questionnaire that includes a global scale of cosmopolitan citizenship, and which has been specially designed for these purposes, including the ten different subscales mentioned before. In the present study we analyze the understanding of the concept of citizenship by this scale of cosmopolitan citizenship.

METHODOLOGY

Due to the fact that the goal of this research is to ascertain the representation that teachers and high school students have about some important dimensions of citizenship, we designed a questionnaire based on hypothetical dilemmas concerning the different subscales. In each dilemma, there were three possible response options and the task of participants was to select which one of

these three options closer to her o his opinion. Each of the three options has a different value in the citizenship scale.

In each dilemma, one of the options is closer to traditional citizenship point of view, another is closer to the cosmopolitan citizenship view and there is a third option that corresponds to an intermediate level between cosmopolitan and traditional views.

One example of dilemmas is presented in table 2. This dilemma belongs to the diversity subscale and is related to an important social aspect of citizenship: family diversity. As it can be observed here, in this dilemma we approach the family diversity concept from a broadest possible perspective.

SO THAT THERE IS A FAMILY, ACCORDING TO YOUR OPINION, THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THERE MUST BE:
Answer option:
A. A marriage formed by a man and a woman, with no children or one.*
B. A couple of people of any sex, they decide to be retrained.
C. An affective bond between people who share a common place of life.

Table 2. Example of a dilemma from the diversity subscale.

Another example of dilemmas used in this study is presented in Table 3. This dilemma belongs to the prejudice subscale. As it can be observed, this dilemma addresses an important question, language as a form of discrimination.

VETONIA IS A COUNTRY IN WHICH 30% OF CHILDREN WHO WERE BORN IN THAT COUNTRY AND THEIR PARENTS DO NOT SPEAK "VETON", THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, BUT SPEAK "YUSO", THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY (REPUBLIC OF YUSA). WHICH OF THESE PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VETONIA TEA SEEMS BETTER FOR THE EXISTENCE IN THAT COUNTRY?
A. Answer option:
B. That all children speak «Yuso» go to schools where only speak that language.*
C. That will be taught in schools the two languages: «Veton» and «Yuso» to all children.**
D. It has schools of many different types and that the parents and children to choose what they want to go.

Table 3. Example of a dilemma from the prejudice subscale. Language.

We have marked with an asterisk (*) the options that are nearest to traditional citizenship view and with two asterisk (**) the cosmopolitan citizenship options, Option without asterisks represents the intermediate response between the traditional and the cosmopolitan.

All the dilemmas presented the same schema, have an option that is closer to the traditional view of citizenship, an intermediate option and an alternative that is more close to the cosmopolitan vision of citizenship.

In order to be able to measure the responses given by the participants, we have assigned values to each of the response choices. A group of experts in citizenship and social justice topics evaluated each of the alternatives of response. They were asked to assign a highest value (in a scale of nine points) to the alternative that they considered to be more cosmopolitan, a lowest vale to the more traditional option and a value between 1 and 9 to the intermediate alternative. We think

that traditional and cosmopolitan alternatives are recognizable as such and comparable in all the dilemmas, but the same does not happen with the intermediate alternative, since in some cases it might be closer to the traditional view and in others, on the contrary, closer to the cosmopolitan vision.

A reliability and content validity analysis of this cosmopolitan citizenship scale was made. The Cronbach´s Alpha was .690, showing a significant validity and coherence between the six judges.

PARTICIPANTS

We collected information in 4 Autonomous Communities of Spain: Madrid, Extremadura, Basque Country and Andalusia. The students of secondary education belong both to centers of public and private (with public funds). The total sample is 2965 students as we can see in table 4.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY						
		Extremadura	**Madrid**	**Basque Country**	**Andalusia**	**Total**
Type of school	Public	283	913	316	243	1439
	Private (public founds)	113	775	214	108	1124
Total		396	1688	530	351	2965

Table 4. Total students sample by type of school and autonomous community.

The sample of teachers who answer to the questionnaire is composed by 402 professors, 250 were professors in service and 152 training teachers.

RESULTS

We will comment the results by sections, first those obtained for students, after the results obtained by teachers and finally we will show the comparison of the two groups.

STUDENTS

As we can see in table 5, significant differences were found between the 3 groups of students in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale ($F_{2,2560}$=51.143, p≤.000).

	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Between groups	14901.067	2	7450.534	51.143	0.000
Within groups	372943.240	2560	145.681		
Total	387844.307	2562			

Table 5. Analysis of variance of the index of cosmopolitanism in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale per course.

The average score on the comprehensive scale is 69.9 and the standard deviation 12.3. Scheffe's test show differences between the courses in the scale of cosmopolitan citizenship between 3rd and 4th courses and between 2nd and 4th, as can be seen in table 5. Similarly we note that there are no differences between 2nd and 3rd. (See table 6).

Course	2nd	3rd	4th
2nd		-.952	-4.934*
3rd	-.952		4.839*
4th	4.934*	4.839*	

**significant differences*

Table 6. Mean differences in the index on the scale of cosmopolitanism in the different groups.

If we represent linearly the results obtained by different groups of students in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale, it can be observed that the average score of the three courses is located in the right half, since in the 3 courses the mean value is higher than 50, as shown in figure 1. It should also be noted that in the case of 2nd and 3rd grade the values means obtained were very close (67.4 and 67.5) in the scale, while in 4th grade this value is higher (72.3). This indicates that the 3 groups have a greater tendency toward cosmopolitan view of citizenship than the traditional. The average values of the three courses exceed the average value of the Index of Cosmopolitanism which is situated in 50 on a scale from 1 to 100. The students of higher educational level obtained the higher values in the scale. This shows that there is an increase in the cosmopolitan vision according to the educational level.

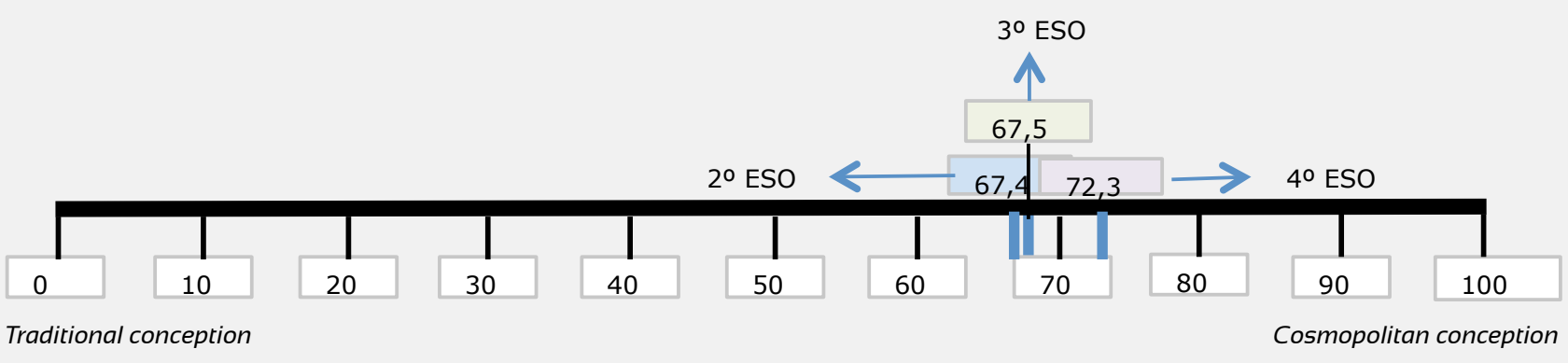
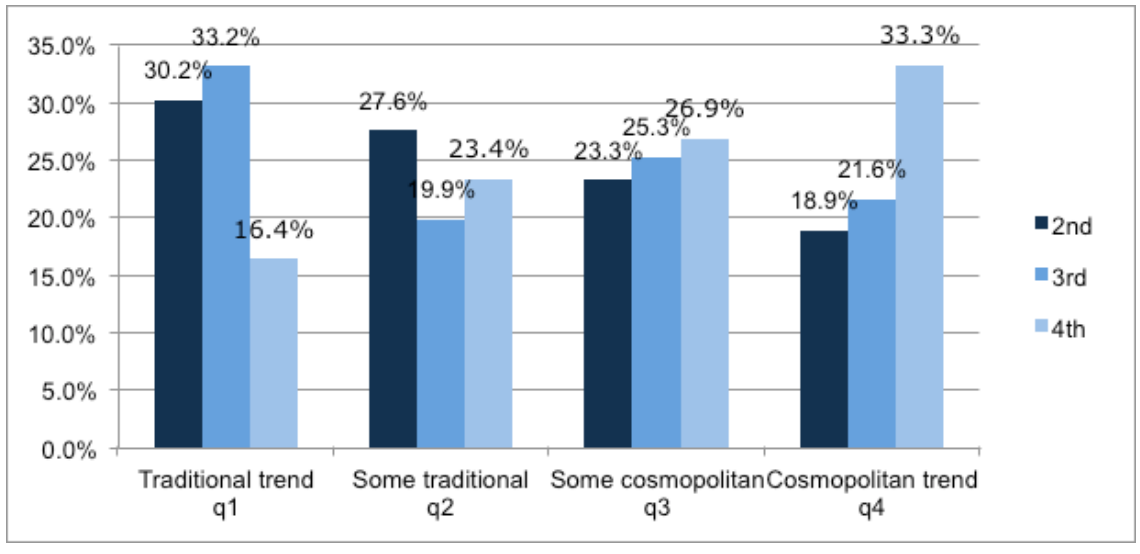


Figure 1. Cosmopolitan index representation in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale by courses.

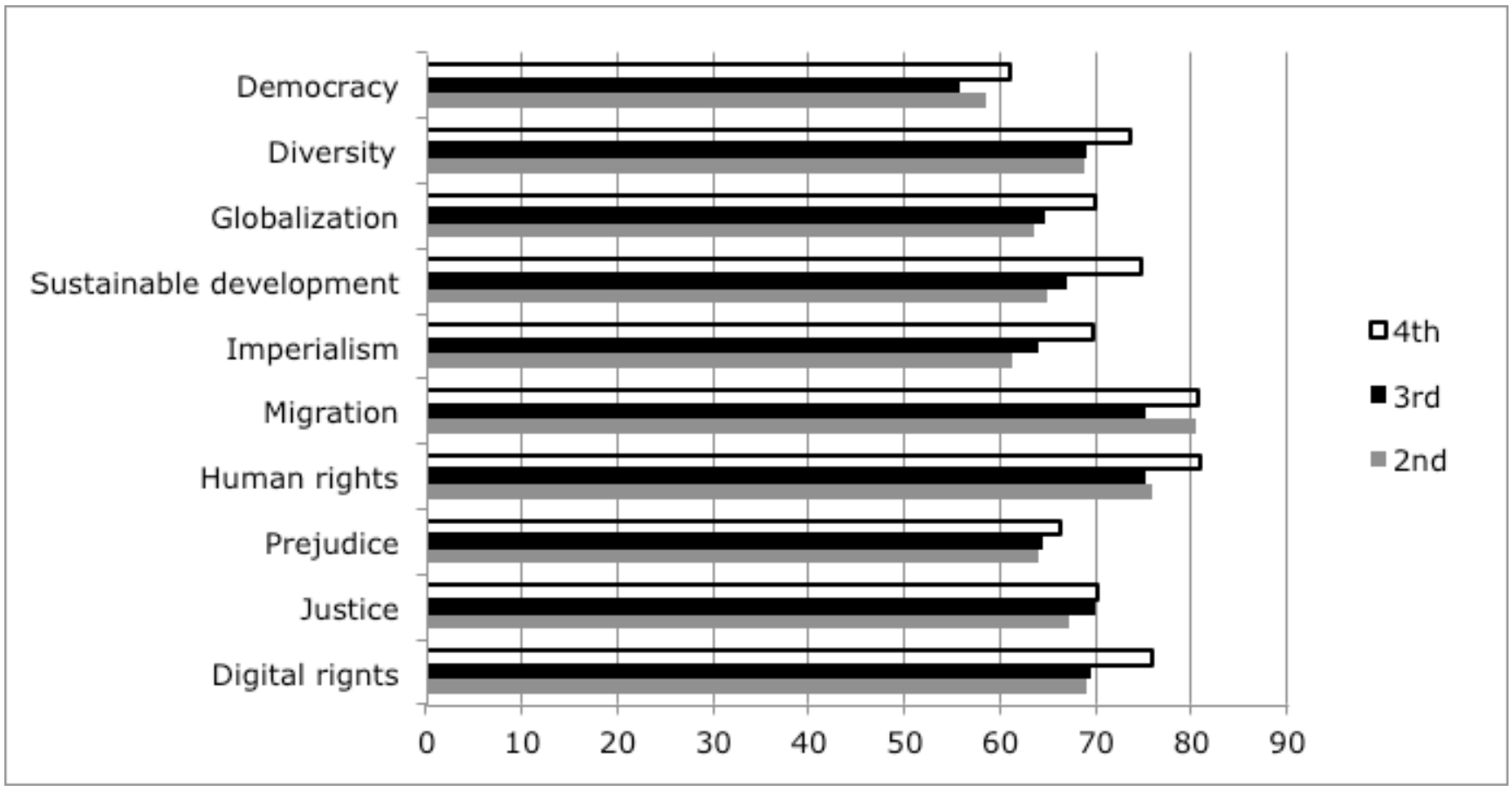
In graphic 1 we can see the distribution in quartiles of the students of 2nd, 3rd, and 4th courses showing four different tendencies, in the continuum from traditional to cosmopolitan citizenship.



Graphic 1. Distribution of the index by quartiles of cosmopolitanism among the courses.

As we see in graphic 1, the responses of the students of 4th tend to focus more on the cosmopolitan trends, while those of the students of 2nd and 3rd tend to be grouped in more traditional trends. We can see how the opposite concepts in each group have similar values. In 2nd, we found that 30.2 % of students show the traditional tendency of citizenship, which is similar to the percentage of 3rd for the same trend (33.2%). These values are similar to those obtained by the group of 4th in the trend of cosmopolitan citizenship (33.3%). In accordance with the results of the chi-square test, there are no significant differences between the groups of 2nd and 3rd, but there are significant difference between these and the 4th ($\chi 26 = 111.031$, $p \leq 0.000$).

Further, we have analyzed the differences between courses for each ten citizenship subscales. The results indicate that significant differences exist between the courses in all the subscales, except in the subscale of prejudice. These differences are found between 4th and 2nd and 3rd. As in the overall results, it can be said that in general, the students of 4th tend to show a greater tendency of cosmopolitanism in the majority of the subscales. In graphic 2 we can see the comparison of



Graphic 2. Comparison of averages for all the subscales by courses.

Rotated Component Matrix		
Subscales	**Components**	
	1	2
Migration	0.628	0.260
Justice	0.623	-0.039
Human Rights	0.615	0.231
Diversity	0.589	0.339
Prejudice	0.549	-0.054
Digital rights	0.458	0.231
Globalization	-0.048	0.679
Sustainable development	0.316	0.574
Imperialism	0.262	0.572
Democracy	0.039	0.525

Table 7. Factorial Analysis of the main components for the total sample of students.

the average for each of the subscales. A factorial analysis was made in order to know if the scores given by the sample of students in the different subscales of the citizenship could be grouped in different factors.

As we see in table 7, the responses of Secondary students to the ten subscales are grouped in two factors. The first factor explains the 20.84 % and the second factor explains the 16.85 % of the variance, for a total of 37.70 % of the variance.

As you can see, for the total sample of participants the subscales are distributed in 2 factors. The first factor is composed by 6 subscales and the second by 4. In table 7 we can see that there is a first factor that brings together 6 subscales related to social issues and rights. The subscales are migration, justice, human rights, diversity, prejudice, and digital rights. The second component includes the dimensions of globalization, sustainable development, imperialism and democracy. This factor is related to political and economic issues.

In conclusion we can say that in the case of secondary education students the subscales of the citizenship tend to be grouped in two factors. On one hand are the social aspects of rights, and on the other hand, the political and economic aspects. Also it should be noted that the 2 factors obtained from the factor analysis include the 10 subscales of the citizenship. In any case, it excludes any subscale in the groupings. Although in general we can speak about two dimensions or different factors: political and social.

TEACHERS

As we can see in table 8, we found no significant differences between the two groups in the scale of cosmopolitan citizen-

	Sum of squares	**Df**	**Mean square**	**F**	**Sig.**
Between groups	70.751	1	70.751	1.069	0.302
Between groups	26480.887	400	66.202		
Total	26551.637	401			

Table 8. Analysis of variance of the index of cosmopolitanism in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale by teacher´s level of experience. (In-service vs. Training).

ship, ($F_{1, 400}$=1.069, p≤0.302). The average score on the comprehensive scale is 79.5 and the standard deviation 8.1. If we represent the results obtained in the analysis of variance by the various groups in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale, it can be observed that the average score of the two groups is located in the right half, since they gets scores much higher than 50, as shown in figure 2.

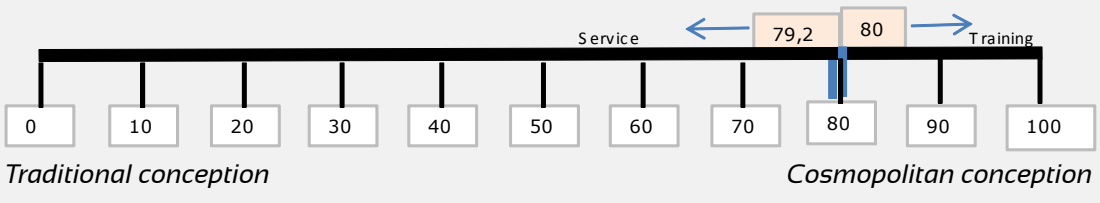
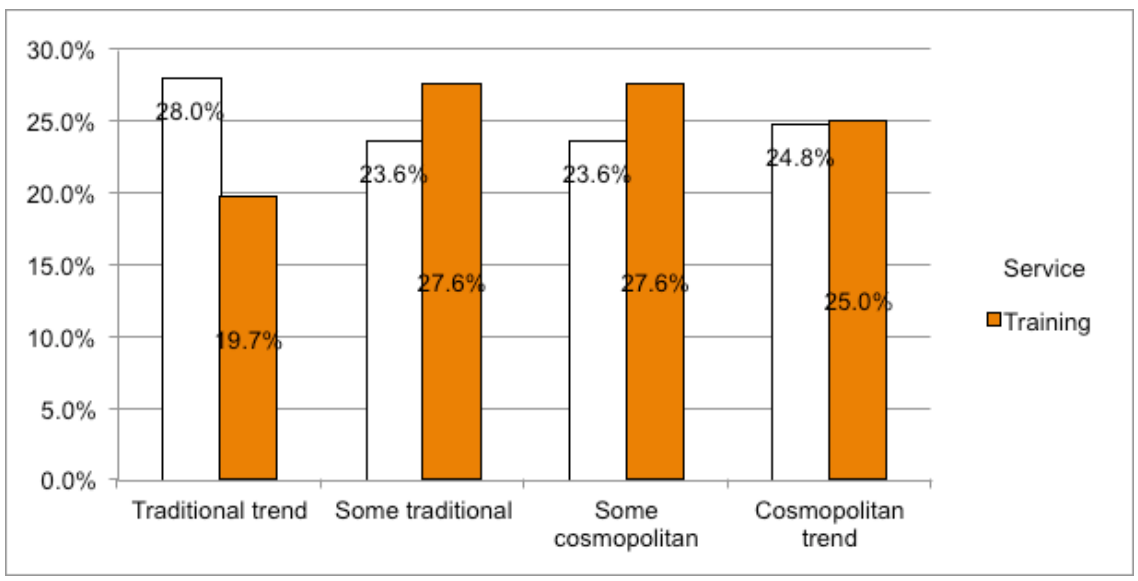
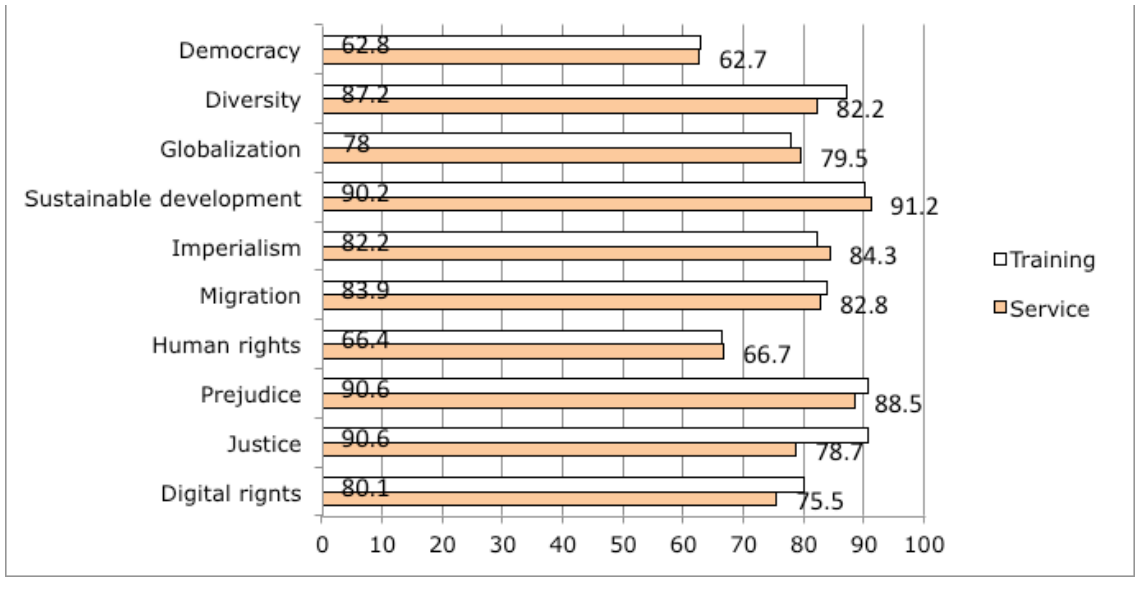


Figure 2. Index of cosmopolitanism representation in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale by teacher´s level of experience.



Graphic 3. Distribution of the index by quartiles of cosmopolitanism among teachers, depending on their level of experience.



Graphic 4. Comparison of averages for all the subscales by courses

In graphic 3 we can see the percentages that get the assessments of the teachers in each of the quartiles.

As we see in graphic 3, the sample is divided almost evenly in the four categories of the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale. However, we can observe that in the traditional tendency the values of the teachers with experience are greater than those of teachers in training.

In accordance with the results of the chi-square there are no significant differences between the groups (χ^2_3=3.819, p≤0,2820).

The results of the analysis of variance indicate that significant differences were found in 2 of the 10 subscales for the two groups of teachers. In this case, the subscales of diversity and digital rights presented significant differences between the groups. In the graphic 4, we can see these differences.

A factorial analysis was made in order to know if the scores given by the sample of teachers in the ten subscales of citizenship could be grouped in different factors. As we see in table 9, the factor analysis of the responses the teachers´ sample shows 2 fixed

factors. In this way we can compare the results with those of the students. The first factor explains the 18.5 % and the second factor explains the 15.1 % of the variance, for a total of 33.7 % of the variance.

The first factor includes the subscales of diversity, democracy, justice, migration and digital rights. It is related to the more social aspects of citizenship .The second factor comprises the subscales of human rights, imperialism, sustainable development, prejudice and globalization. These are more political aspects and economic citizenship. In conclusion the results indicate that the ratings obtained by teachers in training are closer to the cosmopolitan vision of citizenship than those obtained by teachers in service. While it is true that only significant differences were found in two of the subscales, in both cases the valuations of the teachers in training were higher than those of the group of teachers with experience.

Rotated Component Matrix		
Subscales	**Components**	
	1	2
Diversity	0.664	0.095
Democracy	0.589	0.097
Justice	0.551	0.097
Migration	0.539	0.374
Digital rights	0.533	-0.347
Human rignts	-0.036	0.629
Imperialism	0.183	0.543
Sustainable development	0.321	0.469
Prejudice	0.213	0.445
Globalization	-0.057	0.339

Table 9. Removal of Components rotated for the entire sample of teachers

COMPARISON BETWEEN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

According to results presented earlier we could say that the higher the educational level, the higher will be its index of cosmopolitanism. The average vale for the students is 69.9 and that of teachers is 79.5, significant differences were found between these 2 groups (F1,2527= 233.001, p≤0.000). See table tabla 10.

	Sum of squares	**df**	**Mean square**	**F**	**Sig.**
Between groups	32394,334	1	32394,334	233,001	0.000
Between groups	411948,150	2963	139,031		
Total	444342,484	2964			

Table 10. Analysis of variance of the index of cosmopolitanism in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale. Teacher vs. students.

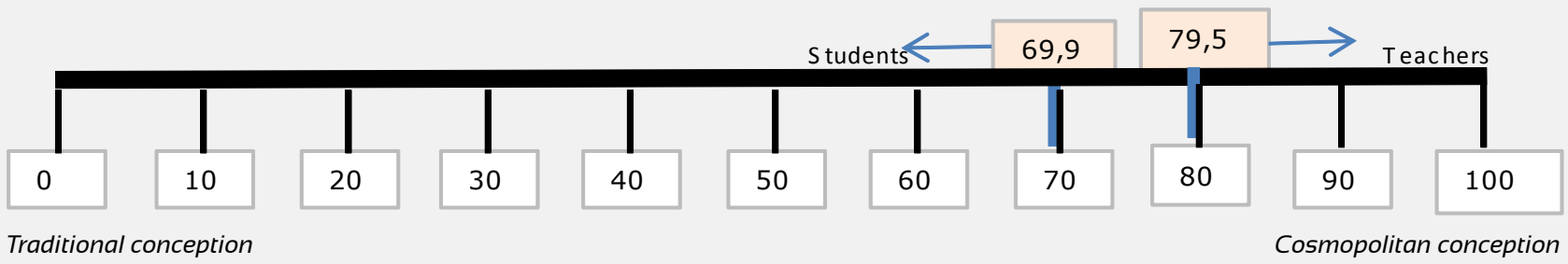
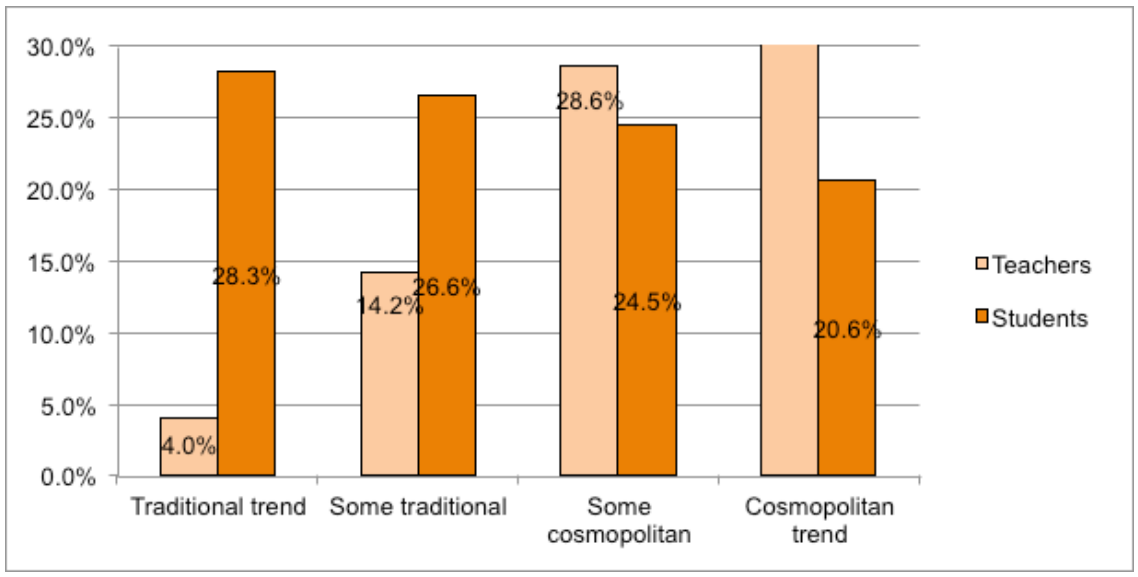
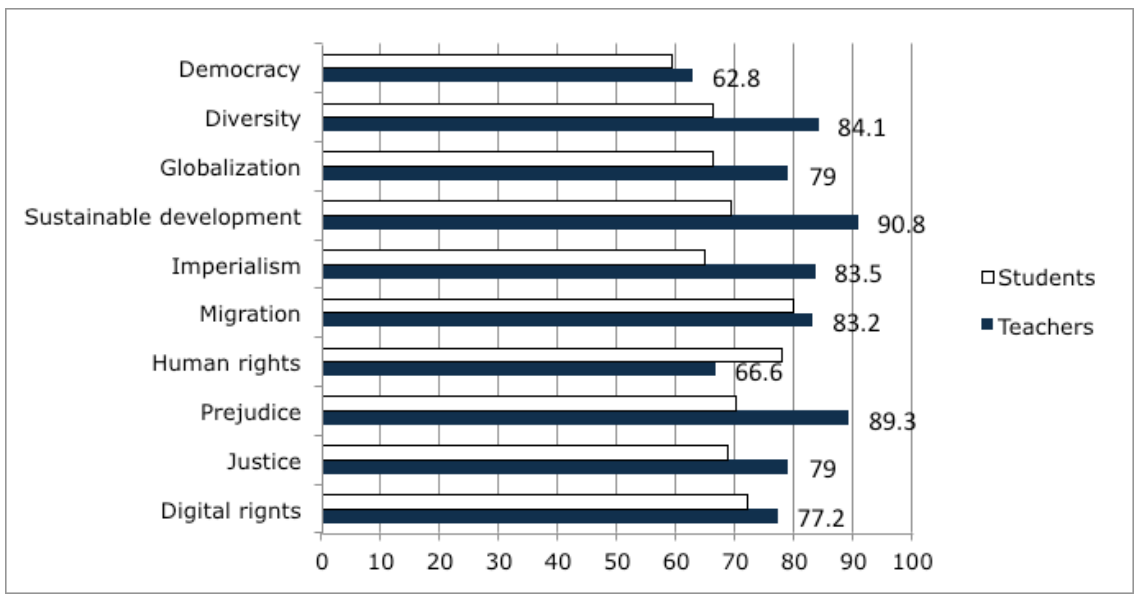


Figure 2. Index of cosmopolitanism representation in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale by level of experience.



Graphic 5. Distribution of the index by quartiles of cosmopolitanism among teachers and students.



Graphic 5. Comparison of averages for all the subscales among teachers and students.

If we represent the results obtained in the analysis of variance by the various groups in the Cosmopolitan Citizenship

Scale, it can be observed that the average score of the two groups is located in the right half. It is much higher than the average of the teachers, as shown in figure 3.

In graphic 5 we can see the percentages obtained by the assessments of the teachers and students in each of the quartiles. Graphic 5 shows that the values obtained by the 2 groups (teachers and students) tend to be grouped in the more cosmopolitan view. It is particularly important this grouping in the case of the teachers. In the case of students, the values are distributed more evenly in all quartiles. In accordance with the results of the chi-square there are significant differences between the groups (χ^2_3=254.057, p≤0.000).

In terms of citizenship subscales there are significant differences in all the subscales between the group of students and the group of teachers.

In graphic 5 we can see the comparison of average values for each of the subscales.

In all the subscales of the citizenship teachers have a greater tendency to cosmopolitan view than the students, with the exception of the subscale of human rights.
We also made contrast by gender between students and teachers. We found that there are significant differences between women and men in the total sample, for the index of Cosmopolitanisms ($F_{1,2929}$= 71.552, p≤.000). In this case, results show that women are more cosmopolitan than men.
In comparison by subscales, significant differences were found in all the subscales, except in the case of globalization and digital rights. We find that the values obtained by women are much closer to the cosmopolitan view than those obtained by men, even in those subscales in which we found no differences.

CONCLUSION

The cosmopolitan vision of citizenship seeks social justice and promotes the active defense of human rights. We believe that the Citizenship Education is a very important factor in trying to reduce the differences in society, starting with the school. The active pursuit of social justice requires that we should educate the younger members of our society in democratic values, looking for celebrating social, cultural, political and emotional diversity. Thus, Education should be aimed at actively defending and enacting human rights. An education that takes into account all the contexts in which we develop, including the digital contexts.

The questionnaire based on dilemmas is a useful way to learn about the representation of citizenship. The dilemmas were well understood by groups, secondary teachers and secondary students. The response options allowed each participant to be placed in the position to consider closest to their thinking. In this way we believe that we have been able to bring the representation of teachers and students about citizenship.

The results have shown the citizenship conception can be understood in a continuum between traditional view and cosmopolitan vision. This allows us to compare the performances of different groups. As we have seen, a higher level of education is linked with a greater proximity with positions of cosmopolitan citizenship. It is important to note that no group in this study obtained a mean value clearly near to the traditional view of citizenship. All the groups have obtained an average over 50 on the Cosmopolitan Citizenship Scale.
The 10 subscales of citizenship propose here are a useful way to analyze the concept of citizenship. These are also moved in a continuum between traditional and cosmopolitan view. The subscales take into account the different aspects of citizenship, such as social, political and economic aspects. Similarly, the results obtained show that there are differences between the groups in the majority of the subscales.

REFERENCES

Argibay, M., G. Celorio, and J. Celorio. 2009. *Educación para la ciudadanía global: Debates y desafíos*. Bilbao. Ed. Hegoa. http://pdf2.hegoa.efaber.net/entry-/content/441/investigacion_def.pdf

Banks, J.A., C.A.M. Banks, C.E. Cortes, C. Hahn, M. Merryfield, K.A. Moodley, S. Murphy-Shigematsu, A. Osler, C. Park, and W.C. Parker. 2005. *Democracy and Diversity: principles and concepts for educating citizens in a global age*. Seattle, WA: Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington.

Berman, Y., and D. Phillips. 2000. Indicators of social quality and social exclusion at national and community level. *Social Indicators Research* 50, no. 3: 329-350.

Cortina, A. 2001. *Alianza y contrato.* Política, ética y religión. Madrid: Trotta.

Crick, B. 2002. A Note on What is and What is Not Active Citizenship. http://www.post16citizenship.org/files/033_BernardCrick_WHAT_IS_CITIZENSHIP.pdf.

Crick, B. 2003. The English Citizenship Order 1999: context, content and presupposition. In *Education for democratic citizenship: issues of theory and practice*, ed. A. Lockyer, B. Crick and J. Annette, 15-29. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Freijero, M. 2005. Ciudadanía, derechos y bienestar: un análisis del Modelode ciudadanía de T.H. Marshall. *Filosofía, Derecho y Política*, 63-100.

Moro, G. 2007. Ciudadanía de la unión y educación para la ciudadanía. *Eikasia Revista de Filosofía* 2, no. 11: 171-196.

Nussbaum, M. C., and J. Cohen. 1999. *The limits of Patriotism.* Identity, belonging and world citizenship. Barcelona: Paidós.

Osler, A. 2011. Teacher interpretations of citizenship education: national identity, cosmopolitan ideals, and political realities. *Journal of curriculum studies* 43, no. 1: 1-24.

Osler, A. and H. Starkey. 2003. Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences. *Educational Review* 55, no. 3: 243-254.

Osler, A. and H. Starkey. 2006. Education for democratic citizenship: A review of research, policy and practice 1995-2005. *Research Papers in Education* 21, no. 4: 433-466.

Osler, A., and H. Starkey. 2005. *Education for Democratic Citizenship: a review of research, policy and practice 1995-2005*.

Trotta, M., L. Jacott, and U. Lundgren. 2008. *Education for world citizenship: Preparing students to be agents of social change*. CiCe Guidelines on Citizenship Education in a global context, N° 6. London.

SOCIAL JUSTICE REPRESENTATIONS OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SPANISH TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Vanesa Sainz, Almudena Juanes, Tatiana García, Santiago Agustín, Liliana Jacott and Antonio Maldonado

Interfacultative Department of Developmental Psychology and Education
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Spain)

vanesa.sainz@uam.es, nazcaljuagar@gmail.com, tatiana.garcia@uam.es, santiago.agustin@uam.es, liliana.jacott@uam.es, antonio.maldonado@uam.es

ABSTRACT

In this empirical study we designed a questionnaire that seeks to analyse the representation that Spanish students and Spanish teachers have about Social Justice. The questionnaire includes a set of different dilemmas about social justice issues. The questions equitably represent three fundamental dimensions in social justice: representation, redistribution and recognition. The questionnaire has been applied to a sample of teachers and students of elementary education and secondary education. The results show differences in social justice conceptions regarding level of education and gender. Also we found differences depending age and educational level in the accessibility to the three dimensions of Social Justice: Representation, Recognition and Representation.

KEYWORDS

Social Justice, Redistribution, Recognition, Representation, Education, Students, Teachers.

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, several events like globalization, migration, economic and political crises, have caused an increase in the complexity of our society and producing inequalities and exclusion for reasons of gender, social class, culture, capacity and sexual orientation. On the other hand, it has been increasing the sensibility and the common interest to construct a more just society.

In this heterogeneous context, there is an obvious need to constitute Social Justice as one of the fundamental aims of our society.

Social justice reflects our wishes for a better world. Probably, for this reason, we should consider social justice like a dynamic project, never finished or reached. Therefore, social justice should always be subject to reflection and improvement.

In this study, we have assumed the concept of Social Justice based on proposals of Sen (2010) as redistribution of competitions, added to Fraser's ideas (2003, 2008), about recognition and participation as complementary elements, as reflected in Murillo and Hernández-Castilla (2011). Therefore, these three concepts are the base of Social Justice in our study:

- *Redistribution* (Rawls 1971; Sen 2010) of material and cultural resources or primary goods.
- *Recognition* (Collins 1991; Cole 2000; Irvine 2003; Fraser 2005) and cultural respect of all people in a just relationship.
- *Representation* (Miller 1999; Bell 1997; Hartnett 2001; Lee and Hipólito-Delgado 2007) or participation of people in important decisions that concern their own lives.

For these reasons, we are going to centre Social Justice about redistribution, recognition and representation. These are processes highly related that share many of their approaches. This is the first and main axis of our Social Justice view.

Furthermore, within this triple view other relevant factors are integrated, such as prejudice, discrimination, racism, sexism, citizenship, protection of environment, access to ICT (information and communication technologies), fiscal politics, democracy, educational politics, relations between States and ONG's, globalization, and migration. All these factors can be quoted as a second axis, which is related with specific social dimensions.

With this double axis perspective, we expect to have a global image about Social Justice of our heterogeneous and diverse world.

With respect to education, schools have possibilities to compensate differences of learning and to contribute to social mobility and to reduction of inequalities. Therefore, schools must form just students as citizens that will be able to denounce and intervene to reduce unjust situations.

Probably the most important mission of education is the promotion of social justice (Bolivar 2012) provided that all educational systems of democratic countries are conceived to reduce inequality of opportunities of starting. For this reason, it is essential to get a quality education for all, especially with respect to the disadvantaged students.

Therefore from our approach, we think that education for Social Justice must be based on the following principles (Bolívar 2005; Kohli 2005; North 2006; Murillo Román and Hernandez Castilla 2011):

- *High quality and just distribution*. An education with the same aims for all, which makes more effort and apply more resources to those students that are in a more disadvantage situation with respect their origin, culture, mother language or capacities.
- *Recognition and identity.* An education that promotes recognition, valuation of diversity and respect of individual, social and cultural differences of students and their contexts.
- *Full participation.* An education that promotes and ensures participation of all students in an environment of freedom and participative coexistence, especially in the case of students at risk of exclusion.

There are some teacher's behaviors that promote social justice in classroom. For example, some of them show high implication in the learning processes of all their students, high expectations for all, promotion of an equitable and just environment, cooperative work, active implication of students, varied strategies of teaching and evaluation, etc. Nevertheless, schools have lacks of resources and teachers sometimes have not solid formation to solve problems and daily difficulties.

Besides this, teachers and students' representations about social justice are elements that have an effect in their actions (or inactions) of their own schools.

There are several studies that prove it. For example, in the study of Miller et al. (2008) with students, it was found a clear relationship between the concept of students about social justice and their implication and commitment with the school. In the case of the teachers, studies like MacDonald (2005) or Baldwin, Buchanan y Rudisill (2007) with training teachers, or Applebaum (2004) or Cochram-Smith (2005), with in-service teachers, show a high relationship between both ideas. Nevertheless, there are not so many quantitative studies about the concept that students and teachers have about Social Justice and their implications in classrooms.

For all these reasons, more research is needed in order to explore the representations that specific actors of schools, as students and teachers, have about Social Justice, and which is the paper of the school to get it. We consider that it is very important to know these representations of students and teachers to promote transformation in schools that work for social justice. It is important to know that to construct a just society is essential to work in quality education to be real for all.

In order to know the representations of students and teachers about social justice, we have elaborated theoretical frameworks and specific instruments. We have designed a quantitative study that has allowed us to make a comparison of representations about social justice of students in different levels of education and between social justice concepts of students and teachers.

This study is part of national research project (EDU 2011-29114) that is funded by the Spanish government: "Schools for social justice" conducted by our research group from Universidad Autónoma de Madrid: GICE. http://www.gice-uam.es/

OBJECTIVES

In this research, we have assumed the following general objectives:

1. To design a specific instrument to obtain information of representations about Social Justice, basically regarding educational decisions.
2. To know and to analyze the ideas and representations that teachers and students of primary and secondary education have about Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Global Social Justice.
3. To compare and to connect the representations of students and teachers.
4. To explore the representations that students and teachers have on the educational practices that promote social Justice inside the schools.

METHODOLOGY

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

To obtain information of the representation of students and teachers about social justice, we have designed *The Social Justice Questionnaire.* This instrument has been developed for different experts in the fields of education, psychology, history, linguistics, pedagogy and anthropology.

To know the ideas of teachers and students in different levels of educations, we have elaborated three models of questionnaire in order to adapt us to different understanding levels:

1. *Social justice questionnaire for students in primary education:* this questionnaire has twenty one questions or problems about social justice. We have designed this questionnaire to apply it to sixth grade of primary students (11-12 years old).
2. *Social justice questionnaire for students in secondary education:* this questionnaire has thirty questions or problems. It includes the twenty one questions of the questionnaire for primary education and we have added nine dilemmas more. We have applied this questionnaire to student of second course (13-14 years old), and fourth course (15-16 years old) of secondary education and also in second course of Baccalaureate (17-18 years old), that is not a mandatory course.
3. *Social justice questionnaire for teachers:* this questionnaire has thirty nine questions or problems related to social justice. It includes thirty questions of the questionnaire for secondary education and we have added nine questions more about educational social justice issues

It is important to realise that there is a set of common dilemmas in the three questionnaires that allows making a comparison with the answers of teachers and students of different levels of education.

With respect to the structure of the questionnaire, this includes a set of different questions with formulation of dilemmas about hypothetical situations or problems relating to social justice dimensions. These dilemmas are about different current issues, especially in educational context.

Each dilemma has three alternatives or possible responses. One alternative is highly promoting of social justice, other alternative is against social justice and a third alternative that is more neutral or less promoting of social justice.

In all the Social Justice Questionnaires there are an equal number of dilemmas related to the three dimensions of Social Justice: Redistribution, Recognition and Representation.

In order to describe the characteristics of our instruments, we want to show an example of the dilemmas for each dimension of Social Justice in the questionnaire.

In Figure 1 contains an example of Redistribution's dilemmas.

In this case, the third alternative is highly promoting of social justice, the first alternative is neutral or less promoting of social justice and the second alternative is against social justice.

With respect to the Recognition's dimension an example can be seen in Figure 2.

In this question, the first alternative is highly promoting of social justice, the second alternative is neutral or less promoting of social justice and the third alternative is against social justice. Finally, Figure 3 shows an example of the Representation's dilemmas. In this case, the C alternative is highly promoting of social justice; the B alternative is neutral or less promoting of social justice and A alternative is against social justice.

Three persons are hired to do a job. One of these has a slight disability, and is therefore slower than the others. How do you think the wages should be distributed?

A. All three persons should earn the same wage as they hold the same post.
B. Each person should earn a wage proportionate to his or her performance.
C. All three persons should earn the same wage and the state must give economic compensation to the company.

Figure 1. Redistribution dilemma.

In our society, men and women who do the same job do not usually earn the same amount. Why do you think this happens?

A. Women earn less because they are discriminated against.
B. Women earn less because they usually have other family obligations.
C. Men earn more because they are usually more committed to their job.

Figure 2. Recognition dilemma.

Anna wants to be the class representative, but her tutor thinks that another student with much better grades should represent the class. Who do you think should be the representative?

A. The students most highly valued by the tutor
B. Only students with good grades should be class representatives.
C. Any student who wishes to be class representative should be allowed to, even if their grades are not good.

Figure 3. Representation dilemma.

It is important to know that The Social Justice Questionnaire has been subject to double validation:
On the one hand, a validation of experts that have validated each one of the three alternatives in a Likert scales of social justice from 1 to 9. In this validation, we obtained a very good intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC=0.97). This result shows a high coherence between experts in all questions. Other indices of validation of the questionnaire are the following ones: CVRt=0.67, W of Kendall=0.62, Kappa of Cohen coefficient=0.48. All these values show good levels of agreement, consistency and reliability of the questionnaire of social justice.
On the other hand, a pilot study that is an experimental application of the questionnaire was applied to a sample of training teachers and students of primary and secondary education. We have applied this pilot questionnaire to 130 training teachers and 187 students of primary education and 243 students of secondary education, obtaining a good reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha=0.74).

For these reasons, we can conclude that we have elaborated a good questionnaire in order to know the ideas and representations that students and teachers have about social justice.
Finally, using these questionnaires, we will obtain four different scales of social justice. By one side a global index of social justice. By other side, three specific indexes for the three main dimensions of social justice: redistribution, recognition and representation indexes. These indexes have been adapted to a rank from 1 to 100, so we have a scale that indicates the general representations of Social Justice, and three independent scales about issues of Redistribution, Recognition and Representation/Participation.

The main hypotheses of our study are the following ones:

1. We think that teachers will have a more elaborated conception of social justice than students.
2. With regard to the comparison between students, those of higher educational levels will have a more prosocial representation of justice than students of lower grades,
3. As in other similar studies, we expect to find that women will have a more prosocial view of justice than men in all dimensions.
4. We expect to obtain differences in the teachers' social justice representations with respect to their teaching experience.

PARTICIPANTS

The participants were 1172 teachers and students (557 men and 615 women).

This sample is divided in three groups: 152 students of primary education, 928 students of secondary education and 92 teachers. With respect to students of primary education, 75 boys and 77 girls have participated. In the case of secondary education participants were 328 students of 2nd grade (169 men and 159 women); 353 students of 4th grade (155 men and 198 women) and 247 students of 2nd grade of baccalaureate (119 men and 128 women). Finally, 92 in-service teachers have participated in this research (39 men and 53 women), answering to their specific questionnaire.

	Men	Women	Total
6th of primary	75	77	152
2nd of secondary	169	159	328
4th of secondary	155	198	353
2nd of baccalaureate	119	128	247
Teachers	39	53	92
Total	557	615	1172

Table 1. Distribution of participants

The Cronbach's alpha coefficient obtained in the social justice questionnaire has a good reliability (0,72), showing an adequate internal consistence.

Table 1 shows the distribution of participants with respect their gender and level of education:

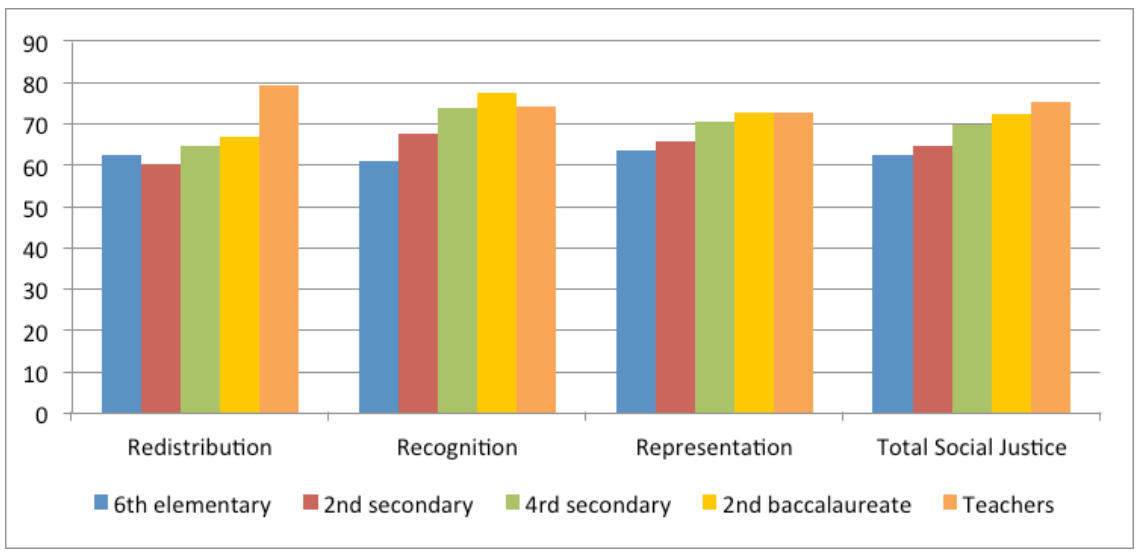


Figure 4. Histogram of mean values of Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Total Social Justice by groups.

RESULTS

First at all, there is a trend to increase the mean value in all dimensions of social justice when the educational grade is higher. In the Figure 4 and Table 2 you can be observed this trend in the results.

	6th primary	2nd secondary	4th secondary	2nd baccalaureate	
Teachers					
Redistribution	62,61	60,2	64,8	66,72	79,39
Recognition	60,9	67,52	73,94	77,61	74,29
Representation	63,57	65,85	70,45	72,69	72,78
Total Social Justice	62,41	64,52	69,73	72,34	75,49

Table 2. Mean values of Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Total Social Justice by groups.

With respect to the first hypothesis, we have found significant differences ($p<.05$) between teachers and students in all dimensions of social justice. As it can be seen in Figure 4, in general, teachers have a more elaborated conception of social justice in all factors.

Regarding the second hypothesis, we can say that students of higher grades have a more prosocial conception of justice than students of lower grades in all dimensions of social justice.

Regarding the redistribution dimension, there are significant differences

between teachers and students of all grades (p<.05). Teachers have a mean value higher than students. Besides, there is a trend to have a more elaborated conception of redistribution in the highest grades, except in the contrast between 6th grade Primary students and 2nd grade Secondary students.

With respect to recognition dimension, it can be seen in Figure 4 that teachers have a more elaborated conception than all students except in the case of 2nd baccalaureate students. In addition, there are significant differences between the four groups of students in this dimension. In this case we can see that recognition has higher values when educational grade is higher,

With regard to representation dimension, also there are significant differences between students and teachers. The mean value obtained by teachers on representation/participation is higher than students. Besides, when education level increases then the conception of participation improves.
With respect to the total social justice scale (Figure 5), we have found the same trend than with the other dimensions. The mean value of teachers is significant higher than of students. Besides, students with a higher level of education have a more prosocial conception of social justice.
This pattern of results show a clear tendency to obtained higher values in the social justice scales in relation with age groups, as occurs in the other areas of prosocial development.

With regard to the fourth hypothesis, results show that in general women have a more elaborated conception of social jus-

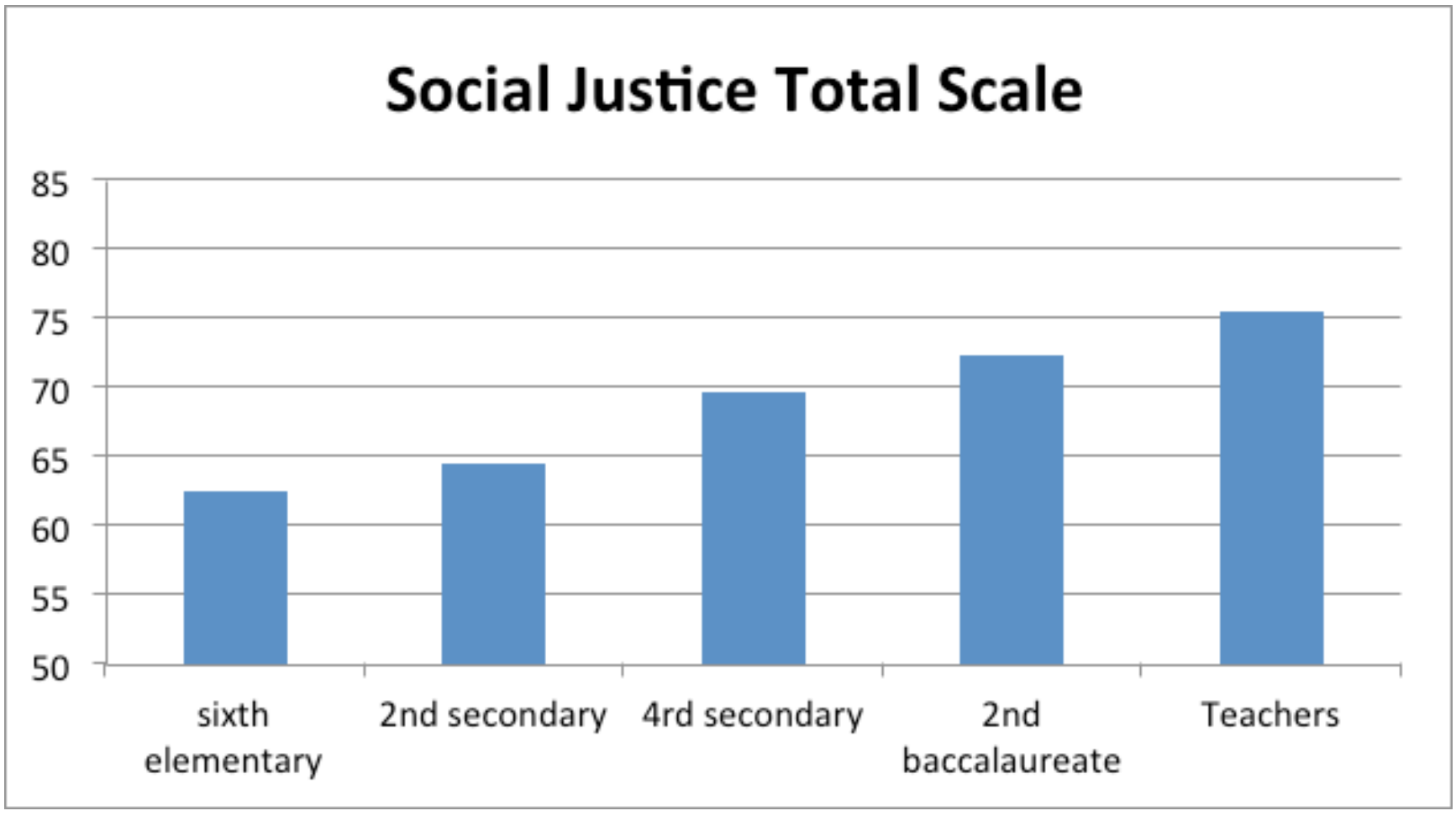


Figure 5. Histogram of mean values in the Social Justice Total scale by groups.

	MEN	WOMEN
Redistribution Scale	60,78	64,39
Recognition Scale	57,43	64,29
Representation Scale	63,08	64,04
Social Justice Total Scale	60,53	64,22

Table 3. Mean values in Social Justice Scales by gender (primary education)

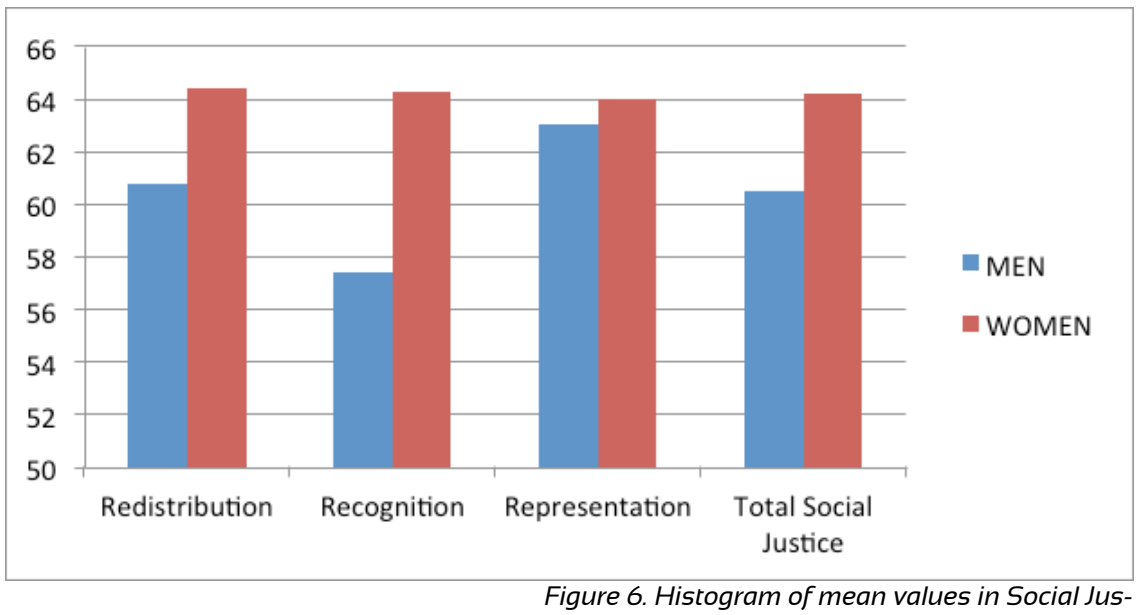


Figure 6. Histogram of mean values in Social Justice Scales by gender (primary education)

	MEN	WOMEN
Redistribution Scale	62,79	64,53
Recognition Scale	71,31	73,87
Representation Scale	67,43	71,24
Social Justice Total Scale	67,18	69,88

Table 4. Mean values in Social Justice Scales by gender (secondary and baccalaureate students)

tice than men. These results appear in teachers and in the four groups of students.

In 6th course of primary education, girls have a higher mean value than boys in all factors of social justice (Table 3 and Figure 6). There are significant differences in the recognition dimension and in the total social justice factor ($p<.05$).

With respect to secondary and baccalaureate students, join together as a unique group, again we show that women have a more prosocial conception of social justice than men in all dimensions. In this case, there are significant differences in recognition, representation and in the total social justice dimension. (Table 4 and Figure 7)

As can be seen in Table 5, the differences between the mean values by gender in secondary education grades decrease in the higher groups, showing that when age increase the representations of social justice tend to be closer between women and men.

In relation with the results of teachers, women also have a higher mean value in redistribution, recognition and in the total scale of social justice, as shown in Table 6 and Figure 8. Now we are going to analyze the pre-eminence of the social justice subscales with respect to the different groups as can be seen in the Figure 4 and Table 2. On primary education, the dimen-

Figure 7. Histogram of mean values in Social Justice Scales by gender (secondary and baccalaureate students)

sion more salient of social justice is Representation and the less salient is Recognition. That result shows that for primary students is easier to think about participation of people (students, parents, citizens, etc.) in decisions that concern their lives than about redistribution of resources and primary goods because participation issues probably are closer of their daily life (at least in the school context).

Regarding secondary students, the result shows that is easier for them to think about recognition of diversity than reflect over representation and participation issues. To think over redistribution of resources is a more difficult task in these age groups, as you can see in Figure 9.

By contrast, teachers have a more elaborated conception of redistribution than recognition and representation. This result shows the same trend that appears in the literature of social

	2nd Secondary Ed.		4th Secondary Ed.		2nd Baccalaureate	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Redistribution Scale	58,43	62,08	64,52	65,03	66,64	66,80
Recognition Scale	66,24	68,87	71,84	75,58	77,77	77,46
Representation Scale	63,46	68,40	68,90	71,67	71,18	74,10
Social Justice Total Scale	62,71	66,45	68,42	70,76	71,86	72,79

Table 5. Mean values by gender in Social Justice Scales in the Secondary education and Baccalaureate grades.

	MEN	WOMEN
Redistribution Scale	79,19	79,54
Recognition Scale	72,88	75,33
Representation Scale	73,37	72,35
Social Justice Total Scale	75,14	75,74

Table 6. Mean values for men and women (teachers) in the Social Justice Scales

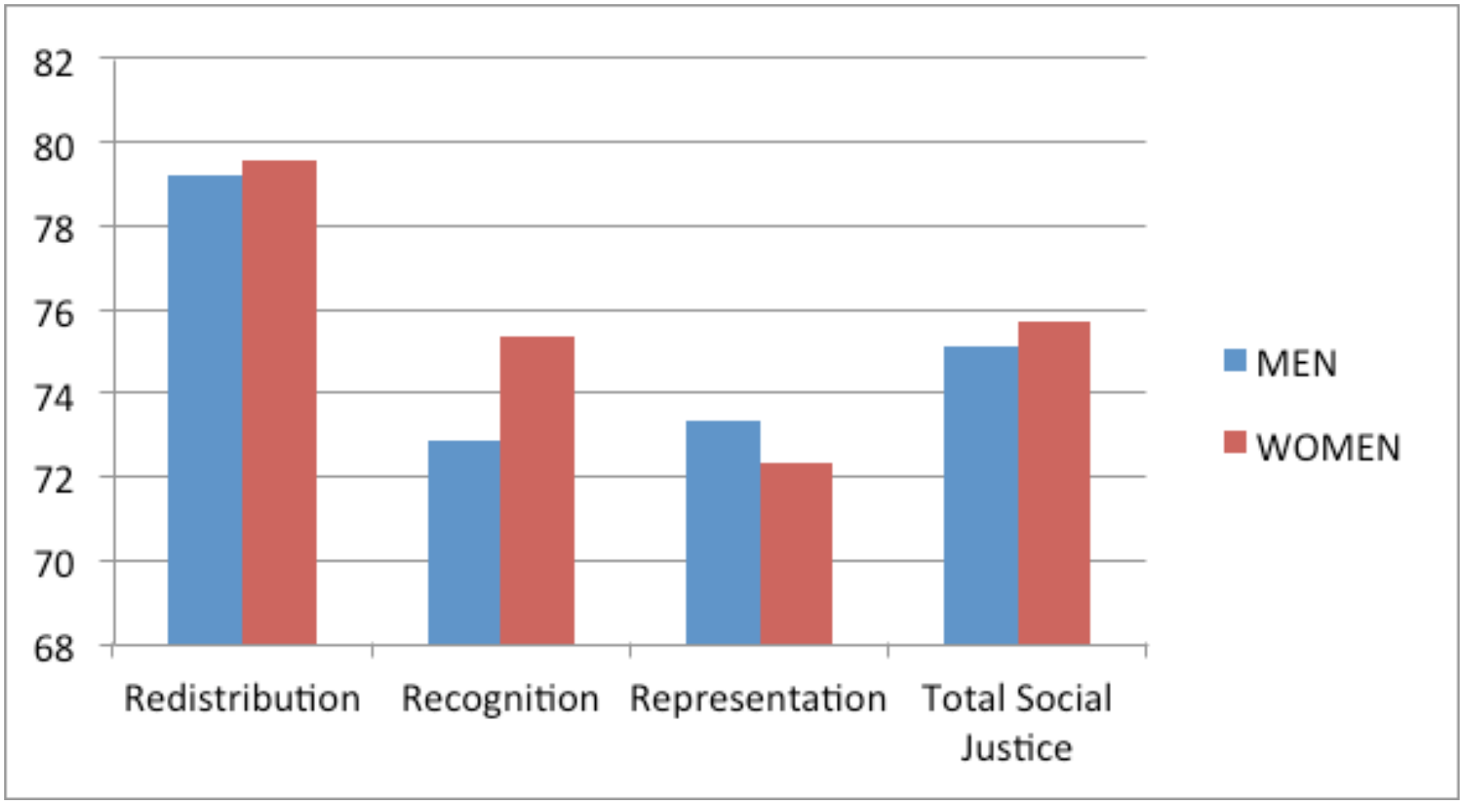


Figure 8. Histogram of mean values for men and women (teachers) in the Social Justice Scales

justice with respect its historical development as complex concept, because initially the social justice concept was used as a synonym of redistributive justice. For teachers, as adults, economic issues and redistribution of resources are easier to think than in other dimensions of social justice.

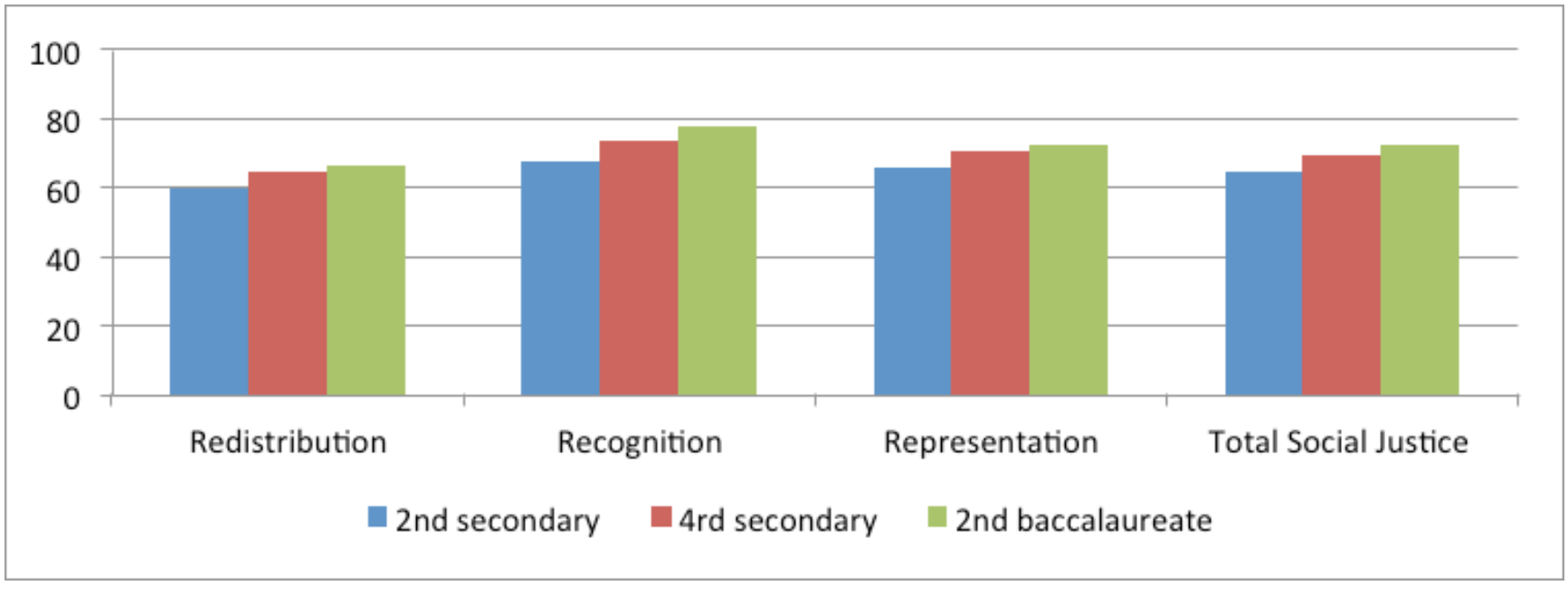


Figure 9. Histogram of mean values of Social Justice Scales in secondary and baccalaureate students.

Finally, in relation with our last hypothesis, we found a relevant, and in some sense, surprising result. As we expected, the youngest teachers (or the teachers with less experience) have showed a highest mean values in all scales of Social Justice (Figure 10).

But the group of teachers who has an intermediate teaching experience (from 11 to 20 years) obtained the lowest value in the different social justice scales. We think that these results are in consonant with some life-span development of teachers as adults, in relation with their disappointment about teaching experience. By contrast, the group of teachers with the highest experience (and also highest age, near to the retirement) appear to be more optimistic about their view toward social justice in education, but less than the youngest teachers.

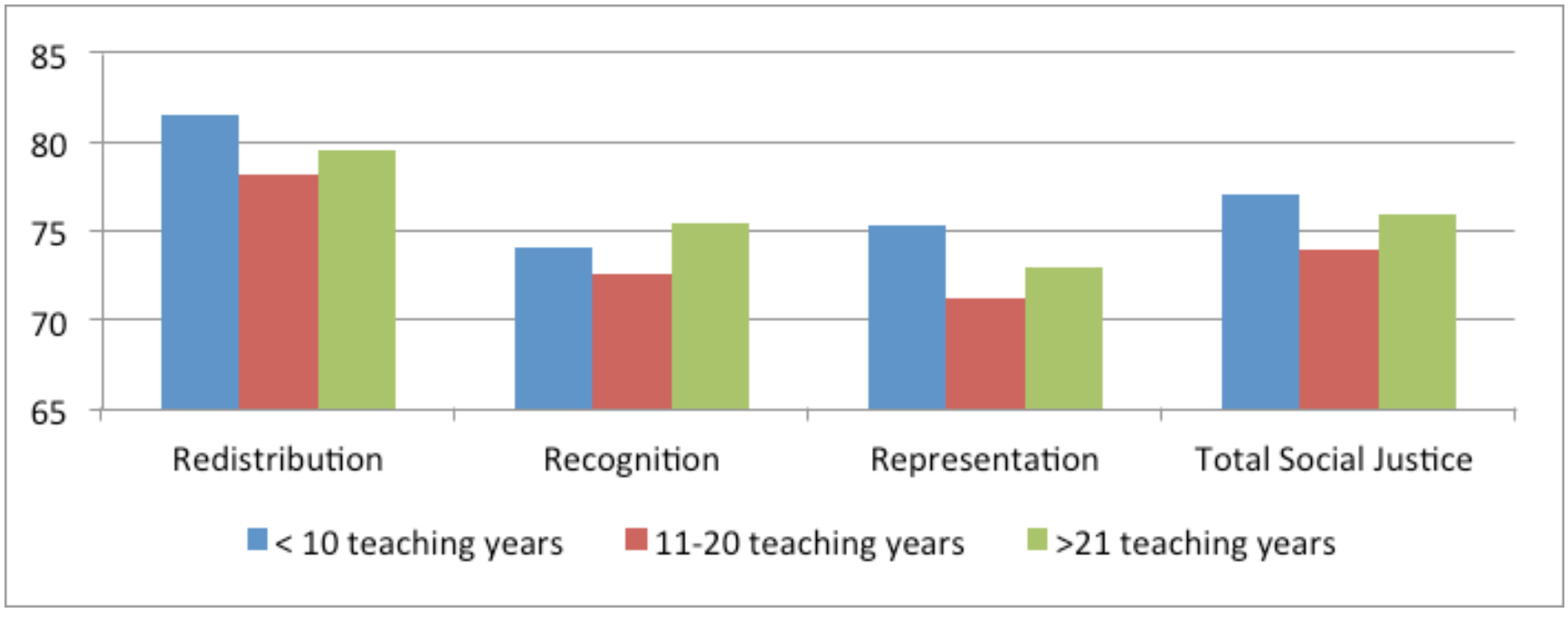


Figure 10. Histogram of mean values of social justice subscales by teachers' experience.

CONCLUSIONS

First at all, we could say that our questionnaire has a good reliability for evaluating social justice conceptions of teachers and students. Using this questionnaire we found relevant differences in the three dimensions of social justice between teachers and students of different education courses. There is a developmental tendency to obtain a higher value with the increasing of educational level, within the interval from 12 to 18 years old. Furthermore, as other studies about social development have showed, at these ages, women have a more prosocial conception of justice. But these gender differences disappear in teachers.

For primary education students, the Representation dimension is the most salient. By contrast, the secondary education students tend to see as more relevant the Recognition dimension. And, finally, teachers show a higher value for Redistribution than for the two other dimensions. The teacher group results show a similar pattern than the historical trend in the development of the concept of Social Justice (Fraser 2009). Finally, we want to add that we will continue to explore the representation about social justice of students and teachers in other countries in next studies.

REFERENCES

Adams, M., L.A. Bell, and P. Griffin. 1997. *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice: A Sourcebook.* New York: Routledge.

Applebaum, B. 2010. *Being White, Being Good: White Complicity, White Moral Responsibility, and Social Justice Pedagogy.* New York: Lexington Books.

Applebaum, B. 2004. Social Justice Education, Moral Agency, and the Subject of Resistance, *Educational Theory* 54, no. 1: 59–72.

Ayers, W., J.A. Hunt, and T. Quinn. 1998. *Teaching for Social Justice.* Nueva York: New Press.

Baldwin, S.C., A.M. Buchanan, and M.E. Rudisill. 2007. What teacher candidates learned about diversity, social justice, and themselves from service-learning experiences. *Journal of Teacher Education* 58, no. 4: 315-327

Baker, J., K. Linch, S. Cantillon, and J. Walsh. 2004. *Equality: From Theory to Action.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Banks, J. 2004. Teaching for social justice, diversity, and citizenship in a global world. *The Educational Forum* 68: 289-298.

Barton, A.C. 2003. *Teaching Science for Social Justice*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Bell, L.A. 1997. Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook*, ed. M. Adams, L.A. Bell and P. Griffin, 3-15. New York: Routledge.

Beswick, J., E. Sloat, and J. Willms. 2008. Four Educational Myths That Stymie Social Justice. *The Educational Forum 72*, no. 2: 115-128.

Bigelow, B., and B. Peterson. 2002. *Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World*. Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools Press.

Bigelow, B., B. Harvey, S. Karp, and L. Miller. 2001. *Rethinking Our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity and Justice*. Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, Ltd.

Bolívar, A. 2005. Equidad Educativa y Teorías de la Justicia [Educational Equity and Justice Theories]. REICE.. *Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación* 3, no. 2: 42-69.

Bolivar, A. 2012. Justicia Social y equidad escolar [Social justice and educational equity]. *International Journal of Education for Social Justice* 1: 9-45.

Boyd, R., B. Wadham, and P. Jewell. 2007. Prospective teachers' perspectives on teaching and social justice. *International Education Journal* 8, no. 2: 304-317.

Broido, E.M., and R.D. Reason. 2005. The development of social justice attitudes and actions: An overview of current understandings. In *Developing social justice allies*, ed. R.D. Reason, E.M. Broido, T.L. Davis and N.J. Evans, 69–81. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Carlisle, L., B. Jackson, and G. Alison. 2006. Principles of Social Justice Education: The Social Justice Education in Schools Project. *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39, no.1: 55-64.

Carol, V. 2003. *Social Justice, Education and Identity*. Londres: Routledge Falmer Press.

Clark, J.A. 2006. Social justice, education and schooling: Some philosophical issues. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 54, no. 3: 272-287.

Clayton, M. and A. Williams. 2004. *Social justice.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Cochran-Smith, M. 2005. The new teacher education: for better or for worse? *Educational Researcher* 34, no. 6: 181-206

Cochran-Smith, M., K. Shakman, C. Jong, D.G. Terrell, J. Barnatt, and P. McQuillan. 2009. Good and just teaching: The case for social justice in teacher education. *American Journal of Education* 115, no. 3: 347-377

Cole, M. 2000. *Education, equality and human rights: Issues of gender, 'race,' sexuality, special needs and social class*. Londres, UK: Routledge Falmer Press.

Connell, R.W. 1993. *Schools and Social Justice*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Darling-Hammond, L., J. French, and S.P. García-Lopez. 2002. *Learning to Teach for Social Justice.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Darling-Hammond, L. 1999. *Teacher quality and student achievement: A review of state policy evidence*. Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy: Universidad de Washington.

Dworkin, R. 2000. *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Fraser. N., and Honneth, A. 2003. *Redistribution or Recognition? A Philosophical Exchange.* New York: Verso

Fraser. N. 2008. *Scales of Justice.* New York: Columbia University Press

Gorard, S. 2000. *Education and Social Justice. The changing composition of schools and its implications*. Universidad de Gales: CARDIF.

Grant, C., and V. Agosto. 2008. *Teacher Capacity and Social Justice in Education*. Tampa. Fl.: University of South Florida.

Grañeras, M., R. Lamelas, A. Segalerva, E. Vázquez, J. L. Gordo, and J. Molinuevo. 1997. *Catorce años de investigación sobre las desigualdades en educación en España [Fourteen years of research on inequalities in education in Spain].* Madrid: Ministerio de Educación de España.

Griffiths, M. 2003. *Action for Social Justice in Education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press

Hutmacher, W., D. Cochrane, and N. Bottani. 2001. *In pursuit of equity in education*. Londres: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Irvine, J.J. 2003. *Educating teachers for diversity: Seeing with a cultural eye.* Nueva York: Teachers College Press.

Krichesky G.J., and F.J. Murillo. 2011. Las Comunidades Profesionales de Aprendizaje. Una Estrategia de Mejora para una Nueva Concepción de Escuela [The Professional Learning Communities. An Improvement Strategy for a New Conception School]. *REICE. Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación* 9, no. 1: 65-83.

Kroll, L. 2005. *Teaching as principled practice: managing complexity for social justice.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kumashiro, K. 2004. *Against common sense: teaching and learning toward social justice*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Levstik, L., and C. Tyson. 2008. *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Education.* Nueva York: Routledge.

Maquión, J.J., F. Hernández, and T. Izquierdo. 2011. *Desarrollo Profesional y práctica educativa del profesorado* [*Professional development and teacher education practice].* Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.

Michelli, N., and D. Keiser. 2005. *Teacher education for democracy and social justice.* New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

McDonald, M. 2005. The integration of social justice in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education* 56, no. 5: 418-435.

Murillo, F.J., G.J. Krichesky, A. Castro, and R. Hernández Castilla. 2010. Liderazgo escolar para la Inclusión y la Justicia Social [School Leadership for Inclusion and Social Justice]. *Revista Latinoamericana de Educación Inclusiva* 4, no. 1: 169-186.

Murillo, F.J., and R. Hernández Castilla. 2011. Hacia un concepto de Justicia Social [Toward a Concept of Social Justice]. *Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación* 9, no. 4

Nussbaum, M. 2008. Democratic Citizenship and the Narrative Imagination. In *Why Do We Educate? Renewing the Conversation*, ed. D.L. Coulter and J.R. Wiens, 143-158. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Malden.

Nussbaum, M. 2006. *Fronters of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* Tanner Lectures of Human Values. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ratts, M.J., and L. Anthony. 2010. The dimensions of social justice model: transforming traditional group work into a socially just framework. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work* 35, no. 2: 160-168.

Rawls, J. 1971. *A theory of justice.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sen, A.K. 2009. *The Idea of Justice.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Solomon, R.P., and C. Levine-Rasky. 2003. *Teaching for equity and diversity: Research to practice.* Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Swindler, G. 2008. Beyond the Illusion of Diversity: How Early Childhood Teachers Can Promote Social Justice. *The Social Studies, Heldref Publications, july/august,* 165-173.

Thrupp, M., and R. Lupton. 2006. Taking school contexts more seriously: the social justice challenge. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 54, no. 3

Trifonas, P.P. 2003. *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social change*. New York: Routledge Falmer.

Walker, M., and E. Hunterhalter. 2004. *Amartya Sen`s capability approach and social justice in education.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

INEQUITY, PARTICIPATION AND ETNOGRAPHY

FROM RITUAL CONFORMITY TO RITUAL RESISTANCE: PUPILS' STRATEGIES IN DE-SEGREGATED CLASSROOM

Jana Obrovská
Masaryk University in Brno, Faculty of Social Studies
obr@mail.muni.cz

ABSTRACT

My ethnographical research focuses on interaction rituals in ethnically diverse classroom attended by Roma minority as well as majority children. My study is situated in a Czech border town where de-segregational local policy is implemented to integrate Roma children to mainstream public schools. In my paper I will capture pupils' and teachers' interactions from the interaction ritual perspective. I am interested in the ways ethnicity is present in pupils' behavioural strategies ranging from ritual conformity to ritual resistance. As I argue, teachers' heightened sensitivity to interaction rituals of their pupils can contribute to promote social justice and diversity in education.

This work was supported by Czech Science Foundation under Grant Educational Strategies of Migrants and Ethnic Minority Youth [grant number P404-12-1487].

KEYWORDS

Ethnic Diversity, Roma Pupils, De-Segregation, Interaction Rituals, Educational Ethnography

ETHNOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH ON ROMA DE-SEGREGATION: INTRODUCING THE CZECH CONTEXT

This article is most importantly based on my ethnographical observation of everyday life of two ethnically diverse majority classrooms attended by Roma and majority pupils. For deeper understanding of the research problem, it is necessary that details from day to day school life detected and interpreted be related to broader institutional context which I am going to outline in this chapter. Historically demonstrable tendency for segregation of members of

the Roma minority in the education system has been present in the relatively culturally homogenous Czech environment.[1] Already in the fifties, socialist "people's" regime supported mass relocations of Roma from impoverished eastern Slovak villages to Czech border towns (Horváthová 2002), whereas the Czech Roma were virtually exterminated during the Second World War (Davidová 1995). Communist government established the so-called special schools for children with reduced intellect, which were, however, largely attended by Roma children (Šotolová 2011). This practice was not reversed even by the Velvet Revolution that should have symbolized the transition to open democratic society. The indirect discrimination against Roma in the Czech educational system was pointed out by the verdict of D. H. and others versus the Czech Republic (Council of Europe Court of Human Rights 2007) which criticized unjustified placement of Roma pupils into the segment of special education for pupils with mild mental challenge. Despite the proliferation of research in the field of social exclusion of the Roma custom-made for the state authorities, only one visible step has been made since 1989, i.e. the formal renaming of "special" schools to "practical", while maintaining a limited curriculum which disqualifies graduates of such schools on the labour market. In other words, indirect institutional segregation of Roma in the Czech context persists since the education system works as a reliable sorting and selective mechanism maintaining distances as well as differences between pupils endowed with different volumes of cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu 1998).

The structured nature of the educational social field was imprinted in the choice of school for my ethnographical research. Since I was mainly interested in how ethnically diverse class group works on the basis of daily micro-interactions, I had to deal with a vital problem, i.e. to find any Czech-Roma class. In this respect, two essential facts were crucial. Most Roma children are educated in segregated schools that formally meet the framework education programme for basic education, yet their quality is significantly lower. In such schools, minimum of majority pupils are present. The second distinct group of Roma children attends so-called practical schools for pupils with lower or borderline intelligence.[2] It is not simple to identify common mainstream basic schools which are attended by Roma children since schools cannot legally collect data on the ethnicity of students [see Liga lidských práv (League of Human Rights) 2007]. Roma pupils could be registered as socially disadvantaged pupils in the bureaucratic school system, however, the category is highly ambivalent and numerous schools refuse to use it due to the threat of stigmatization by the pejorative label "Gypsy school" that may discourage majority parents from enrolling their children (Bulant 2012; Nekorjak, Souralová and Vomastková 2011). Thus I paradoxically came to the selection of Czech-Roma school on the basis of finding an extreme case (Yin 2003), a city with de-segregated local educational system based on the establishment of local educational policy. Education of Roma children equally in all primary schools was initiated by the city municipality.

The schools joined the system with varying levels of motivation as well as specific requirements coming from their position in the system. For the research of mine, I have chosen a school standing in the imaginary centre of the continuum – it is neither a school that would enthusiastically support inclusion of pupils from ethnic minorities nor a school that

1 Cultural homogeneity caused mainly by the strict control of migration during the socialist era, when more people emigrated than migrated from Czechoslovakia, is being diluted by increasing migration related to the opening of borders after 1989 [Český statistický úřad (Czech statictical office), http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/kapitola/ciz_pocet_cizincu.

2 Estimates of the number of Roma pupils attending practical schools based on empirical studies are between 28% (Gabal 2010) to 32% [Veřejný ochránce práv (Ombudsman) 2012].

would take explicitly negative stance against the Roma minority. In this respect, it represents a typical position which would be probably held by numerous Czech schools if they educated Roma pupils. Within the selected school, I visited two classes of seventh and eighth grade and spent one week observing lessons as well as activities in times of breaks in each of them. Ethnographical research design was chosen with regard to my interest in the everyday cultural practices in a multi-ethnic group. Due to long-term contact with the institution researched as well as establishment of deeper relationships with individual actors, I could firstly relate the observed to the heard, secondly to confront interpretations of teachers with those of pupils and finally observe all structural and interactional relationships imprinted in the spatial arrangement, discourses as well as informal face-to-face exchanges. Ethnographical adventure which placed big challenges for me in terms of dealing with numerous ethical issues, demanding maintenance of relationships with individual actors as well as constant reflection of impact of my positionality as a researcher, at the same time constituted a great asset – the possibility to capture vividly the ritual dimension of school relations.

INTERACTION RITUALS IN GOFFMAN'S AND COLLINS'S PERSPECTIVES

Despite the wide interdisciplinary interest in the field of Roma pupils' education and a growing body of research in the Czech environment, certain important topics are missing. Education of Roma is most often researched indirectly, i.e. through educational discourse on Roma. Emphasis is mostly put on firstly macro-factors (educational policies, selectivity of the educational system) and secondly the educational path of Roma pupils anticipated through the measurement of educational outcomes (Straková and Tomášek 2013). The emphasis on external factors in the field of education of ethnic minority pupils is also confirmed by international studies (Connolly 2002; Foley, Levinson and Hurtig 2000). Rather rarely become Roma children themselves the centre of attention, even more uniquely then in interactions with majority children. Such absence can be explained as a result of firstly, the actor denial to children in traditional research paradigm, secondly belittling women and children by sociological "founding fathers" (Deegan 1996; Jarkovská 2012), as well as the manifestation of pragmatic decisions of the researcher due to time and financially efficient and methodologically controllable forms of research design. Since I was interested in the dynamics of relationships in the Czech-Roma class group, I focused on students as independent actors capable of producing their own forms of interaction which are reflected in the culture and interactive systems of the class community. Questions concerning the nature of local cultural order of the classroom (recurring moral frameworks, values, norms as well as manners of showing respect), typical for the tradition of school ethnography (Walford 2008), directed me to take interest in performative aspects of action (playing relational positions, performing identities and different forms of belonging) that form non-rational and extra-curricular dimension of hidden curriculum (Pollard 2008). I have situated the research problem in the perspective of interaction rituals that form an important pillar of cultural analysis of education, in the current research, however, were significantly under-represented (Quantz, O'Connor and Magolda 2011). In the following paragraphs, I am going to present the theoretical background and conceptual bases of interaction rituals, through which, as I argue, it is possible to analyze micro-social everyday life in ethnically diverse classroom.

Erving Goffman assumes that the "fruits" of traditional rituals (especially the sense of group solidarity) can be achieved even in normal face-to-face interaction in the conditions of secular modernity. Goffman considers the dynamics of the situation as the basic unit of analysis. Such dynamics has specific features relatively autonomous of social structure and individual behaviour. Due to his concept of interaction as independent manner of social organization (Heritage 2001), Goffman is considered to be one of the leading representatives of symbolic interactionism. The interaction order is based on shared, usually implicit work definition of the situation, i.e. a consensus based on the affirmation of commitments that interactions place on individual. Such commitment is a "need to accept and honour I projected by other participants" (Goffman 1967, 105) and therefore as well

> *"the face of an individual is sacred and expressive order required for its maintenance is therefore ritual." (Goffman 1967, 19)*

Face is a certain self-image, positive social value based on verified social characteristics. Individual is someone who deserves respect which is manifested through ceremonies. Such interaction commitments may take the form of respect to the expression of interaction partner exhibited by predictable behaviour, subordination to the situational pressure to consent or possession of situational line of humour. They are manifested on verbal as well as physical or emotional basis.

In terms of the research of performative manner of action in the classroom, Goffman's thoughts on social self are also important. According to him, the individual represents an actor whose performance depends on interaction. I is then a "product of output, its result, not its cause (...) it is a dramaturgical effect that dispersedly results from the output presented." (Goffman 1999, 243) If individuals find themselves in the presence of others, they consciously and unconsciously present a definition of situation in which the concept of one's self forms an important part. Impression is a source of information concerning not completely obvious facts, however, one has only limited possibilities for its management and control. Performances of everyday life are not played or pretended in the sense that the performers know in advance what they are going to do and that they are doing it due to certain effect. If we understand school as an institution that educates children not only through the transfer of knowledge and skills, but is at the same time raising them via socialization in agreement with the contents of the hidden curriculum (Havlík, Kotá 2002), we can, among other, associate such educational function of schools with competencies of students to manage impressions (e.g. pretending that they understand something). Goffmanian perspective gives us opportunity to study school environment in terms of raising children towards adequate manner of controlling impressions which correspond with the values of the majority. The ability to regulate one's image and cooperate with others while defining situations is manifested exactly through interaction rituals.

For Goffman, ritual is a means of worshiping something that is highly socially valued. Such highly prized object of modern era is, according to the author, the individual alone. The ritual is then defined as

> *"activity, however informal and secular, represents a way in which the individual must guard and design the symbolic implications of his acts while in the immediate presence of an object which has special value for him." (Goffman 1956, 478)*

In order for the ritual to take place, the following factors are required: physical presence of an individual with others in a given situation, the shared focus of attention, shared definition of the situation as well as perceived social solidarity evident in the growing sense of WE.
In such situations, "ritual grammar" is distinct (for instance rules structuring beginnings and endings of interactions) as well as system of procedures for correction of deviant acts. The core of ritual action is, according to Goffman, respect, model illustration of which is a bowing, which can be illustrated in the classroom by standing up which accompanies the arrival of the teacher to class. But we can also assume considerably finer forms of showing respect (e.g. silence in peculiar situation etc.).

In relation to my focus on the role of ethnicity in class groups, Goffman's interest in disruption of ritual equilibrium is truly current, being related to the fragility of interactive systems. Breakthroughs or cracks in interaction flow expose normality, i.e. the rules of behaviour that allow interactions. The acts of disruption include for instance ceremonial desecration (manifestation of inappropriate respect), various forms of misconduct, playfulness (e.g. if a pupil is mocking their teacher behind their back) or contempt for someone else. Another Goffman's concept which I find very inspiring is his micro-analysis of feelings of shyness, shame, embarrassment that individuals feel during disrupted interactions. In this regard, the author's study of stigma is the key issue. He does not understand stigma as partial discrediting mark but as a limitation of interaction perspective (Goffman 2003), which makes it impossible for the stigmatized individuals to show image endowed with dignity and respect and thus limits their interaction possibilities. Empirically, the findings of disruption and restoration of ritual equilibrium are anchored in Goffman's (1991) research of the lives of patients in a psychiatric hospital who are labelled as mentally ill since they violate the reciprocity of ritual decency. The author further extends his findings of life in the conditions of total institution in his study of stigma in which the whole society seems total, since it forms the basis for universal value system which, on the grounds of stigmatizing attributes, deprives certain categories of individuals of the status of full human beings (Lemert and Branaman 1997). Ethnicity can represent such deeply discrediting characteristic.

Randall Collins follows up on Goffman's work presenting theory of interaction rituals programme in the view of radical microsociology in which, similarly to Goffman, the basic analytical unit is not the individual but the situation. Collins (2004, 48) considers the following to be the ingredients of interaction ritual: physical proximity of actors, the existence of spatial barrier against "outsiders", common focus of attention and sharing certain mood. If such conditions for successful course of ritual are fulfilled, then firstly, group solidarity is produced in the course of it, secondly, emotional energy of individual participants is increasing, thirdly, moral norms are being confirmed and finally, symbols representing the group (sacred objects) are gaining emotional strength and attractiveness. According to Collins, collective emotional drawing can be empirically identified by rhythmic physiological body synchronization. Individuals are getting "on common wave", "attuning to each other" which is observable through their body rhythm. If producing emotional solidarity is present, then ritually produced short-term emotions can embody into long-term emotional states that deepen the connection of individual with the group. While short-term emotion is laughter, long-term emotional mood is reputation and confirmation of group status. Laughter represents paradigmatic example of micro-processual collective ritual drawing. Collins's theory is prin-

cipal for my research, especially where it faces everyday, un-prepared interaction rituals contrasting those formal, based on consistent enacting of activities which are stereotypized, known in advance and prepared. They take place in certain personal networks with less distinct yet still existing social boundaries defined primarily by personal reputation of an individual. What occurs in them is "recharging symbols through specific group membership" (Collins 2004, 83-4). Name or school nickname can symbolically extend and preserve group status and membership of an individual. Gossip and jokes about someone who is not present at the moment form part of stories symbolizing the position of an individual in certain relational network, their popularity or contempt. They decide who becomes sociometric star and who is going to be only lukewarm member of the community. If individual wants to excel in interaction rituals in relational networks, they must try to colour them emotionally as much as possible. Earning reputation and making a good impression requires visible and significant action, intense situational dramatization, which is, according to Collins (2004), twice as true for teenagers and members of ethnic minorities. It is apparent that not everyone has access to the core of ritual events. Those who are in the centre of attention have bigger reputation while outsiders lack it.

Goffman's and Collins's concept of interaction ritual serves me as basic conceptual bases of research of relationship dynamics in ethnically mixed school community. Their strength lies in consistent elaboration of the subject of analysis which does not miss even the very detailed aspects of microsocial events. However, immersion into the analysis of situational specifics may at the same time block complex capturing of the role of interaction rituals in the life of a school class. It is necessary to ask for functions that rituals have not only in terms of established relational networks in the class micro-cosmos, but also within the school institution as a whole. We need to ask what do the presented concepts of ritual tell us about stability and change? Should we seek their impact especially in the processes of inscription of expected forms of conduct in students' bodies, or can they be seen as spaces of spontaneous creating and producing of new identities? In other words, do school rituals oscillate between conflict and integration (Werler and Wulf 2006)?

BETWEEN STABILITY AND CHANGE: THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF RITUALS IN THE SCHOOL CULTURE

Literature dealing with rituals in education usually distinguishes two perspectives based on two anthropological traditions of their research. On the one hand lies Durkheim's functional-oriented interest in moral restoration of community through ritual events, on the other hand Turner's processualy oriented concept of transition rituals as liminal spaces opening the possibility to redefine and transform existing symbolic and social boundaries. Durkheim (2002) focused on solidarity which is cultivated and restored in situations when people in tribal societies come together to honour a totem that represents their shared group identity. Yet, irrational feelings of connection and moral sentiments are more fundamental than cognitive meanings represented by totemic symbol. The effects of rituals analyzed by Durkheim tend to be interpreted in accordance with the foundations of functionalist paradigm, i.e. as operating in the direction of maintaining social order and its reproduction in time.

Since Goffman and Collins follow explicitly Durkheim's sociological legacy, it is necessary to reflect their contributions in the light of the question asked above. Goffman follows Durkheim's concept of ritual as performance during which respect for certain objects is evoked, which are then transformed into sacred symbols. Performed respect has fundamental moral dimension since it coheres the community and re-establishes shared collective consciousness. Goffman observes restoration of social order through everyday ceremonies expressed to the social face of individual which becomes such sacred symbol in the conditions of modern society. Since ceremonial rules do not have clearly distinguishable rational function, they serve, according to the author, particularly to affirm expressive moral values and norms. In Goffman's work, however, exact definition of the origin of such norms is not to be found. In his pivotal work devoted to interaction rituals *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face to Face Behaviour*, ceremonial rules more or less overlap with institutionally defined norms connected with social statuses and roles. From reading other texts, it seems as if interactively produced morality could differ from institutional morality and sometimes even become a form of certain defense against institutional pressure (Goffman 1991). The indicated contradictions are reflected in different interpretations of Goffman's work. While we often encounter interprations of Goffman in the light of Durkheim's functionalism[3] heritage, we can be inspired by other reading highlighting the importance of local cultural structures which can relate selectively to dominant morality of the whole society (Turner 1991) or even resistantly (Rawls 1987). Interaction order with commitment to respect the sacred social self can lead to so-called underlife, i.e. activities developed by individuals to be able to distance themselves from surrounding institution (Goffman 1991). In the school environment, we may be interested in maintaining ritual interaction orders and commitments as well as their violations – for instance through certain "underlife" of the children which they experience in relation to their teachers (Gutierrez, Rymes and Larson 1995) or between different groups with each other. Interpretation of goffmanian rituals as based on the affirmation of social order and consensus is certainly one-sided. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take seriously criticism which points out to underestimation of the importance of power and dominance, not only in Goffman's work, but also in the functionalist paradigm as a whole (Kemper 2011). In contrast, authors following Victor Turner's concept of ritual more tangibly pay attention to the power effect of rituals as well as the conflicts that such rituals produce and intensify. While in durkheimian perspective ritual contributes to social stability and cohesion of the society, for Victor Turner, ritual is primarily social mechanism which allows societal transformation. Ritual is important process in constant dialectic between stable structure and dynamic antistructure (Quantz 1999). What is notable are Turner's (2004) ideas relating to the liminal phase of transition ritual in which the individual becomes structurally invisible, when she finds herself in a completely uninhabited cultural area that has no attributes of past nor upcoming social state. Exactly in such areas, so-called *communitas* can develop, i.e. communities formed spontaneously, free from hierarches resulting from the status differencies. Communitas embody antistructural position[4] which often manifests itself in moments of social conflicts and dramas. The school is highly asymmetrical space, hierarchical by age and knowledge of students and teachers. Transitions between different temporal and physical spaces can provide opportunities for

3 Such interpretive position can be found in the work of e.g. Giddens (1984 in Hausmann, Jonason, Summers-Effler 2011) who ascribes to Goffman an interest in routine action through which institutions are reproduced. Goffman, however, is interested in (secular) sacred, not routine. If that was not the case, the metaphor of ritual would suddenly become emptied.

4 «Communitas flow in through the cracks of structure via liminality, from the boundaries of structure via marginality and from beneath the structure thanks to subordination.» (Turner 2004: 124)

the establishment of volatile liminal opportunities that enable resistance against established hierarchies, reversing the weakness of the pupil for instance by the power of break game. Numerous sociologists and anthropologists of education focus exactly on such "thresholds" or transitions between spaces, social statuses and groups (e.g. between breaks and lessons, from the space of the classroom to the hallway, from the environment outside school to the school building, etc.) which can intensify existing identities and categories on the basis of which are stratified the relationships in the school community. In addition, on these occasions, playful encouraging, transformation and dramatization of symbolic meanings associated with the statuses and roles takes place (Göhlich and Wagner-Willi 2001). According to Wulf (2010), school rituals cohere, compensate for feelings of community unity lost due to individualistic culture effects and have conservative effect. At the same time, rituals have also creative dimension since they enable young people to create oppositional identities. Norms and values settled in the life of the community are confirmed and transformed. Rituals include gestures symbolizing the resistance of different children to the dominant structure of the school community and performances of subcultural or peer structure. At the same time rituals at school symbolically affect the individual through embodiment of certain meanings that are recognizable in performing stylized gestures, taking physical postures or manners of preparing the scene. Physicalization of social order through mimetic collective movements is present (Wulf 2004). Numerous observers point out that in terms of school rituals and ritualizations, their symbolic dimension is unconscious, that the symbols are reduced and solidarity felt and emotions experienced are not so strong (Kaščák 2006).

Ethnographic study *Schooling as a Ritual Performace* by Peter McLaren (1999) oscillates exactly around turnerian movement between the structure and antistructure as well as around inscription of social order into physical bodies of flesh and bones (*enfleshment*). McLaren notes the tension between the two school interaction patterns, between *student state,* representing the school structure, and the *streetcorner state*, referring to antistructure.[5] The rituals aimed at maintaining pupil's status are threatened by rituals of resistance by which codes, symbols and identities from out-of- school environment enter the school space. Liminal transitions between hours and breaks as well as the entire course of breaks represent space for stimulation of imagination, play and spontaneity which can form new cultural forms and interaction patterns and let resistance loose. The rituals of resistance are cultural forms that show signs of symbolic inversion, i.e. question the established codes of action. Resistant behaviour which can be supported by the use of illegitimate symbols can lead to incitement of hidden curriculum of school culture and moral dimension of rituals of instruction.

At the end of the previous chapter, I asked if rituals can be seen primarily as a means of maintaining the status quo (integrative function), or rather as a means of change (transformative function). The answer reflects the ambivalence contained in presented approaches to the study of rituals. In their view, conformity and resistance appears to be two poles of rather connected continuum. Yet the durkheimian tradition must be acknowledged rather integrative and reproductive position, while turnerian the position of conflict and transformation. In the text, I presented selected approaches to cultural analysis of rituals in the school environment which take into account the micro-social events. With regard to the focus and scope of this text, I omitted numerous authors who focus on macro-rituals characteristic for institutional school culture (Bourdieu, Passeron 1990, Bernstein, Elvin, Peters 1966).

5 The author analytically distinguishes two more states (domestic and sacred) but they are not principal in terms of the topic of this text.

ROMA FREE STYLE RESISTANT RITUALS

In the following text, I am going to interpret the meaning of interaction rituals and ritualisations that I noticed during the observation in 7th and 8th grade at chosen basic school. In the theoretical excursus in the issue of ritual, I deliberately avoided such concepts which understand school rituals unilaterally as a tool for reproduction of social order and various forms of social inequality (class, gender, ethnic). I chose approaches that take into account the structure as well as agency and thus allow to recognize that certain types of ritual performance may confirm dominant cultural and social order of the school, while others must be understood rather as resistance to such orders, and certain interaction episodes can even lead to change of existing norms, values and identities. Entwining situatedness of action and dynamics of interactive orders with structural conditions, which are inseparably co-determining them, is crucial also for my concept of ethnicity. I suppose that Roma ethnicity is not stable essential category that would manifest in the same manner always and everywhere. It cannot be regarded as stable identity formed by a set of inscribed cultural characteristics, but as "a range of partial aspects or also revealing one's self depending on the social situation." (Jenkins 1997, 59) Management of impressions corresponds with the notion of variable and multiple identities and allows to conceptualize identity as open process. Identities can, moreover, develop in opposing directions (e.g. parallel pro-academic identity and subcultural opposition identity), which is especially true for young members of ethnic minorities (Davidson 1996; Yon 2000).

Lessons are permeated by institutional rituals based on formal asymmetric relationships between pupils and teachers who require conformity concerning the tasks awarded by explicitly as well as implicitly required imperatives of the school culture. The shorter breaks are, the more intense they are in terms of the liminal crossing of pupils' identities and playful performing of friendly and outside school identities. The following analytical insights are primarily anchored in the events and action during breaks. Already very soon after my arrival in eighth grade, it was clear that students spend breaks divided into groups and alliances on the basis of ethnic key (see Barron 2011). This division was visibly inscribed in the physical space of the class. Part of the pupils remained in close surroundings of their desks, a larger group formed by majority pupils concentrated around the right front corner of the class. Exactly on the opposite end of the class, i.e. in the left rear corner, gathered three Roma boys and one Roma girl. It was exactly there where the class teacher officially localized my class observation post during the first lesson after my arrival to the class. Standing by the window heater gave me the opportunity to observe the Roma group closely. I thus had insight into the interaction micro-rituals based on subcultural hip- hop style which carried certain ethnicized features. As soon as the teacher quits the class after the bell rings, Filip[6] pulls out a mobile phone and Marek mobile speakers and turns on free style music. Along with their most popular new style hip hop dancers *Les Twins*, they rap passages of songs, dance, cut the air with resolute gestures in regular rhythm, press sound beats through their lips, play synchronized sets. They manifest the sense of belonging physically. Palm strikes the palm, legs entangled with each other. Baseball caps are rotated in the same angle during mimetic imitation. For a couple of seconds excitement sets in, rapture of endless boredom and sleepy atmosphere during 45 minute lessons, the escalation of emotional energy (Collins 2004). Göhlich and Wagner-Willi (2010) describe wearing baseball caps as an expression of ritualized resistance by which the teenagers circumscribe against the adult ban on wearing head coverings at school, and at the same, solidarity is reinforced among those who take off their cap just after

6 The names of all participants of the research were changed with regards to the needs of anonymization.

the bell. The authors observed that especially students who do not identify with the school too much, remain dressed in the outdoor clothing as long as possible. As if stronger connection to life outside school remained. Observing Roma boy Marek, I noticed cap hanging on a peg on the side of the desk during the lesson, which is primarily designed for hanging school bag. It was a symbolic attack on the status of the pupil, an effort to bring peer status to pupil status. According to Quantz, O'Connor and Magolda (2011) represents style, e.g. wearing baseball caps, a formalized symbolic performance, since it is an expression of group identity. Using a metaphor of the theater, the way one dresses is the costume in which actor plays their performances. The popularity of dancing and rapping in the Roma group refers to what McLaren (1999) refers to as *street corner state* and Anderson (1999) *code of the street*, i.e. the interaction patterns characteristic of life out there in the street, outside the institution of school. Partial micro-rituals (dance sets, way of dress) are symbolically related to the cultural code from which are developed identities (Roma, rapper, warrior, etc.) that the boys update most frequently in life outside of school. In such ritualized situations during breaks, secondary cultural differences begin to mobilize (Mercado 2001), which are manifested e.g. in the manner of speaking (Roma boys start using the address "more" that they do not use in communication with teachers and most of majority classmates), in interaction style or in the form of cultural inversions.[7] The popularity of hip hop style is not just a privilege of Roma minority, however, it occurs in far bigger extent in the group of Roma teenagers than their majority peers. Several Roma rappers who thematise their experiences of life in excluded localities and often experienced stigmatization appeared on the music scene in the Czech Republic in recent years. However, apart from the personal testimony according to Radostný (2008), Roma hip hop offers the symbolism of success, the opportunity to distance oneself from the status of "trash", especially through video clips bursting with expensive cars, clothes and gold chains. Demonstration of high social status contrasts with the characteristic demotivation and resignation typical for life in excluded localities. Interactions of the Roma group in the classroom observed thus, with regard to their link to rapper style, had countercultural. It is exactly thanks to mutual reinforcement of countercultural aspect of youth culture and ethnically and socially disadvantaged culture, that interaction rituals bear resistant potential. It is the very teenagers from ethnic minorities whose self-value is often far more grounded in informal identities expressed by degree of personal reputation in relational networks (Collins 2004) than in identification with institutionally defined identities and roles. In the life of classrooms, numerous authors focus on strategies of non-participation or disruption that allow students to define themselves against the expectations and pressures which are placed on them institutionally. Such strategies may have the nature of rituals of resistance, cultural forms which bear marks of symbolic inversion through which the established codes of action are challenged (McLaren 1999, McFarland 2004). Among Roma pupils, goffmanian "underlife" was thus observable since they developped rituals through which they distanced themselves from the surrounding school institution. Resistance comes from the very nature of the school, the discontinuity between the cultural world of pupils and adult teachers (D'Amato 1996). Ethnicity may lead to increase of cultural discontinuities and therefore to catalyzation of resistance.

---

7 If we, following the typology by Ogbu and Simons (1998), consider Roma pupils members of the so-called involuntary minority, we can expect cultural inversions manifesting for instance in rejection of symbols associated with the dominant culture (Mercado 2001). Ogbu with Fordham (1986) draw attention to the fact that if school is perceived e.g. by Afro-Americans in the U.S. primarily as white institution and if majority culture is associated with oppression and racism, then identification with educational aims (manifesting e.g. as punctuality or studying in the library) represents «acting white». Analogically, Roma can perceive the school as gadžo institution (Roma use the expression gadžo to ndicate members of the majority).

In terms of interest in resistance, Mirek who showed typical signs of class clown, held a remarkable position in the class observed. By his behaviour, he exceeded the prescribed standards and ceremonies given by the interaction order, disturbed symbolic boundaries, contradicted the demands of teachers in the lesson, expressed himself in an obscene manner, turned back to his classmates. His behaviour represented nearly a textbook fit with McLaren's (1999) notion of class clown as a being that embodies the liminal bridge between classroom world and its inversion. Most of his sabotages were essentially little threatening and therefore did not deserve immediate punishment. Nevertheless, Mirek was a thorn in side for most of the teachers for which he earned a reduced mark for behaviour in his report as the only student in class. The clowns, through their resistances, mirrors up school rules in a way that puts the dominant cultural meanings in different context (McLaren 1999). For instance by ceremonial desecrations, caricaturing what is "polite", turning established norms upside down. Using a pencil, Mirek blows balls of paper at the teacher who turns around and writes something on the board, he does not eat his snack calmly stuffing the whole baguet in his mouth instead so theat he is not even able to speak, however, he opens his mouth significantly. Numerous Mirek's resistances were somehow related to the Roma with whom he was friends with as one of the few majority children. During a German lesson, he suddenly started grabbing his stomach and faked abdominal pain. This is at the same time one of the most common reasons for absenteeism in the written excuses of Roma pupils which the teachers accept gritting their teeth since they associate it with hidden truancy agreed by Roma parents. It is again Mirek who using the address "more" when communicating with the Roma and who is exasperated by German techer's assumption that only Roma boys Marek and Filip must be the best rappers of the class. "Can you understand? She is a racist, she thinks that if you're black, you can rap the best," (field notes, 31.1. 2014) he remarks after the German lesson. Mirek's clown status is deepened by gestures which obscure the division of the class into the Roma and the others. The parallel movement between majority and Roma relational formations contributes to the development of Mirek's social competencies in the management of impressions. Yet thanks to the unconscious intensifying of the ambivalence in relationships in the class group, he becomes confusing and unpleasant iron in the fire for most teachers.

The intensity of certain informal interaction rituals among the Roma can be as well explained as an attempt to overcome failure in fulfilling the desirable virtues related to the categorical identity of the pupil who often becomes the topic of discussion during the lessons, by increasing self-confidence in the sub-cultural competencies. The assumption of balancing school failure with subculturally framed break situational dramatization is illustrated by an incident which I observed during a break before the lesson *Person and the World of Work*. I interpreted the significance of the break events as permeated by the rituals of resistance, which were taking dimension of situational drama, retrospectively, after the end of the lesson. The drama was characterized by extension of confusing liminality to the lesson. Finding sense in break in relation to the nature of the lesson or the relationship of students to a particular teacher led me to reflect on why during some breaks play situations reactivated more than during others.

This official focus of the subject *Person and the World of Work* is familiarizing pupils with the possibilities of choice of high school and subsequent occupation. During the lesson, the teacher explained to me in front of the whole class that four pupils are going to leave basic school at the eighth grade because they failed. All of them are Roma. She prompts everyone to raise up their hands whether they have chosen a school. She acknowledges that everyone have made a

choice and there is no one among them who would want to "stay home and watch grass grow" (field notes, January 29, 2014). This phrase repeatedly appeared in the discourse of teachers both in the classroom and during interviews. Teachers generally define themselves negatively against the laziness of Roma parents and their receiving of social benefits. They therefore associate watching the grass grow with doing nothing. In the lesson observed, the teacher was consulting the pupils concerning the schools they apply for and directed their choices. She framed her recommendations with utterances like: "This is my advice only, you do not have to follow it." The message of such advices was, however, rather imperative: if you got a three from mathematics, do not apply for medical school, if you have more than four threes, do not apply for a specialization with leaving examination, but for a specialization without it at a vocational school. In this atmosphere, the teacher told Roma boy Marek to tell his selection of school to the others. "I'd rather keep it to myself," responded Marek and the teacher left him with remark that if he is not interested in communicating, it's up to him. (field notes, January 29, 2014) Pedagogical discourse is in this subject more than anywhere else based on the statements of praise and humiliation (Goffman 1981), which ritually affirm school values and where I observed an increased risk of stigmatization. The lesson was imbued with different resistant attacks directed against the teacher. Filip started splashing deodorant around, others clog their nose, the teacher rebukes him that someone might have an allergy. The teacher sends Honza behind the door[8] since he keeps turning around and disturbing. This lesson was preceded by a break during which Roma boys danced and rapped significantly more intensively than usual. In addition, the prevailing lack of communication between the majority and the Roma part of the class was broken, the whole class was permeated by antistructural atmosphere of turnerian *communitas*, in which the present divisions and hierarchy are crossed and erased. Since Filip was hit by flying soaked rag, with which the boys from the rest of the class were playing, he caught it and squeezed it to Honza's back. The pupils were getting into contact with each other through dynamic, little controllable movements. During the same break, someone wrote on the back of a desk "Sandra stinks". Although I did not find out who it was, I found out later that Sandra is very unpopular student who, according to the class teacher, has been having racist attacks fueled by antigypsy attitudes of her parents. I understood the break as an expression of the reinforced need of Roma pupils to hold antistructural position, finding an alternative structure due to the teacher's discoursive pressure coming from the value of school work. "Work" was already present in the very title of the subject and it is exactly systematic school work, which is evaluated in the educational outcomes, what numerous Roma pupils avoid. I understood the intensification of the rhythm of usual interaction rituals and crossing established boundaries as well as unusual game alliances between the pupils as an expression of resistance and reactivation of identities based on counterschool principles. It was not only the resistance in general turnerian movement between structure and antistructure, but also more specific resistance focused on a teacher who the more she exercises power, disciplines, reproaches and gives poor grades, the more she loses authority of members of the "failed" minorities (D'Amato 1996).

8 Kaščák (2010) understands such integrative strategy of the teacher as highly ambivalent. She expells the student to the hallway, wanting to use the symbolic power of the door as a material threshold between social states of the pupil and the peer to accelerate the acceptance of pupil state. She, however, sends him to the hallway which the pupil can associate far more with his peer identity and moreover, where extra space for uncontrollable behavior is created. Thus, the teacher can support the increase of the inconsistency between these roles.

RITUAL CONFORMITY OF ROMA GIRLS

In the previous chapter, I described rituals that were taking place in a group of Roma pupils. I illustrated them on the action and incidents of Roma boys while making the position of girls invisible. It was because the interaction rituals of teenage cultures are gendered and Roma girls usually took the role of observers of boys' actions. In other words, during the interaction rituals, mutual pervasion and conditioning of ethnicity and gender was apparent. Girls from minority groups are exposed to increased risk of exclusion because of inequalities produced by different social categories are multiplied and reinforce each other (Connolly 2002; Gillborn 1990).[9] Youdell (2003) showed that African-American girls in ghettoized school adapted considerably more often to the demands of school than their boy peers. Grant (1984) made an appeal to lower attention paid by teachers to African-American girls in American schools as well as lower self-esteem of such girls compared to African-American boys. Passive position of Roma girls in the frame of my observations was deepened by masculine character of Roma free style subculture, within the safe frame of which the boys from the eighth grade, unlike girls, could afford being spontaneous in their break action. Numerous subcultural scenes are actively created and maintained by men whereas the value of women or girls is often determined by their ability to establish heterosexual relationships. In subcultures where male masculinity is emphasized (bikers, rappers), it is required that women emphasize their femininity through seductive manner of clothing (necklines, short skirts, clothing lining so-called feminine curves) or that they behave submissively on the basis of "instructions" of the male counterpart. Symbolic subcultural markers are not so important when it comes to women as the willingness to establish relationships defined by masculine needs. Physical gestures which form part of dance, rapping or way of clothing are playful, crazy, out of school control. They embody fun, protest and pleasure coming from momentary release. Roma girl Katka didn't rap, she usually sat on the desk, kept silent or talked with a classmate named Karolína. At the same time, however, she did not look forward to the fact that all Roma boys leave the school after the eighth grade and she as the only one from their "gang" will proceed to the ninth grade. Conformity of Roma girls to the student state was palpable in the seventh grade where I observed a close friendship connection of Erika and Vanesa. There was apparent passivity in joining interaction rituals of the rest of the class such as sending little letters or eating chips during breaks. Respect to the school authorities manifests into an obedient body, restraint, inhibition and interaction passivity which intensified at so-called ritual thresholds (Kaščák 2010). It was the transitions between a lesson and a break or between school corridor and the classroom when the respect of Roma girls shown to the school imperatives, such as the priority to task completion begun during the lesson regardless of the bell, quiet relocation from classroom to classroom. Pleading performance of respect for school, however, put these girls outside the norms of peer interaction order in which reputation is often anchored in a rather non-conformist and resistant actions than in exemplary readiness. Over time, I could understand that Roma girls have created their own ritualized patterns, especially in the form of running to the bathroom that represented a safe place for sharing experiences, confidences and gossip. Running from the classroom to the bathroom was the only moment when I noticed a change of

9 Deegan (1996) pursues so-called non-synchronous approach to the analysis of peer relations in ethnically diverse classrooms, part of which is also questioning of the assumption that gender, ethnicity and social class are mutually (synchronously) multiplied by the individual in terms of exclusion from the class group. In this text, I pay attention to the pupils in whose case the multiplication of inequalities caused by these categories was taking place. With regard to the scope of the text, I am not dealing with «asynchronous» individuals.

emotionally-labile expression on Erika's face when I observed a trace of excitement and tension. I also derived Erika's and Vanesa's holding back and low position in the hierarchy of class relations from their non/opportunity to participate in the rituals punishing the disruption of the interaction balance within the class group. In seventh grade, it was especially Jirka who deviated from the standard and whose different status was confirmed by official psychological diagnosis. Jirka coughed considerably loudly during the lessons, lay around the desk, he was aggressive and often hit his classmates. Tax he had to pay for this and similar ceremonial desecration was defining of the most classmates against his indecent and immoral expressions. From time to time, classmates prepared a surprise for him in the form of dumped desk, they were silencing him during field trips since he was asking too many questions about everything. Erika with Vanesa, however, never defined themselves against Jirka. Did not they have the appropriate competencies, or would they risk turning punitive anger against themselves? I interpreted another incident as an evidence of the remote location of the two girls from interactively ritual core of the class manifested in the limited possibilities of using their own power. Vanesa had the need to explain to me an incident in the bathroom in which girls from the seventh grade prevented younger girls from going to the bathroom. I was lured into the hallway by the agitation related to the event to which entered two teachers from the primary school to defend their pupils. Vanesa remarked to me that her and Erika "weren't doing it", i.e. that they were not trying to oust the younger girls away while trying to remain obedient in the eyes of adult authority. Did they have to watch only? Silence and non-participation can be understood as a form of ethnic identity. Ethnically distinct individuals do not participate in events which they do not understand or to which they do not have access.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION: REMARKS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DIVERSITY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Ritualized action of Roma children in the classrooms observed occupied both ends of a continuum defined by conformity and resistence. I illustrated them on resistent free style rituals of several Roma boys and on conformity towards school duties, interaction passivity, and the search for the bathroom "backstage" (Goffman 1999) area for ritualized forms of action of two Roma girls. While I focused in this article primarily on the analysis of ritual dimension of mutual relations between pupils especially during breaks, the outlined findings are also important in terms of the role of teachers in ethnically diverse classrooms. It is the teachers themselves who form a bridge between the institutional requirements of the educational system and the possibility of students to participate meaningfully on educational activities. The already mentioned Strasbourg court verdict at the beginning of the text proves the Czech school system guilty of indirect discrimination which is ethnically conditioned. Observations and interviews carried out as part of my ethnographic case study have shown that teachers unconsciously participate on ethnic disadvantage of Roma pupils since they are perceived as problematic and failing. According to Gillborn (1990), British teachers talk about their Afro-Caribbean students not in explicitly racist terms, but in the categories of hypersensitivity, hyperactivity and restlessness that fundamentally shape what is expected from such pupils. Referring to the insufficiency is one of the most widespread discursive pedagogical practices. Before the approaching end of the semester, the class teacher Tereza spent the entire beginning of the lesson scolding Roma boys who keep being unprepared. Filip is going to get a five from mathematics on his school report: "Filip,

I'm sorry, but it's five. The last mark you got was in November. Thirteen fives and one three. Tutoring will be necessary for you so that you finish at least the eighth grade." (field notes, January 30, 2014) Teachers systematically draw attention to deviations of all pupils from the working norm, but to Roma boys still a little more often. "You have been fooling around full forty minutes," says the German teacher. "Not at all, I'm working, I'm working," protests Aleš. Filip adds that he has been working the whole lesson. Non-working and anti-effort is being referred to the whole time. Deviation from school preparation for a future career through continuous work is discursively emphasized especially in the subject *Person and the World of Work*, which was the target of the incident described. Strengthening of pedagogical contempt against the lack of knowledge, underdevelopment and lack of preparedness of Roma pupils is explicitly observable in various forms of rituals of instruction, especially during examination in front of the board. Contempt is, however, expressed by more implicit gestures such as the marginalization of obedient and quiet (not only) Roma girls. It is evident that pupils who have failed once have long-term learning difficulties and will quit basic school with incomplete primary education, failed in terms of the dominant goals and values transmitted at school. All Roma boys in the eighth grade were trying to distance themselves from the stigmatized status of problematic pupil which was repeatedly confirmed and deepened, by performance of solidarity and affection through interaction rituals as well as by escape from the school in the form of increased absenteeism.

From the course of institutional school rituals point of view (testing in front of the board, reporting, etc.), Roma pupils did not directly disrupt their course. What was observable during the lessons, was either absolute cooperation and conformity in relation to the requirements brought by the teachers (girls in the seventh grade), or passivity and escape from collective classroom rituals (boys from the eighth grade) such as when someone is examined and the teachers is poking them which causes mass laughter in class, Roma boys do not laugh, they are falling asleep during lessons, etc. While Roma girls followed school rules more including its ceremonial and ritualized forms, boys replaced it by passive resistant behaviour. Despite obvious genderization of participation of ethnically different children in class interaction rituals, Roma girls and boys were connected by the absence of enthusiasm and joy that are necessary to deepen the sense of belonging to a moral community. The prevailing passivity, instability and boredom led Roma boys to subculturally framed rituals that had resistant colour, and Roma girls to non-participation in the interaction rituals of their peers or to escape to safer hidden spaces where they could realize their friendship.

We can summarize that the pupils creatively use breaks space for own ritualized patterns of behaviour that are in contrast to disciplinary nature of institutional rituals taking place during the lessons. Break ritualized activities in the observed classes usually took place separately along the ethnic axis. In certain situations and contexts, however, this division was violated–for example if all pupils play and are "being naughty" together, since unpleasant lesson concerning professional preparation not very popular teacher follows. Interaction orders of class groups are not stable, they evolve in time and ethnicity does not work as an essential source of inequality in them. In the seventh grade, Roma girl Ema who, in addition, due to her sporty look and interest in basket, did not fulfil the traditional gender role, was relatively well integrated to friendship networks of majority girls.

The belief of most teachers at the school observed concerning the negligible role of ethnicity in the relationships between children stands in contrast to the described interaction patterns between pupils themselves. In this text, I did not analyze the causes of educational deletion of ethnicity in school relations (Jarkovská, Lišková and Obrovská 2014 in the editing process). In conclusion of the article, however, I pointed out that the role of teachers in terms of the course of interaction rituals among children in mixed Czech-Roma classes is important with regards to the power they exercise over children, the expectations they pose, as well as the motivation they raise in the children. From the pedagogical point of view, ethnicity of Roma pupils is not problematized in a way that could lead to the reflection of its impact on relations in the class group. In the view of teachers, being a Roma is a negative asset that is either ignored or against undesirable manifestations of which are applied disciplining techniques of power that, however, rarely lead to the desired outcome. Plunging into the musculature of interaction rituals reveals the importance of impact of ethnicity as a category with tangible social consequences. My research points out to the potential division and inequalities that ethnicity in the school environment can generate and thus block the emancipation of the Roma from the position of the stigmatized, segregated and marginalized. The analysis of break interaction ritualized patterns can serve as a guide for teachers to capture manners of making importance of ethnicity imprinted into performative acts and gestures.

REFERENCES

Anderson, E. 1999. *Code of the Street. Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City.* New York: Norton paperback.

Barron, I. 2011. The Shadows of Difference: Ethnicity and young Children's Friendships. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 14: 655-673.

Bernstein, B., H.L. Elvin, and R.S. Peters. 1966. Ritual in Education. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 251: 429-436.

Bourdieu, P. 1998. *Teorie jednání.* Praha: Karolinum.

Bourdieu, P., and J.-C. Passeron. 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: SAGE Publications.

Bulant, M., ed. 2012. *Zpráva o stavu inkluzivního vzdělávání v ČR 2012*. Praha: Centra podpory inkluzivního vzdělávání.

Collins, R. 2004. *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Connolly, P. 2002. *Racism, Gender Identites and Young Children. Social Relations in Multi-Ethnic, Inner City Primary School*. London: Routledge.

Council of Europe. Court of human rights. Grand Chamber. 2007. *Case of D.H. and Others v. The Czech Republic*. (Application no. 57325/00). Judgment. <http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/media/02/D1/m000002D1.pdf>

Český statistický úřad (Czech statictical office). *Cizinci. Počet cizinců.* http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/kapitola/ciz_pocet_cizincu

D'Amato, J. 1996. Resistance and Compliance in Minority Classrooms. In *Minority Education. Anthropological Perspectives,* ed. E. Jacob and C. Jordan, 181-208. Norwood: Alex Publishing Corporation.

Davidová, E. 1995. *Romano Drom = Cesty Romů. 1945-1990. Změny v postavení a způsobu života Romů v Čechách, na Moravě a na Slovensku.* Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého za podpory Muzea romské kultury.

Davidson, A.L. 1996. *Making and Molding Identity in Schools.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Deegan, J.G. 1996. *Children's Friendships in Culturally Diverse Classrooms*. London: The Falmer Press.

Durkheim, E. 2002. *Elemetární formy náboženského života. Systém totemismu v Austrálii.* Praha: OIKOYMENH.

Foley, D., B.A. Levinson, and J. Hurtig. 2000. Anthropology Goes inside: The New Educational Ethnography of Ethnicity and Gender. *Review of Research in Education* 25: 32-98.

Fordham, S., and J.U. Ogbu. 1986. Black Students School Success. Coping with the 'Burden of Acting White'. *Urban Review* 18: 176-206.

Čada, K., I. Gabal, J. Chvátal, J. Snopek, and K. Vyžvaldová. 2010. *Sociologická analýza přechodů romských dětí ze sociálně vyloučeného prostředí ze základních na středné školy*. Praha: Ivan Gabal Analysis & Consulting. http://www.gac.cz/userfiles/File/nase_prace_vystupy/GAC_Prechody_RD_ze_ZS_na_SS.pdf

Gillborn, D. 1990. *Race, Ethnicity and Education. Teaching and Learning in Multi-Ethnic Schools*. London: Routledge.

Goffman, E. 2003. *Stigma. Poznámky k problému zvládání narušené identity*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Goffman, E. 1999. *Všichni hrajeme divadlo. Sebeprezentace v každodenním životě*. Praha: Nakladatelství Studia Ypsilon.

Goffman, E. 1991. *Asylums. Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*. London: Penguin Books.

Goffman, E. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goffman, E. 1967. The Self as Ritual Object. From: The Nature of Deference and Demeanor. In *The Goffman Reader,* ed. Ch. Lemert and A. Branaman. 1997. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Göhlich, M., and M. Wagner-Willi. 2010. Rituals in daily School Life. In *Ritual and Identity: the staging and performing rituals in the lives of young people,* ed. Ch. Wulf, 39-80. London: Tufnell.

Grant, L. 1984. Black Females 'Place' in Desegregated Classroom. *Sociology of Education* 57: 98-111.

Gutierezz, K., B. Rymes, and J. Larson. 1995. Script, Counterscript and Underlife in the Classroom: James Brown versus Brown v. Board of Education. *Harvard Educational Review* 65: 445-471.

Hausmann, Ch., A. Jonason, and E. Summers-Effler. 2011. Interaction Ritual Theory and Structural Symbolic Interactionism. *Symbolic Interaction* 34: 319–329.

Havlík, R., and J. Kotá. 2002. *Sociologie výchovy a školy*. Praha: Portál.

Heritage, J. 2001. Goffman, Garfinkel and Conversation Analysis. In *Discourse Theory and Practice,* ed. M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S.J. Yates, 47-56. London: SAGE.

Horváthová, J. 2002. *Kapitoly z dějin Romů.* Praha: Společenství Romů na Moravě a Muzeum romské kultury v nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Jarkovská, L. 2012. Nejdřív byli dinosauři a pak se narodila prababička aneb Chvála etnografie ve výzkumu dětí. *Sociální studia* 2: 31-42.

Jarkovská, L., K. Lišková, and J. Obrovská. 2014. 'We approach them all as same but...' Teachers dealing with the dissolving ethnic homogeneity in Czech classrooms. In review process.

Jenkins, R. 1997. *Rethinking Ethnicity. Arguments and Explorations*. London: SAGE Publications.

Kaščák, O. 2010. Škola ako rituálny priestor. Trnava: VEDA.

Kaščák, O. 2006. *Moc školy. O formatívnej sile organizácie.* Trnava: Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis.

Kemper, T. 2011. *Status, power and ritual interaction. A relational reading of Durkheim, Goffman and Collins*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate.

Lemert, Ch., and A. Branaman, eds. 1997. *The Goffman Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Liga lidských práv. 2007. *Sběr dat určujících etnickou příslušnost jako nástroj pro zjištění rozměru diskriminace romských dětí. Systémové doporučení Ligy lidských práv č. 4*. Brno: Liga lidských práv.

Nekorjak, M., A. Souralová, and K. Vomastková. 2011. Uvíznutí v marginalitě: vzdělávací trh, „romské školy" a reprodukce sociálně prostorových nerovností. *Sociologický časopis* 47: 657-680.

McFarland, D.A. 2004. Resistance as a Social Drama: A Study of Change-Oriented Encounters. *American Journal of Sociology* 109: 1249-1318.

McLaren, P. 1999. *Schooling as a ritual performance: toward a political economy of educational symbols and gestures.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Mercado, C.I. 2001. The Learner: ‚Race', ‚Ethnicity' and Linguistic Difference. In *Handbook of Research on Teaching,* ed. V. Richardson, 668-694. Washington: American Educational Research Association.

Pollard, A. 2008. *Reflective Teaching: Evidence-Informed Professional Practice.* London: Continuum.

Rawls, A.W. 1987. The Interaction Order Sui Generis: Goffman's Contribution to Social Theory. *Sociological Theory* 5: 136-149.

Ogbu, J.U., and H.D. Simons. 1998. Voluntary and Involuntary Minoroties: A Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance with some Implications for Education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 29: 155-188.

Quantz, R.A., T. O'Connor, and P. Magolda. 2011. *Rituals and student identity in education: ritual critique for a new pedagogy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Quantz, R.A. 1999. School Ritual as Performance: A Reconstruction of Durkheim's and Turner's Uses of Ritual. *Education Theory* 49: 493-514.

Radostný, L. 2008. Po stopách romského hip hopu. *A2* 27. http://www.advojka.cz/archiv/2008/27/po-stopach-romskeho-hip-hopu

Straková, J., and V. Tomášek. 2013. Měření vědomostí a dovedností romských žáků v rámci šetření PISA. *Pedagogika* 1: 41-53.

Šotolová, E. 2008. *Vzdělávání Romů*. Praha: Karolinum.

Turner, V. 2004. *Průběh rituálu*. Brno: Computer Press.

Turner, J. 1991. *The Structure of Sociological Theory*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Veřejný ochránce práv. 2012. *Výzkum veřejného ochránce práv k otázce etnického složení žáků bývalých zvláštních škol.* http://www.ochrance.cz/fileadmin/user_upload/DISKRIMINACE/Vyzkum/Vyzkum_skoly-zprava.pdf

Walford, G. 2008. The Nature of Educational Ethnography. In *How to do Educational Ethnography,* ed. G. Walford, 1-15. London: Tufnell Press.

Werler, T., and Ch. Wulf. 2006. *Hidden Dimensions of Education. Rhetoric, Rituals and Anthropology*. Mïnster: Waxmann.

Wulf, Ch., ed. 2010. *Ritual and Identity: the staging and performing rituals in the lives of young people.* London: Tufnell.

Yon, D. A. 2000. *Elusive Culture. Schooling, Race and Identity in Global Times.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Youdell, D. 2003. Identity Traps or How Black Students Fail: The Intersections between Biohraphical, Sub-Cultural, and Learner Identities. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24: 3-20.

ASYLUM SEEKER AND REFUGEE SCHOOL AGED MINORS IN HUNGARIAN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Beatrix Bukus
Interkulturális Nevelésért és Oktatásért Alapítvány / Foundation for Intercultural Education, Hungary
beatrix.bukus@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the access of asylum seeker and refugee students to Hungarian public education by focusing on the educational implications of the Hungarian asylum system. The paper questions the deficit and problem oriented approach towards this group as the presence of these students can be of benefit to the Hungarian public education system, to local students and to the wider society. In light of this, policy recommendations for the educational incorporation of asylum seeker and refugee minors residing in Hungary are put forward.*

The paper builds on the findings of ethnographic fieldwork carried out during a special educational development project at the Bicske Integration Centre between February 2009 and June 2011 and on the results of a participatory observation conducted in March 2012 at the Global Academy, a special secondary school for resettled refugee newcomer students in Columbus, Ohio.

KEYWORDS

Asylum Seeker and Refugee, Education, Hungary, Globalisation

* The term 'asylum seeker and refugee' is defined here in accordance with Hungarian asylum law. One can be named as an 'asylum seeker' in the time period between applying for asylum and the end of thein-merit legal procedure. Although the term 'refugee' is used in law to define only one legal category of persons, it is used here as a cover term for those with the status of 'recognised refugee', 'beneficiary of subsidiary protection' or 'person with tolerated status' under Hungarian asylum law.

INTRODUCTION

The year 2013 saw a significant increase in the number of asylum applications in Hungary, with 17 867 applications submitted that year. In the previous years the number of registered asylum applications was comparatively low, with 3175 applications in 2008, 4670 in 2009, 2105 in 2010, 1695 in 2011, and 2155 in 2012.[1] School-age children

1 Bevándorlási és Állampolgársági Hivatal Statisztika. Available online at http://www.bmbah.hu/.

constitute an important segment of the asylum seeker population in European Union countries, although the proportion of all asylum seekers who are children varies widely from country to country and year to year.[2] The drastic rise in the number of applicants has created challenges for the Hungarian asylum system, among which the access of school-age asylum seeker and refugee (ASR) children to public education is important. However, scientifically reliable research results on the educational situation of ASR school-age children in the Hungarian context is rare and sporadic. Given the increase in the number of asylum applicants, there is a pressing need for research into the educational situation of ASR children in Hungary, a need which this paper seeks to address.

This paper builds on two research experiences. Firstly, it draws on the findings of ethnographic fieldwork involving systematic participatory observation and unstructured and semi-structured interviews with project participating students, their parents and formal semi-structured interviews with their four primary school teachers at the Bicske Kossuth Zsuzsa Primary School. The fieldwork took place during a special educational development project at the Bicske Integration Reception Centre between February 2009 and June 2011.[3] This project offered classes in basic learning and social skill development for refugee school-age minors living in families and staying at the Bicske Pre-Integration Reception Centre.[4] The countries of origin of the participating students were mainly Iraq, Serbia, Afghanistan, Georgia, Lebanon, Congo, Somalia and Sri Lanka.[5]

Also taken into consideration, were the results of systematic observation at a special secondary school in Columbus, Ohio (Grade 6-12, age 11-18) for non-English speaking resettled refugee newcomer students (mostly with limited and/or interrupted formal education). This school, named 'Global Academy', has a special ESL and subject curriculum, special textbooks and an intake-centre, all tailored to the needs of students who had to catch up in English as a Second Language, in academic language, in literacy and numeracy skills, and in subject-specific knowledge at the same time.

Determining how many ASR school-age minors are residing in Hungary at a given time is challenging. A UNHCR report (UNHCR 2011, 21) focusing on the East-Central European countries also finds that information on asylum seeker and refugees disaggregated by age is very limited. One informative data source is the public educational statistics, administered by the Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal) and framed in the KIR-STAT system (public education information system).[6]

---

2 Eurostat Data infocus 5/2013. Asylum applicants and first instance decisions on asylum applications: 2012. page 6. Available online at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-QA-13-005/EN/KS-QA-13-005-EN.pdf ; Eurostat Data infocus 16/2013. Asylum applicants and first instance decisions on asylum applications: third quarter 2013 page 6. Available online at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-QA-13-016/EN/KS-QA-13-016-EN.pdf

3 The project was entitled "Children's Room", and was realised by the Voluntary Pedagogy Team and financed by the European Commission.

4 Further details on the project and its results, including associated publications, are available online at www.intercultural-pedagogy.com/past

5 Source: Interkulturális Pedagógiai Munkacsoport Bemutatkozó Tanulmány. 2010. május (unpublished)

6 KIR-STAT online. http://www.oktatas.hu/kozneveles/kir

As part of the KIR-STAT system, all public educational institutions have to provide administrative statistical data by the 15th of October every year. The data sheet No. a02t14 collects data on the foreign citizen student population. A positive development in recent years was an increased quantity of relevant information included in this data chart. While the group of ASR students was merged for a long time with all other foreign citizen students, from the school year 2009/2010 on, asylum seeker and refugee students are administered separately (cf. Bukus 2014 forthcoming).

By comparing these data with those of the '*Register of Refugees and Asylum Seekers*', compiled by the *Office of Immigration and Nationality*, it would be possible to identify the numbers of ASR students who do not attend public education even though they have the right[7] to do so. According to the official Hungarian educational statistics, the number of students attending public education as asylum seekers or refugees was 189 in 2010, 216 in 2011 and 341 in 2012.[8]
Although age specific data on asylum applicant and refugees with a recognised status are submitted by the *Office of Immigration and Nationality* to the Euro-Stat database, to identify the exact number of the school-age (6-16 years) population is not possible. According to the relevant dataset[9], in 2011 there were 345 asylum applicants under 14 years of age and 115 between 14 and 17 years. In that year, in 60 cases a final decision concerning asylum application was made for members of these two age groups. In 2012, there were 390 asylum applicants under the age of 14 and 245 between 14 and 17 years of age, with a final decision being made with regard to asylum application in 45 cases between these two age groups.

In the educational project at the Bicske Integration Reception Centre between October 2009 and May 2010, approximately 30 refugee school-age minors participated. The dynamic nature of asylum results in a constant change of the age composition of the asylum seeker and refugee population. The proportion of school-age children among asylum seekers and those with a recognized status changes from year to year. This paper argues that although these numbers might not be high enough to receive much policy or academic attention, it is worthwhile studying this group of students because of the benefits which could accrue to public education as a result of their presence.

Two features characterise most scholarly work on the topic of ASR students' integration into public education.[10] Firstly, this work focuses exclusively on the ASR students, who are supposed to make special efforts to integrate into the local student population and the local society. Secondly, it emphasizes the deficits of these students, as well as the problems that schools have to face in connection with their educational incorporation.

---

7 AcT LXI. of 2003 about the changes of the Act LXXXIX of 1993 on Public Education and the Act CXC. of 2011 about the national public education

8 Data compiled by Bálint Kovács based on the KIR-STAT data provided by the Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal) in June 2013.

9 EURO-STAT. Asylum and new asylum applicants by citizenship, age and sex Annual aggregated data (rounded) [migr_asyappctza] Last update: 16-06-2013.
EURO-STAT. Final decisions on applications by citizenship, age and sex Annual data (rounded) [migr_asydcfina]

10 I refer here to the dominant approach one encounters in the pedagogical secondary literature on ASR in the US, and in European countries such as Denmark, Norway, Germany, Hungary, and Slovakia.

The former feature results from the fact that inquiry into the education-migration nexus is dominated by the perspective of the receiving society (Siouti 2012, 80; Čapo Žmegač 2010, 231) and by one single type of migration, namely unidirectional and onetime migration. In this perspective, migrants and migrant students are conceptualised as persons who migrate only once and whose aim is to integrate into the receiving society. The focus of inquiry is more on the features of the migrants and less on those of the receiving society.

The latter feature is a result of the deep influence of German educational and scholarly practice in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, known as 'Ausländerpädagogik', on the wider European approach to the educational integration of foreign citizen students. This practice targeted students from families who arrived within the framework of guest worker programmes, with the aim of eliminating deficits and facilitating assimilation into German society (cf. Allemann-Ghionda 2009, 136). As Rose claims, the deficit-oriented pedagogical approach was in accordance with the dominant political tone of migration policies (Rose 2012, 48).

This paper argues that the topic of ASR students' integration into public education can be approached from a different angle: firstly, by avoiding an exclusive focus on the ASR students and paying more attention to the local students, the receiving society and the national educational system; and secondly, by putting less emphasis on problems and deficits and more on benefits and advantages related to the ASR student group.
Evidence will be provided that the presence of the asylum seeker and refugee student population in Hungarian public education is beneficial for local students, the receiving society and the national educational system. It is beneficial because these face various challenges imposed by processes of globalisation, transnationalisation and new forms of transnational social inequality. The presence of the student group concerned could be mobilised to help confront these challenges. This argument will be elaborated in the policy recommendations outlined in the last section.

ASR school-age minors are also interesting for an educational analysis if we consider the central role played by formal public education in shaping the relationship between the nation state and its citizens. In the case of asylum seekers and refugees, exactly this relationship is disrupted and in its re-establishment formal public schooling plays a crucial role. While formal public schooling is interested in the strengthening of the linkage between the nation state and its citizens it can also be an arena for systematic discrimination and exclusion of those who are not considered to belong to the nation. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse the educational integration of ASR students from a wider historical and political perspective. Schevel's research (2011) is a good starting point for contextualisation. According to him, the quality of a state's refugee protection and integration measures is very much intertwined with the politics of national identity and the degree of consensus about that national identity. He examines the Czech Republic, Poland, Russia and Ukraine as to how the national question can be differently contested and resolved and how this influences official politics and provisions toward asylum seekers and refugees. In his analysis, he distinguishes between those post-communist states with contested national identities and those with uncontested identities. He argues that

> *"contentious politics around the national question are commonly associated with the higher likelihood of conflict and/or ethnic discrimination, whereas this (his) study argues that the opposite outcome may occur:*

Highly contentious politics of national identity can create political space for the nondisciminatory treatment of different ethno-cultural groups in the state policy." (Schevel 2011, 13).

In the Hungarian context, political, social and cultural discussions around nationhood, as well the relationship between the nation, the state and the citizens are currently taking place with high intensity. The recent changes (2010 and 2013) in the Hungarian refugee law seem to contradict Schevel's argumentation about the political space for nondiscriminatory treatment. However, the contestation of Hungarian identity is a longer historical process which has seemingly not yet reached any stability, which may offer space for Schevel's claim.

The following section examines the Hungarian asylum system and its educational implications. On the basis of this investigation and in accordance with the arguments presented above, a number of policy recommendations are then put forward in section three.

THE HUNGARIAN ASYLUM SYSTEM AND ITS EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

This section discusses the Hungarian asylum system[11] from the perspective of minors and school-age children, especially with regard to their access to formal and nonformal education.

It is necessary to distinguish between those who arrive as part of a family and those asylum seeker minors who are unaccompanied when claiming asylum.

Between 1 January 2008 and 31 August 2011, unaccompanied minor asylum seekers were housed in a special reception facility run on project basis on the premises of the Bicske Integration Reception Centre. This facility accommodated both those with a pending asylum procedure and those who already had recognised status. All unaccompanied minors were attending one of the local public primary schools in Bicske. Due to the fact that most of this group were male teenagers

11 The legal framework of the Hungarian asylum system is based on the following:
- Act LXXX of 2007 on Asylum
- Government Decree 301/2007 (XI. 9.) of the Act LXXX on Asylum
- Act II of 2007 on the entry and stay of third-country nationals (A harmadik országbeli állampolgárok beutazásáról és tartózkodásáról szóló 2007. évi II. törvény);
- Government Decree 114/2007 (V.24.) on the execution of Act II of 2007 on the entry and stay of third-country nationals (A harmadik országbeli állampolgárok beutazásáról és tartózkodásáról szóló 2007. évi II. törvény végrehajtásáról szóló 114/2007. (V. 24.) Korm. rendelet);
- The Decree of the Minister of Justice and Law Enforcement 27/2007 (V.31.) on the executive rules of alien policing detention (Az idegenrendészeti eljárásban elrendelt őrizet végrehajtásának szabályairól szóló 27/2007. (V. 31.) IRM rendelet).
- 290/2010. (XII. 21.) Government Decree (90/2010. (XII. 21.) (Korm. rendelet egyes migrációs tárgyú kormányrendeletnek az egyes migrációs tárgyú törvények jogharmonizációs célú módosításáról szóló 2010. évi XXXV. törvénnyel összefüggő módosításáról)
- Act XCIII of 2013 on the amendment of certain law enforcement acts (2013. évi XCIII törvény az egyes rendészeti tárgyú törvények módosításáról)

and young adults, the school organized a special class headed by an experienced primary school teacher for them. The class curriculum focused mostly on the development of basic literacy and numeracy skills, as well as Hungarian academic language at primary school level. The classroom activities were all designed and realised by one teacher who aimed to help the students pass the primary school graduation exam. She was unable to participate in any in-service teacher training courses related to the education of ASR students, because these were offered only in Budapest.

Based on the decisions of the 290/2010. (XII. 21.) Government Decree, the Hungarian child protection system was assigned to take responsibility for the unaccompanied ASR minors. In this new framework, the Károlyi István Child Centre in Fót (approx. one hour from Budapest) set up a new section for unaccompanied minors[12] with 24 places. According to the Report of the Commissioner of Fundamental Rights of April 2012, most unaccompanied minors succeeded in enrolling in primary or secondary public education one month after arrival in Fót. Many of the students living there attended one school in Budapest, which had collected some educational experience working with non-Hungarian speaking students in the preceding years (see the Report in English, 12). In July 2011, another housing unit was set up in Hódmezővásárhely with 18 places. In 2012, the number of unaccompanied asylum seeker minors arriving to Hungary increased drastically to 875. This made the opening of further accommodation centres necessary. In the framework of the child protection system, seven new sections were set up in Szeged, Kunfehértó, Szentes, Tatabanya, Budapest and Ópusztaszer (Iván 2013, 78). The training of staff and local school teachers is hindered by the rapid opening and closing of facilities in numerous different locales. It is clear that this ad hoc approach to the lodging of unaccompanied ASR minors does not prioritize the educational interest of the minors and does not help local public schools to address these pupils either.

One major difference between unaccompanied asylum seeker minors and those part of a family is that the former group is not subject to the regulations on immigration detention (2010-2013 January) and asylum detention (since 2013 July). Minors arriving with a parent or other legal guardian undergo the asylum procedure together with them. Until 2010, this meant a ten day long stay at the Békéscsaba closed reception centre, where basic medical screening and the pre-screening of the asylum application took place. Since 2010, the first station is a period not longer than 30 days in an immigration detention centre (since July 2013 this has been an asylum detention centre) in Békéscsaba, inhabited by asylum seekers who are single females, couples or families with children. The reception centre has a capacity of 250 people and asylum seekers are not allowed to leave it for the period of the pre-screening of their cases.[13]

The regime in this detention facility is less strict than in other[14] asylum detention centres and access to open air is not

12 Report of the Commissioner of Fundamental Rights in case number 733/2012. p. 11.

13 Personal Correspondence with dr. Zita Ambrus, Office of Immigration and Nationality, 19. October 2011. and the statement of the Békés County Police Headquarter 27. August 2012 published online: http://www.beol.hu/bekes/kozelet/fel-ev-alatt-kozel-otszazan-fordultak-meg-a-csabai-orzott-szallason-458330

14 Since July 2013 there are asylum detention centres named as 'closed reception centres' in Békéscsaba and Nyírbátor, immigration detention centres in Győr, Kiskunhalas, Nyírbátor, Budapest Airport Police Directorate, an open reception centre in Balassagyarmat (community shelter for 105 asylum seekers with a subsequent application and persons tolerated to stay) and open asylum shelters in Debrecen, Bicske, Vamosszabadi and Szeged-Nagyfa. (EMN 2013, 46; Hungarian Helsinki Committee 2013)

limited (further on the practice of asylum seeker detention of children in Europe see Fekete 2007). At this point, the provisions of the Act on Education[15] cannot be fulfilled and the minor is treated with regard to his/her rights more as an asylum seeker than as a child. (ECRE 2013, 47)

If the filed claim of the family is considered for further judicial investigation, the family moves to the Debrecen Reception Centre. The Debrecen Reception Centre is located in an old Soviet military barracks with a capacity of 1300 persons. There are separate buildings for families with children and for single women and single men. There is also a separate playing room for children, a soccer field and a basketball court. The asylum seekers are supplied with meals, warm water, electricity, furniture and are entitled to financial benefits and free access to a number of public service.[16] However, tensions are induced by the extreme cultural, ethnic and religious diversity present in the centre, as well by the anxious atmosphere created by the asylum seekers' uncertainty about forthcoming decisions regarding their applications. The in-merit procedure can be prolonged, which means in some cases that the asylum seeker has to wait up to a year before the court makes a final decision. The educational provisions during the time spent at the Debrecen Reception Centre are restricted by the fact that the child's stay is of a limited and unpredictable duration.

Asylum seeker minors are obliged to attend public schooling, but are often refused provision because schools are afraid of losing local students. The local school next to the Debrecen Reception Centre refused in 2009 to accept Roma children from Kosovo, for this reason. "*The crisis was resolved thanks to the EU-funded Schooling program initiative of the Hungarian Interchurch Aid*." (Nonchev and Tagarov 2012, 58). During visits by the author to the Debrecen Reception Centre, it was observed that some school-age minors were not regularly attending public schooling, and that the social workers of the reception centre decided on arbitrary criteria (based on their judgment of the minors' cleanliness and school-readiness) who could attend public school and who could not. The school's teachers were not prepared to teach this special group of students and there were not any appropriate teaching materials available. The Debrecen Reception Centre is separated from the town population and the minors have the rare chance to meet Hungarian peers or adults only during their schooling. Although for children, the time spent at the Debrecen Reception Centre would in many cases be sufficient to learn Hungarian, the lack of systematic Hungarian second language instruction and the rarity of interaction with Hungarian speaking locals makes it more difficult for the children to learn the language. Instead, they learn to communicate with those living in the camp by using a version of the refugee camp English.

Asylum seekers who are granted status are transferred to the Bicske Integration Reception Centre, which has a capacity of 360 inhabitants. Here, they are entitled to stay for a minimum of six months and a maximum of 12 months. Refugees are provided with accommodation, water and electricity, as well as meals, and the social workers help them to find a job and housing. They are also entitled to financial benefits and free access to a number of public services. Courses in

15 Asylum seekers are entitled to mandatory public schooling from the time they file their claim, and recognized refugees (as refugees, as beneficiaries of subsidiary protection and those intolerated status) also have rights to access kindergartens, public schools, public student dormitories and public pedagogical services just like Hungarian citizens do. Act LXXXIX of 1993 on Public Education; AcT LXI. of 2003 about the changes of the Act LXXXIX of 1993 on Public Education (2003. évi LXI. törvény a közoktatásról szóló 1993. évi LXXIX. törvény módosításáról) and the Act CXC. of 2011 about the national public education (2011. évi CXC. törvény a nemzeti köznevelésről (2013 VII. 1) (2013. IX. 1.).

16 Details about the benefits and access to public services see online at www.bmbah.hu

Hungarian as a foreign language are also available for the inhabitants of the Centre, minors included. In the framework of the educational development project in 2009, a playing and study room, designed according to the needs of minors, was also established. Since 2011, a trained teacher is present in the camp in the afternoon hours and helps the minors with their homework.

In February 2009, the refugee students attended a school in a neighbouring village, which otherwise did not have enough students to continue to operate. Shortly afterwards, the students started to attend a school in Bicske town, but at the beginning of 2011 some were enrolled already in a third school in Bicske. These facts show that the local schools are not supported to develop a long-term solution to the educational challenges posed by this group of students. The schools enrol them but do not have any capacity to pay special attention to the needs of this group. During the educational development project the students were enrolled in different grades at the local school and were involved in some separate classes focusing on the improvement of their basic literacy and numeracy skills.

The Bicske Integration Reception Centre is on the edge of the town and its inhabitants have no opportunity to get in contact with the local Hungarian population. Even the school teachers of the refugee minors have never visited the Centre and could have done so only if they applied for entrance permission, which requires a special procedure and a wait of at least three weeks. Although family-visits by teachers could have a tremendous positive impact on teacher-student-parent relationships, as well educational interventions, the Centre as an institution (Ramadan 2013, 65) prevents such family-visits to a large extent. Since 2008, this Centre has been called a 'pre-integration centre' but if we consider the educational, integration and language-learning opportunities for the refugees, the pre-integration process seems to fail.
As soon as the family finds a job and housing, the minors move away from Bicske, usually to the capital. Thus, both Bicske and Debrecen are transitory way-stations in the educational pathways of ASR minors who come to Hungary. Even after arrival in the country, the education of these students may be interrupted twice in as little as two years, impeding their integration into the Hungarian public education system.

Living conditions at a reception centre have many implications for the educational participation and general well-being of the asylum seeker and refugee minors. As stated above, the Hungarian asylum system contributes to multiple interruption of educational pathways. This is especially problematic, as many ASR minors already have fragmented educational biographies. One could often observe bonding difficulties among the students, which clearly stemmed from their experiences of transience. These experiences were often exacerbated by family discourses in which the family considered Hungary only as a transit country before on the way to a final destination. The group of unaccompanied asylum seeker and refugee students accommodated in Fót can be considered as least effected by the asylum system, because they are not forced to change schools as a result of the decisions in their asylum claim.
Living at a reception centre in a family without work and often also without a meaningful daily routine can result in a loss of the sense of time. Minors often have difficulties in integrating into the system of formal schooling, because they lose their ability to accommodate themselves to the temporal structure of a public school.

The problems of the family can have a very negative emotional impact on the minors. These minors are often overloaded with the existential problems of their family, which can prevent them from fully focusing on their education. Due to their special situation, the parents often experience existential fear and develop a demotivated, desperate mood (Vitus 2011). In most cases the uncertainty becomes part of everyday life. While the parents try to solve basic existential problems, such as employment and housing, children are often left with responsibilities for the household or for younger siblings. Due to the fact that minors learn the Hungarian language faster than their parents, they often serve as interpreters in age-inappropriate topics and life-situations.

It is not uncommon for conflicts from the outside world to play out in the ethnically diverse context of a reception centre. From their parents, minors learn about other ethnic groups and the way in which they are expected to orientate themselves towards them. In this way ethnic tensions and conflicts can often lead to tensions also amongst the minors, and can spill over into the formal educational setting as well (cf. Medarić and Žakelj 2014 forthcoming).

The group of asylum seeker and refugees is rather invisible in the pedagogical secondary literature published in Hungary. There are three case studies focusing on this group of students. Harmatiné (2010) discusses a special classroom at the primary school close to the Debrecen Reception Centre. She points to the very important paradox that by the time a school declares itself ready to integrate asylum seeker students, the local Hungarian parents have withdrawn their children from the school, which puts it under pressure. Another challenge she discusses is the high fluctuation in student numbers stemming from the official asylum procedure (56). At the centre of the other case study is the special Hungarian language teaching programme of a secondary school in Budapest (Hublik 2013) targeting mainly refugee students. Szilassy and Árendás (2004) analyse how social workers and teachers working with ASR minors interpret the state of being a refugee, and how these interpretations influence their actions towards these minors. Policy-oriented research has been published on this target group by the UNHCR in 2011 and by Nonchev and Tagarov in 2012.

According to the UNHCR 2011 report, school enrolment rates of asylum seeker and refugee minors are unknown in Hungary because no reliable data is available (2011,11). Hungarian language courses are available for recognized refugees at the Bicske Integration Reception Centre and at a few schools which developed their own intercultural programmes, mainly concentrating on language instruction (ibid. 40). Grade placement is dependent on the student's Hungarian language skills (ibid. 27) and there is a general lack of teacher training in Hungarian as a second language and in the teaching of asylum seeker and refugee students. The study of Nonchev and Tagarov analyses the integration of refugee and asylum-seeking children in the educational systems of EU member states and finds that undocumented migrant students have to pay a fee to access Hungarian public education (2012, 58). Access to compulsory public education is often restricted for asylum seeker and refugee students due to the unavailability of school places or to the fact that only a few schools accept these students. According to the country report, asylum seeker students are often denied access to schooling, because they are not considered ready to enter public education (Iván 2012, 15). The educational integration of asylum seekers and refugees depends mostly on school principals and teachers, as well as some compensatory short term projects organized by NGOs (Iván 2012, 20).

We can conclude that from an educational perspective the current legal framework, and the system based on it, treats asylum seeker and refugee minors first and foremost as asylum seekers and refugees and only secondly as minors or school aged children. The asylum system contributes to multiple interruptions of the educational trajectory, which can have significant negative consequences for ASR minors, who often arrive in Hungary with an already disrupted or interrupted educational pathway.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE EDUCATIONAL INCORPORATION OF ASYLUM SEEKER AND REFUGEE STUDENTS INTO HUNGARIAN PUBLIC EDUCATION

This paper argues that the incorporation of ASR students into public education should be approached from a different angle than is commonly the case. Firstly, an exclusive focus on ASR students should be avoided and more attention should be paid to local students, the receiving society and the national educational system. Secondly, the potential benefits and advantages of the presence of ASR minors in the education system should be emphasised rather than problems and deficits often associated with them.

In many ways, the asylum seeker or refugee is predefined as a problem, a special type of person who lives in a special place such as a refugee camp and who is clearly outside the national order of things. They challenge the stable, settled and rooted normality of the national society (Malkki 1995, 508). If rootedness is considered normal, the fact of their displacement renders them pathological and is seen as leading to a loss of culture (Malkki 1992, 30f). A focus on the altereity of asylum seekers and refugees facilitates a reinforcement of the imagined norm (Davidson 2011, 472).

The access to education of ASR school-age minors is consequently often approached through this lens. The focus is on their deviance from their sedentary classmates and on the necessity of integrating them into the local society. These perspectives impede us from asking the following questions. How do we define the society into which the ASR minor should integrate? How is this society characterized and how and why could it benefit from the presence of the ASR student? In other words, besides its deficits, is there anything that the ASR student could add or offer to sedentary classmates?

Similarly to Malkii, Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2003) call our attention to the unquestioned assumption that citizens of a nation are sedentary members of a relatively homogenous society who are and always will be within the boundaries of a territorially defined container. This unquestioned assumption hinders our ability to recognise and mobilise the presence of ASR students for the benefit of the local students, the receiving society and the national educational system.
The receiving society and the national educational system must be reorientated to take into account the increased importance of supranational, regional and global contexts for local students. The participation of individuals in these different contexts is dependent on the different sorts of capital available to them. Gerhards und Hans discuss the concept of transnational human capital (2013, 49-51), meaning particular types of human capital such as intercultural competence,

foreign language skills, knowledge about other cultures, tolerance and readiness for compromise (2013, 100). This type of capital enables one to act and participate in contexts other than the local and the national. The authors use the term transnational, because the uneven distribution and access to the transnational human capital in a society contributes to the emergence to new forms of social inequality which go beyond the national (Gerhards and Hans 2013, 100). Transnational social inequality research (Bayer et al. 2008; Berger 2008; Fauser et al. 2012) aims to capture those inequalities that clearly emerge beyond the national social context. For instance, Gerhard and Hans (2013) analyse how a study visit abroad contributes to the acquisition of transnational human capital, and how unequal access to such opportunities exacerbates existing social inequalities.

In consideration of this, we can argue that the national public education system can either further contribute to inequalities or, with a suitable pedagogical practice, can act to alleviate them. By facilitating the acquisition by the sedentary population of intercultural competence, foreign language skills, knowledge about other cultures, tolerance and readiness for compromise during their obligatory schooling, public education can prepare this group also for active participation in the supranational, regional and global political, economic and social contexts. The urgency of this is illustrated by the following citation:

> *"Research on globalisation has suggested that even sedentary people are not only situated in nation-states, but also for example, in global consumer markets, and that international trends and developments have an impact on their lifestyles (Albrow 1996; Kennedy 2010; Pries 1999; Robertson 1995.)" (Weiß and Nohl 2012, 65)*

The presence of non-Hungarian speaking student migrants in Hungarian public education can be beneficial for local students, the receiving society and the national educational system as well. In the following, when putting forward policy recommendations, the potential benefits of ASR students for the public education system taken into consideration alongside the challenges which they present.

The following recommendations are separated into two distinct categories. Section 3.1 deals with measures directly related to the education of ASR students, while section 3.2 covers measures related to teacher training, research and institutional coordination.

MEASURES DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE EDUCATION OF ASR STUDENTS

Currently, ASR students attend local schools in the vicinity of the asylum reception centres where they are accommodated. Each school develops an ad hoc way of addressing the presence of the students, based on resources available and teacher qualifications. As it stands, educational integration is orientated towards long-term stay. However, due to the structure of the asylum system, short-term stay is the norm, with ensuing challenges for educational provision in the local area. Although it is possible to envision a reformed asylum system which takes the best interest of child into account,

a degree of realism is necessary. The proposals below therefore take the asylum system and the reception centres as a given, to which public educational service must accommodate itself as best it can.

The fragmented structure of the Hungarian asylum system restricts the possibilities for successful educational intervention in the case of ASR students. The main challenge is that the entire period of the asylum procedure is characterised by transition, interruption and change. At the moment, pedagogical practice at each school is determined on an arbitrary basis and there is no communication between the various institutions involved in educating ASR students. An overarching programme carried out at various public schools over the duration of the asylum procedure would be desirable. In this way, the activities of the individual schools would be linked to each other, each feeding into a shared set of goals.

This could be carried out through the establishment of a centralised system of school records available to all the schools involved in educating ASR students. Currently, teachers' documentation about the features and progress of students is not transferred to any school a student might subsequently attend. If there were a central system where the records of the student could be uploaded, it would save time and facilitate a more nuanced approach to tackling the challenges imposed by the presence of asylum seeker and refugee students. A comprehensive program for the education of ASR students, including a centralised records system, could be implemented by means of an educational directive, for instance as part of the directive on intercultural education. This directive could regulate the goals and content of the education of ASR students, as well as evaluation practices and the issuing of school records.

A key concern of educational integration is the language skills of ASR students. Currently, there are three main ways of approaching newcomer second language learners: (1) unsupported language immersion, (2) language immersion combined with extra second language classes, and (3) a preparation period focused on second language teaching, followed by introduction to regular classes. All three of these approaches can be seen in Hungarian public schools attended by ASR students. Unaccompanied minors attending one secondary school in Budapest participate in an intensive language preparatory programme before being integrated into regular classes. Asylum seeker students living in Debrecen and minors with recognised status in Bicske undergo immersion, and, depending on the circumstances of the public school they attend, may also have access to extra classes in Hungarian as a second language. Those minors who live at the Bicske Integration Reception Centre have some extracurricular language classes in the Centre as well.

A three stage model for the education of ASR students is recommended here. The first stage would be a special school[17] in Debrecen for asylum seeker minors of all age groups, with an emphasis on Hungarian as a second language; basic skill development; and strengthening of literacy and numeracy skills. This school would prepare for formal education those students who have never attended a school before. In its pedagogical practice, this stage would take into account the fact that the student can move away from Debrecen at any time (1-12 months), but would also provide a basis for possible integration.

17 The debate around common schooling versus ethnocultural or segregative schooling has been one of the central topics of the education-migration field. The normative claims of integration are balanced out with empirical evidence supporting segregation (Basford 2010; McAndrew 2007).

The school should be situated in the local school building or nearby, allowing students to spend the breaks with local students, as well participating in school activities outside of the classroom. Additionally, the students could be integrated into the physical education, art and computer science classes at their age appropriate grade.

Students who receive recognised status move to Bicske, and, depending on their age, either enrol in the local primary school or attend a secondary school in Budapest.

For those who enrol in the local primary schools, the time spent in the town (1-12 months) is another transition. For this group of students it is proposed to establish a separate school as a continuation of the development process started in Debrecen. Similarly, the school would be situated in the local school building, or nearby, and would focus on Hungarian as a second language, on basic skill development, and on strengthening literacy and numeracy skills. In cases in which the student's knowledge and language skills are sufficient for the attendance of regular classes, full incorporation into the regular classes of the local school would be possible. In other instances, classroom integration would be realised only in physical education, art, computer science and maths. In this way the students would be prepared to enter any regular school in which they later enrol.

As part of the third stage, the school attended after moving out of Bicske could conduct intake assessment by taking into account the information previously gathered about the student in Debrecen and Bicske. The intake assessment should not exclusively focus on the Hungarian language skills of the newcomers, but should measure basic skills and subject-specific content knowledge as well. The level of content knowledge of the student should not be assumed from the Hungarian language skills. A proper intake-assessment would not only allow students to be placed into an appropriate grade level but would help teachers to design a development strategy with regard to Hungarian language, academic language, basic and subject-specific content knowledge (Custodio 2012, 104).[18]

A structured intake assessment would allow teachers to avoid pedagogical mistakes which stem from their unfamiliarity with the newcomer student. As an integral part of the intake process, materials (such as books, information booklets and websites) should be made available which would help teachers to familiarise themselves with the country of origin of the student and its educational system. Alongside such an intake assessment, teachers could also map those skills and knowledge items of the incoming students which could be used for the enrichment of classroom activities in general and for intercultural tasks in particular. In short, the intake process should not only focus on the deficits that students have in their skills and knowledge, but would allow teachers to get to know the newcomer student and think consciously of those classroom activities in which the presence of this student can be mobilised in the interest of the sedentary student population.

18 A student entering the asylum procedure at the age of 14 or later, might already be 16 years old upon entry to the third school. Although placement in lower grades is never a desirable response to lack of content knowledge, in some cases it may be unavoidable if the student is to be able to catch up in terms of subject content and even to graduate.

While the incoming student population may not speak sufficient Hungarian, they speak other languages. This knowledge can be mobilised in the interests of the sedentary population in a number of ways. In cases when the first language of the ASR student is offered by the school as a foreign language, the effective incorporation of the foreign-born student into formal language classes and informal language practice sessions can be of great benefit to the local students. In cases in which the first language of the ASR student is not taught at the school, it can still be effectively used both for sensitising children to foreign languages and multilingualism. Research proves that the co-presence of different languages can be mutually enriching (Auer and Dirim 2000).

If this system is to be realised, educational materials and tools specific to the aim must be designed. It is evident that more research has to be done in the field of teaching of Hungarian as a second language, both in general and to minors in particular. In this regard there is a potential for future cooperation between the Hungarian Language Departments based in the universities and the schools attended by asylum seekers and refugees.

The same is true for materials designed to convey subject-content for students whose first language is other than Hungarian. Currently, books and exercise books designed according to the framework of the Hungarian National Curriculum (Nemzeti Alaptanterv) and tailored for the needs of students whose first language is other than Hungarian, are available for math, Hungarian literature, Hungarian language, biology and science, for grade levels 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 (see http://egyutthalado.uni-miskolc.hu/segany.html).

Measures at the city or district level should aim to facilitate mutual understanding between the local (student) population and the incoming foreign born (student) population. According to the literature, and ethnographic fieldwork carried out by the author, stereotypical thinking and racism can have a very negative impact on the educational integration of asylum seeker and refugee students (see McBrien 2005, 330; Pinson, Arnot and Candappa 2010, 121). School principals and teachers play a major role in allowing the local and incoming students and their family and friends to get to know each other. Basic common programs such as participation in school festivals, common cooking and sports activities are essential to bringing the locals and the newcomers together. Interactions taking place at these events usually raise awareness of difference, evoke questions and facilitate dialogue. As highlighted above, one of the shortcomings of the Hungarian asylum system is that asylum seeker and refugee students, as well as their parents, have very few chances to interact with locals, which not only hinders their integration but can feed stereotypical and racist thinking among the sedentary population about this group. A remedy to this deficit in the asylum system would be of benefit not only to the asylum seekers and refugees, but also to the local population, in terms of sensitizing them to issues of cultural and linguistic diversity.

In Debrecen and Bicske, it would be important to include in the cooperation contract between the local public school and the reception centre that school teachers can enter the camp without permission for the purpose of family visits. Family visits are important for educational interventions because teachers can understand the special challenges that are linked to the living conditions and the legal status of their student only by visiting them at their home. Another output of such visits is that the teachers can get to know the parents and start a dialogue with them. Attitudes among asylum seeker

and refugee parents towards education, school and teachers can vary considerably according to multiple factors, including experiences with these in the country of origin, the family's life condition and perspectives, cultural orientation etc. Many studies prove how important it is to facilitate school-home cooperation (see Rutter 2003, 153; Bačáková 2011, 168). Hungarian teachers can build a regular and mutually satisfying relationship with the asylum seeker and refugee parents only in cases in which they have the chance to meet and get to know each other.

MEASURES RELATED TO TEACHER TRAINING, RESEARCH AND INSTITUTIONAL COORDINATION

The quality of in-service and pre-service teacher training plays an essential role in tackling the issues that stem from a diverse student population. Currently, in-service teacher training focusing on intercultural education in Hungary is only offered on a project-basis organised by NGOs. This training is mostly held in Budapest, which makes participation for teachers working outside of the capital difficult. The holistic programme proposed here would include in-service teacher-training and teacher mentoring, especially at schools which receive asylum seeker and refugee students. Pre-service teacher training does not currently include any content related to (voluntary and forced) migration. Therefore, a freshly graduated primary or secondary school teacher does not have any training related to the education of students in the context of migration. The lack of formal training of teachers in migration issues, as well as the paucity of resources available to educators should be remedied through concrete measures at university level.

Students from university departments such as Educational Science, Psychology, Area Studies (e.g. African Studies, Asian Studies etc.), Linguistics Departments (African Languages, French, Arabic, and Turkish etc.), Sociology and Anthropology could be encouraged to address topics linked to the migration-integration nexus. I suggest that student's seminar papers and seminar projects could focus on real life challenges that are faced by foreign-born students, their parents, school peers and teachers.

Such university based activities could contribute to the development of materials which could be of use to both teachers dealing with ASR students as well as for ASR students themselves and their caregivers. Two outstanding tasks include the development of materials to help public school teachers familiarise themselves with the countries of origin and the languages of the newcomer students as well as the system of education in these countries; and materials to help foreign born students and their parents understand the Hungarian educational system and school regulations.

Related university-based research on topics such as the teaching of Hungarian as second language, subject-content based language instruction and progress assessment of students with a first language other than Hungarian could be a springboard for a series of practical solutions in form of books, teaching materials, assessment tools and development plans. The only group of researchers and students currently engaging actively with challenges linked to migration and

education are at the Intercultural Psychology and Pedagogy Centre at the Eötvös Loránd University. I propose that the two MA degrees offered by this Centre could integrate internships in schools attended by foreign-born, including ASR students, in asylum reception centres and at migrant organisations.
The therapy needs of the asylum seeker and refugee population could also be effectively combined with the training of psychiatrists and psychotherapists. Currently, specialists from the Cordelia Foundation[19] offer help for traumatised persons, as well as for victims of torture. However, there is a definite lack of psychiatrists and psychotherapists fluent in foreign languages and specialised on asylum seeker and refugee minors.

Furthermore, there is a need to coordinate the activities of researchers and students who work on migration related issues, within the Hungarian universities. Their dialogue, common projects and research results can serve to improve the quality of teacher in-service and pre-service training. In all, the presence of the foreign-born population could revitalise Hungarian university teacher training and could offer considerable input for scholarly research in many disciplines across the social sciences and humanities.

Although there are only a small number of service providers and service-customers in the migration and asylum field in Hungary, information does not always circulate effectively among them with regard to the education of ASR students. An independent institution could link these various bodies and coordinate resource dissemination and service provision between asylum reception centres, public schools, migrant and local NGOs and universities. An example for such an institution is the Bridging Refugee Youth and Children's Services based in Washington, DC (http://www.brycs.org/).

In addition to its coordinating function, such an institution could also help to address concrete needs related to the education of ASR students. Firstly, it could use its capabilities for the realisation of development projects, such as the extension of school libraries to include reading materials in the languages of foreign-born students. Secondly, basic interpretation services could also be organised under the aegis of such an institution. Schools often face a situation in which they cannot communicate official information to either students or their parents because of the lack of a common language. In such cases, help in interpretation could also come from the migrant NGOs.

19 http://www.cordelia.hu/index.php/en/

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Dr. Elzbieta M. Gozdziak and Dr. Susan F. Martin for their suppor twhile I stayed with them at the Institute for the Study of International Migration. A special thank to Prof. Dr. Anatoli Rakhkochkine for his comments, to Dr. Brenda Custodio for our meeting in Ohio and to Cormac Anderson.

REFERENCES

Alapvető Jogok Biztosának Jelentése az AJB/733/2012. számú ügyben. [Commissioner of Fundamental Rights. Report in the case number 733/2012.]. http://www.wp.kigyk.hu/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/alapveto_jogok_biztosanak_jelentese.pdf

Allemann-Ghionda, Christina. 2009. From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity: Theories and policies in Europe. In *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*. ed. J.A. Banks. 134-145. New York: Routledge.

Auer, Peter, and I. Dirim. 2000. Das versteckte Prestige des Türkischen. Zur Verwendung des Türkischen in gemischtethnischen Jugendlichen gruppen in Hamburg. In Gogolin, Ingrid, Nauck, Bernhard and the FABER (Program). Migration, gesellschaftliche Differenzierung und Bildung: Resultate des Forschungsschwerpunkt programms FABER. 97-112. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Bačáková, Marketa. 2011. Developing inclusive educational practices for refugee children in the Czech Republic. *Intercultural Education* 22, no. 2: 163–175.

Bayer, M., G. Mordt, S. Terpe, and M. Winter. 2008. *Transnationale Ungleichheitsforschung: eine neue Herausforderung für die Soziologie.* Frankfurt, M.; New York, NY: Campus-Verl.

Basford, Letitia. 2010. From Mainstream to East African Charter: Cultural and Religious Experiences of Somali Youth in U.S. Schools. *Journal of School Choice* 4, no. 4: 485–509.

Berger, Peter Anton. 2008. Transnationalisierung sozialer Ungleichheit. Wiesbaden: VS, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

BÁH Statisztikai Kiadványfüzet. Idegenrendészet, Állampolgárság, Menekültügy. 2009-2010. 2010-2011, 2011-2012, 2012-2013. http://www.bmbah.hu/statisztikak.php?specialization=3.

Binder, S., and J. Tosˇic´. 2005. Refugees as a Particular Form of Transnational Migrations and Social Transformations: Socioanthropological and Gender Aspects. *Current Sociology* 53, no. 4: 607–624.

Bukus, Beatrix. 2014. Students in the context of migration attending Hungarian and German public education: categorisation and statistical data collection. *Studia Migracyjne - Przegląd Polonijny*, no. 3: 295-317.

Bukus, Beatrix. 2011: Migráns tanulók a magyar közoktatásban. Esettanulmány. [Immigrant children in the Hungarian Public Education. A Case Study.]. *Eruditio-Educatio*, no. 4: 72-98.

Bukus, Beatrix and D. Sikó. 2011. *Menekült gyermekek fejlesztése. Az Önkéntes Interkulturális Pedagógiai Munkacsoport Segédk*önyve. [Pedagogical support for children of asylum. Manual by the Voluntary Intercultural Pedagogy Team.] Budapest.

Čapo Žmegač, Jasna. 2010. Return Migration: The Changing Faces and Challenging Facets of a Field of Study. *Ethnologia Balkanica*: *Journal for Southeast European Anthropology* 14: 227-24.

Custodio, Brenda. 2011. *How to design and implement a newcomer program*. Boston: Pearson.

Davidson, Julia O'Connell. 2011. Moving Children? Child Trafficking, Child Migration, and Child Rights. *Critical Social Policy* 31, no. 3: 454–477.

ECRE-European Council on Refugees and Exiles. ed. 2013. Asylum Information Database. National Country Report Hungary. http://www.asylumineurope.org/files/resources/hungary_aida_report_-_july_2013.pdf.

EMH (Európai Migrációs Hálózat) 2013. A különböző tagállamok befogadó létesítményi rendszere menedékkérők számára. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/emn-studies/12b.hungary_national_report_reception_facilities_september_2013_hu_final.pdf.

Fauser, Margit, S. Voigtländer, H. Tuncer, E. Liebau, T. Faist, and O. Razum. 2012. Transnationality and Social Inequalities of Migrants in Germany SFB 882 Working Paper Series, No. 11 DFG Research Center (SFB) 882 From Heterogeneities to Inequalities. Bielefeld: University of Bielefeld.

Fekete, Liz. 2007. Detained: Foreign children in Europe. *Race & Class* 49, no. 1: 93-104.

Gerhards, Jürgen. 2010. Mehrsprachigkeit im Vereinten Europa. Transnationales sprachliches Kapital als Ressource in einer globalisierten Welt. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Gerhards, Jürgen, and Silke Hans. 2013. Transnational Human Capital, Education, and Social Inequality. Analysis of International Student Exchange. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jg. 42, Heft 2: 99-117.

Harmatiné Olajos, Tímea. 2010. Migráns gyerekek a magyar közoktatásban, avagy az inklúzió paradoxonai. In *Eltérő bánásmódot igénylő gyerekek a magyar közoktatásban*, ed. János Tibor Karlovitz. 54-64. Budapest: Neveléstudományi Egyesület. http://www.eduscience.hu/NEK-004.pdf.

Hublik, Ildikó. 2013. Migráns tanulók együtt tanítása a Dobbantó program keretében. Új Pedagógiai *Szemle* 60, no. 6-7: 113-118. http://www.ofi.hu/tudastar/uj-pedagogiai-szemle-110615/hublik-ildiko-migrans.

Hungarian Helsinki Committee. 2011. Stuck in Jail. Immigration Detention in Hungary 2010. Budapest: HHC. http://helsinki.hu/kategoria/menekultek-es-kulfoldiek/szakmai-anyagok

Hungarian Helsinki Committee. Brief information note on the main asylum related changes in Hungary as of 1st of July 2013. Budapest: HHC. http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/HHC-update-hungary-asylum-1-July-2013.pdf.

Iván, Júlia. 2012 Integrating refugee and asylum-seeking children in the educational systems of EU member states. Hungary country report. (Unpublished).

Iván, Julia. 2013. Kinek kellenek ők? A kísérő nélküli kiskorú külföldiek helyzete Magyarországon. A Helsinki Bizottság tapasztalatai. *Fundamentum*, no. 2: 78-88. http://epa.oszk.hu/02300/02334/00061/pdf/EPA02334_fundamentum_2013_2_078-088.pdf.

Laborczi, Dóra. 2012. Magyaros vendégszeretet: rácsokkal várjuk a menekülőket. http://hvg.hu/itthon/20120512_menedekkerok_orzott_szallas_nyirbator.

Malkki, Liisa. 1992. National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no.1: 24–44.

Malkki, Liisa. 1995. Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things. *Annual Review of Anthropology 24*: 495-523.

McAndrew, Marie. 2007. The education of immigrant students in a globalized world. In *Learning in the Global Era International Perspectives on Globalization and Education*, ed. M. Suárez-Orozco, 232-255. Berkeley; New York: University of California Press ; Ross Institute.

McBrien, J. Lynn. 2005. Educational Needs and Barriers for Refugee Students in the United States: A Review of the Literature. *Review of Educational Research* 75, no. 3: 329–364.

Medarić, Zorana, and Tjaša Žakelj. 2014. Interethnic Violence in Schools: The Case Of Slovenia. *Studia Migracyjne - Przegląd Polonijny*, no. 3: 756-789.

Németh, Szilvia and Attila Papp. 2007. *Analysis on the access to quality education by asylum-seeking and refugee children in Hungary.* Country-report. Geneva: UNHCR. (Manuscript).

Nonchev, Andrey, and Nikolai Tagarov. 2012. *Integrating refugee and asylum-seeking children in the educational systems of EU member states*. Sofia: Center for the Study of Democracy.

Oktatási Minisztérium. 2005. Útmutató az interkulturális pedagógiai program iskolai bevezetéséhez és alkalmazásához. Budapest: OM. http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/nemzetkozi-kapcsolatok/interkulturalis/interkulturalis .

Pinson, Halleli, Madeleine Arnot, and Mano Candappa. eds. 2010. *Education, asylum and the non-citizen child: the politics of compassion and belonging.* Houndmills Basingstoke Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ramadan, Adam. 2013. Spatialising the Refugee Camp. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no.1: 65–77.

Rose, Nadine. 2012. *Migration als Bildungsherausforderung?: Subjektivierung und Diskriminierung im Spiegel von Migrationsbiographien.* Bielefeld: Transcript.

Rutter, Jill. 2003. *Supporting refugee children in 21st century Britain : a compendium of essential information*. New rev. ed. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Shevel, Oxana. 2011. *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Siouti, Irini. 2012. Transnationale Biographien. Eine biographie analytische Studie über Transmigrationssprozesse bei der Nachfolgegeneration griechischer Arbeitsmigranten. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Szilassy, Eszter, and Árendás Zsuzsa. 2007. Understandings of ‚Difference' in the Speech of Teachers Dealing with Refugee Children in Hungary. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* 33, no. 3: 397–418.

Täubig, Vicki. 2009. Totale Institution Asyl: empirische Befunde zu alltäglichen Lebensführungen in der organisierten Desintegration. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

UNHCR. 2012. Hungary as a country of asylum. http://www.unhcr-centraleurope.org/pdf/resources/legal-documents/unhcr-handbooks-recommendations-and-guidelines/hungary-as-a-country-of-asylum-2012.html.

UNHCR. 2011. Improving Access to Education for Asylum-seeker, Refugee Children and Adolescents in Central Europe. http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4e9bf50615.html.

Vitus, Kathrine. 2011. Zones of indistinction: family life in Danish asylum centres. Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory Distinktion. *Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory* 12, no.1: 95–112.

Weiß, Anja, and Arnd-Michael Nohl. 2012. Overcoming methodological nationalism in migration research. Cases and contexts in multi-level comparisons. In *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies*, ed. Anna Amelina, Devrimsel Deniz Nergiz, Thomas Faist and Nina Glick-Schiller, 66-87. London: Routledge.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2003. Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology. *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3: 576–610.

ADDRESSING EDUCATIONAL INEQUITY THROUGH SERVICE-LEARNING

Barbara Greybeck
Department of Language, Literacy, and Special Populations
Sam Houston State University, USA
bgreybeck@shsu.edu

ABSTRACT

Unequal educational opportunities in the U.S. result in a burgeoning crisis with respect to the achievement gap between white and minority students, ultimately leading to what has been termed the "school to prison pipeline." There is a direct link between dropping out or being expelled from school and entering the prison system. Participation in service-learning gives voice to minority students and has been shown to improve self-worth. In this study, education students and faculty implemented service learning with secondary students in an in-school suspension program in an attempt to transform the deficit focus of the program to a culturally-responsive one. University students' field notes and reflections and artifacts produced by the secondary participants were analyzed using phenomenological methods. The findings highlight how school policies can circumvent attempts to transform curriculum. The study also points out the value for pre-service teachers in this type of intensive experience with marginalized students.

This study was funded by a Learn and Serve America Higher Education grant, Engaging All Learners in Service-Learning (EASL), administered by the International Center for Service-Learning in Teacher Education at Duke University.

KEYWORDS

Discipline Alternative Education Programs, Teacher Education, Service-Learning, Social Justice

INTRODUCTION

Zero tolerance for disciplinary problems in schools has been a policy in many states in the United States,including Texas, for the past several years (Fowler 2010; Texas Education Code 1995). This policy has resulted in criminalizing school disciplinary practices and removing students from classrooms, leading to suspensions, expulsions, or placement in alternative programs, such as the Discipline Alternative Education Program (DAEP) (Fowler 2010; Texas Education Code 1995). Placement in DAEP negatively affects students' academic achievement and increases the probability of dropping out of school (Fowler 2010, 1). During the 2005-2006 school year alone, there were at least 100,000 referrals of students in the state of Texas to DAEP, the majority of which were not mandated by law but were placements made at the discretion of school districts (Fowler 2010, 1). In turn, persistent misbehavior while in DAEP can result in discretionary expulsions or removal from school. In the 2008-2009 school year, 50% of *discretionary* expulsions

in the state of Texas were the result of serious and persistent misconduct in DAEP (Fowler 2010, 5). This *serious and persistent* misconduct as determined by the school districts included, among other more grievous offenses, such behaviors as truancy, disruption of the classroom, and defiance of authority (Fowler 2010, 5).

In the state of Texas in 2008-2009, 64% of students expelled in this fashion from DAEP were minority students (Fowler 2010, 1). "African-American students-and to a lesser extent Hispanic students-are significantly overrepresented in schools' discretionary referrals compared to the overall percentage in the student population" (Fowler 2010, 2). Expulsion further leads to dropping out of school altogether or entrance into the Juvenile Justice Alternative Education program. The term *Texas School-to Prison Pipeline* refers to this "disturbing pattern of school disciplinary problems escalating from suspension to removal from school, juvenile justice system involvement, and school dropout" (Fowler 2010, 1). "A school dropout is more than eight times more likely to be in jail or prison in the U.S. than a person with a high school diploma" (Bridgeland, DiFulio and Wilson 2008, 5), and lower income students drop out of school at twice the rate as middle income students (Scales et al. 2006). It has been documented that 80% of adults in prison in the U.S. are school dropouts (Fowler 2010, 1).

Although DAEP was intended as a temporary placement to manage students' behavior through increased attention and engagement in the learning process, in fact it has been used as a *dumping ground*, where little academic or behavioral support is provided (Fowler 2010; Marbley et al. 2011). Unruly students are simply isolated from their peers and warehoused together. For those expelled for discretionary reasons, there is a high rate of recidivism because of influences from peers who were expelled for more serious criminal offenses. Even for those students who return to the regular classroom, the lack of attention to curriculum programming while in DAEP affects their academic performance, widening what is commonly called the achievement gap (Fowler 2010; Marbley et al. 2011). "In the United States, African Americans and Hispanic students are roughly two to three years of learning behind White students of the same age" (Fowler 2010, 42). With respect to graduation rates from high school, this gap between minority students and Whites has remained fairly constant over the last 35 years, with dropout rates for minorities ranging anywhere from 15 to 50% (Bridgeland, DiFulio and Wilson 2008; Ward, Strambler and Linke 2013).

Placement of minority students in these alternative education programs tracks these youngsters into a downward spiral. Pane and Salmon-Florida (2009) indicate that the current deficit paradigm in our educational system characterizes black youth as "at-risk, disadvantaged and illiterate," while schools "blame disproportionate numbers of African-American students for their (own) failures" (283). African American students are more likely to live in poverty, be diagnosed with behavior and learning problems, and suspended or expelled from school (Pane and Salmon-Florida 2009). Alternative programs focus on their deficiencies rather than viewing the African American culture as an asset for learning. Pane and Salmon-Florida discuss the need to transform unjust educational practices and "challenge discourse that perpetuates racial stereotypes" (283).

In view of disparities of this type, there has been a call for teacher preparation programs to address the inequities in the educational system from a perspective of social justice (Banks et al. 2005). In the U.S. the majority of teacher candidates are white middle-class females who have the hegemonic view that America is a meritocracy, resulting in a *blame the*

victim mentality (Cone 2012, 974).Their teaching philosophy is often deficit oriented, based on a belief that minorities are both less capable and motivated and more likely to have discipline problems. Instead, the guiding framework for teaching in a country as diverse as the U.S. should be one of cultural responsiveness, where teachers embrace the value of students'"ways of knowing and learning" (Cone 2012, 974). In their field experiences teacher candidates should learn how access to power intersects with race, class, gender, and culture and how denial of this access leads to systemic inequities and social reproduction (Andrews 2009). We need to be addressing the needs of the underserved (Andrews 2009, 273).

The rationale for the current study is that service-learning responds to this need, both in addressing disparities in the educational system and resisting the hegemonic perspective in teacher education. It is a pedagogical tool which can be transformative when framed within a social justice perspective (Andrews 2009; Cone 2012; MacClellan 2009; Marbley et al. 2011; Nelson and Sneller 2011). It involves the application of curricular objectives to the study of community needs and the development of reciprocal partnerships. Students are given a voice in their learning, as they engage in real-life problem-solving, reflect on the experience, and demonstrate the results to colleagues and community partners (Bridgeland et al. 2008).

According to Furco and Root (2010) service-learning has been in practice for over 30 years in the U.S., and findings from research indicate positive effects on school-aged students in academic, ethical, personal,and social arenas. In their overview of 68 studies, Furco and Root (2010) found evidence of student improvement on subject-matter exams and on motivation, as well as increased commitment to civic responsibility.

In a survey of over 800 high school students, including those deemed *at-risk*, Bridgeland, DiFulio and Wilson (2008) found that 80% of those involved in service-learning had more positive feelings about school, while 75% thought classes with a service-learning component were more interesting, and 77% believed these classes were more motivating. Teachers indicated that test scores and student behavior improved. Most minority students surveyed said they believed service-learning would help in stemming the dropout problem. The findings also estimated that service-learning decreased discipline referrals by 15%. "The original and secondary research presented in this report...indicated that service-learning should be an essential tool in any dropout prevention program" (Bridgeland, DiFulio and Wilson 2008, 21).

Scales and others (2006) surveyed principals in high poverty, urban, majority nonwhite schools and found service-learning had a positive impact on student attendance, engagement and academic achievement. Marbleyand others (2011) and Nelson and Sneller (2011) studied the implementation of service-learning with high school students in DAEPs and found similar results.

While these findings suggest that students involved in service-learning experience positive results, its value lies most in its transformative potential in effecting curricular and social change. Studies have not directly linked teacher preparation from a social justice lens with a service-learning experience in an alternative disciplinary setting, such as DAEP. In the current study, teacher candidates and university faculty members worked as facilitators with DAEP students as they explored social issues in their own community,as part of service-learning. Previous analysis of quantitative data from this

study indicated that positive changes occurred among these DAEP students with regard to their attitudes towards school (Greybeck, Nelson and Henriksen 2013). The current qualitative analysis, framed within a social justice perspective goes beyond this initial finding to further highlight the experiences of the high school, undergraduate and graduate students who participated in service-learning in this particular DAEP. The purpose of this study is to explore the transformative potential of service-learning for addressing social inequities in the educational system. This research addresses two key questions:

1. In what ways does service-learning assist high school and teacher education students to gain a more in-depth understanding of social inequities in the educational system?
2. Does service-learning assist teacher education students in transforming their pedagogical orientation from a deficit orientation towards a more culturally responsive one?

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

A DAEP at a high school in a small urban community in southeast Texas was the setting for this study. According to demographic data from 2009-2010, 60% of the 6300 students in the school district were economically disadvantaged, and slightly over half of the population of students were non-White. (Texas Education Agency 2010).

According to the DAEP director at this site, the students are placed in DAEP as a result of misconduct in classes or criminal behavior, such as theft or possession of illegal substances (personal communication 2012). Most of these students are also experiencing academic failure. Once placed in DAEP, they are not permitted to leave the classroom area designated for the program and are under constant supervision. DAEP students receive some tutoring from certified teachers, usually in small groups or they share computers to complete course modules.

Students are placed in DAEP on a transitional plan, and the program is designed to assess the students' academic and social needs, as well as the reasons for their discipline problems. Their instructional program includes a combination of academic work and experiential learning with an emphasis on basic remediation skills in reading, writing and math. The goal is to return students to the traditional classroom and to reduce truancy and behavior problems (DAEP director, personal communication 2012).

Nonetheless, there have been unintended consequences of this type of placement. The DAEP director indicated that the school has reduced efforts to address discipline and behavioral problems, and as a result, DAEP has become a *dumping ground* for any incorrigible youngster in the district. Additionally, there area disproportionate number of minority students in the program, and the students in the program became more likely, rather than less likely, to drop out of school. Most teachers when asked informally have not been convinced that the students have benefitted from placement in DAEP (DAEP director, personal communication 2012).

It would appear that DAEP students' needs have not been addressed adequately, although the district is supportive of efforts by university personnel to implement a change in the instructional program (DAEP director, personal communication 2012). Prior to beginning the service-learning project, 98 of the high school teachers were surveyed regarding their views of DAEP. Only 42% of those surveyed indicated that DAEP students were receiving quality instruction in the program. Because of previous success rates of service-learning programs in other DAEPs throughout the state of Texas, a service-learning experience was added to the curriculum in an attempt to solve some of the problems inherent in this particular DAEP.

METHOD

This phenomenological research uses qualitative data gathered in the planning stages and during the service-learning sessions. Moustakas' (1994) notion of psychological phenomenology framed the interpretation of data, as the researcher attempted to bracket her own experience and arrive at a description of students' experiences from a fresh perspective. Field notes and written reflections from university students, as well as artifacts such as videos, lesson plans, and high school students' written assignments were used to discern recurring themes. Significant statements from the participants with regard to the meaning and essence of their lived experiences were captured and collapsed into themes, and the contexts in which those themes occurred were identified (Creswell et al. 2007). The end result was a descriptive textual and structural account of the common experiences of these participants (Creswell et al. 2007).

PARTICIPANTS

The study was multilayered in that the participants were students from three levels of the educational system. They included graduate and undergraduate students in a teacher preparation institution who themselves experienced service-learning in a local high school as part of their university coursework. In turn, the university students implemented service-learning with students in this school who had been placed in a regimented type of alternative program, which has itself contributed to increasing the achievement gap between minorities and Whites, as outlined previously.

Twenty-seven DAEP students in grades 9-12 participated in the service-learning experience, the majority of whom were African American males. Approximately 70% of the participants were African American, 15% were Hispanic, and 15% were White. Of the 21 males, 15 were African American, four were Hispanic, and two were White. Of the 6 females, four were African American and two were White. The program facilitators consisted of three White female students from university undergraduate elementary and secondary methods classes, one female African American graduate student who was certified to teach special education, and one female African American graduate student from the Department of Computer Sciences. One male African American counseling education professor and one White female literacy professor were also present during the sessions.

OVERVIEW OF THE SERVICE-LEARNING PROJECTS

Two service learning projects were carried out with the DAEP students, one during fall semester and one in spring. The S.T.A.R.S. Model (Student Leadership, Thoughtful Service, Authentic Learning, Reflective Practice, Substantive Partnerships) (RMC 2006) served as a guide for the weekly discussions. In the fall semester, two faculty members from the university's College of Education and two students from teacher education methods courses worked with 13 DAEP students once a week, in one hour sessions for 12 weeks in the DAEP facilities. In the spring semester a graduate student from the Masters' program in Family and Consumer Science, the female faculty member who had participated in the fall, and one undergraduate methods student worked with 16 DAEP students (two of whom also participated in the fall), again once each week in an hour long session for 9 weeks. During three of those sessions, a graduate student from Computer Sciences assisted by providing technology training with the students.

Fall 2012

After completing a survey about community needs, the DAEP students chose HIV/AIDS awareness as the topic for their service-learning experience. Students researched their topic and participated in discussions about the causes, prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. They formed a panel of experts from their group and video recorded this panel responding to their questions. After viewing their production, the students decided that further preparation was needed, since not everyone participated actively. Working over the next several weeks, they produced another short video clip featuring three members of their group speaking about HIV/AIDS. All the students became involved in some aspect of the video, including filming, preparing the backdrop and assisting in determining the information to be presented.

Spring 2013

Two of the DAEP students from the fall semester continued into the spring and were joined by several more students who had been newly placed into the program. The group was facilitated by a graduate student and one of the faculty members from the fall. The DAEP students expressed a great deal of concern about their placement in DAEP and as a result, decided to do an awareness campaign about their experiences. They discussed how they had been labeled because of their placement in DAEP, and they felt that because they were considered as DAEP students, teachers were more likely to refer them for future disciplinary action. They titled their project *Don't Judge Us* and produced short video clips on the *Xtranormal* platform, depicting situations that might lead to referral to DAEP.

FINDINGS

One of the most striking findings in this study is that, indeed, there was a disproportionate number of African Americans, particularly males, who had been placed in DAEP at this school. Although not all students in DAEP had returned permission forms to participate in the project, there were very few, possibly 3 or 4, who did not participate, and those students were observed sitting at their desks on the days of our sessions. Some of those students were also African American

males. In fact, there were over twice as many African Americans in this DAEP as one would expect, based upon data from the Texas Education Agency regarding the proportion of African Americans in the district (27%).

THE IMPACT OF SCHOOL POLICY ON SERVICE-LEARNING

Although the purpose of the service-learning program was to address inequity by giving voice to DAEP students, the parameters of the program were dictated by stringent school policies limiting what the DAEP students could actually do. The DAEP students themselves framed their discussions around these policies, noting that "it's like a military school" where you "have to be quiet at all times." (field notes). When not in the service-learning sessions, students were seated in 3-sided cubicles facing the wall or occasionally, they worked at tables in small groups with teachers who rotated into DAEP from regular classes. Students remarked that they could not turn around in their cubicles, "even to look at the clock." (field notes). In fact, the DAEP students were not permitted to enter the hallways in the school (field notes). They were required to stay in the DAEP classroom (where a restroom was available), and even their lunch was brought to them. As one student remarked "it is like a jail" (field notes). They could only work on their service-learning projects during their one-hour sessions with university personnel, and they were not permitted to have direct contact with anyone in the community nor any non-DAEP students in their school.

One of the graduate facilitators noted in her reflection that because of school policy denying students the opportunity to leave the classroom, the service-learning method used in this program could be categorized as "indirect" (written reflection). She further cited Berger Kaye (2010) who cautions "if students who have the ability to experience all four forms of service (*direct service, indirect service, advocacy, and research*), only have indirect opportunities, a subtle message may be communicated that we can keep issues and problems distant" (cited in reflection 2012). In order for service-learning to have the most impact and value, high school students must be engaged in direct service and advocacy (Berger Kaye 2010).

In the fall semester, an incident brought a poignant message to the fore about the lack of trust inherent in the program and served to further limit the project parameters. As part of this project, the plan was to bus the DAEP participants to the university on at least two occasions, once to have their service-learning class in a college classroom and tour the campus and on the second occasion, to present their projects at a conference on service-learning. The objective of these trips was to acknowledge and reward the DAEP students' hard work, while at the same time demystifying university life. The DAEP director had initially approved the trip because funding would come from the university grant, and subsequently, the students were informed of the plan (field notes). Unfortunately, the school principal opposed the idea and would not allow a field trip. According to the principal (personal communication 2012), no field trips would be approved at the high school that year because of the district's lack of revenue. She did not think it fair to allow those who had misbehaved (DAEP students) to have a field trip experience while denying the opportunity to students who had been behaving appropriately in school (personal communication 2012). Since the university personnel had promised the DAEP students a field trip at the beginning of the program, the students were disappointed and justifiably angry (field notes). The establishment of trust is a vital component in service-learning, so that this incident served to lessen any positive impact on the students'

attitudes about the service-learning project and school, in general. The incident also points out the inequities the school district itself was facing with regard to funding. Attempts by the school district to raise additional revenue were thwarted when a bond election proposing $65.5 million was voted down in the spring (Local newspaper December 30, 2013). Districts in areas of wealth are less likely to face such serious financial problems.

DON'T JUDGE US: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE DAEP STUDENTS

The finding by the Texas Appleseed Commission that districts can determine what constitutes *serious* misconduct and that such misconduct may be as innocuous as disruption of the classroom, truancy and defiance of authority (Fowler 2010) is illustrated by comments from students in this DAEP, as they worked on their projects. As mentioned, the students in the spring wrote scripts in small groups about the kinds of behaviors they believed would result in placement in DAEP. One group wrote "a simple incident can become worst [sic]" and indicated that *cussing, hitting, poking, bumping, use of cell phone, cheating, and staring at people* were all sources of conflict with teachers that could result in removal from the classroom. They also wrote "[it's} teachers word against student." They wrote the following scenario (spelling errors were corrected by the author)

> A teacher is out in the hallway, talking to some students about a confidential problem.
> Another student, Marcos, comes out of the teacher's class, "Can I go to the restroom?"
> Teacher says, "yea..yea..yea.." and goes back to talking to other students.
> The teacher then notices Marcos walking away down the hall.
> Teacher: "Marcos, why did you leave the room without permission?"
> Marcos: "You said I could go to the restroom."
> Teacher: "When did I say that?"
> Marcos: mutters and continues walking to the restroom
> Teacher: "Excuse me? What did you just say? Go back to the classroom or I'll call an administrator.
> Teacher follows Marcos and argues aggressively. Student argues too
> Teacher returns to classroom and calls the administrator [on the intercom]: "I have a student that left the classroom without my permission to go to the restroom!"
> They [administrators] believe teacher, not student.

When this group produced their video on *Xtranormal*, Marcos was depicted as a disheveled young White male, dressed very informally, and the teacher was depicted as an older dark-skinned male with a British accent. The students also included the word "fool" in the student's comment, i.e. "You said I could go to the restroom, fool," thus honestly acknowledging their own role in this type of referral to DAEP.

Another group produced a short clip depicting a student returning to the classroom from DAEP.

> Teacher: What are you doing here?
>
> Student: I just got out of DAEP. Where do you want me to sit?
>
> Teacher: I think I want you to sit in the front.
>
> Student: What? Why I got to sit in the front? I learn better in the back.
>
> Teacher: Are you trying to get smart with me or do you want to go straight back to DAEP?

In this scenario on *Xtranormal*, the student was depicted as a black male wearing a T-shirt and shorts and the teacher as a white, conservatively dressed female.

It is interesting that both groups chose to illustrate defiance of authority as the determining factor in being referred to DAEP. Yet, as indicated by the Texas Education Code, (1995, chapter 37) DAEP placements can result from offenses such as possession of weapons, assault with bodily injury, violent felony, fighting, threats against students, staff or school property, sexual assault, indecent exposure, sexual harassment or abuse, possession of drugs, alcohol or tobacco, selling of drugs, terroristic threat, criminal mischief, bullying, inappropriate use of social media, stealing, and profanity or obscene gestures (Texas Association of School Boards 2013). In whole group discussions during the project, only two of these offenses, fighting and bullying, were mentioned when students were asked what behaviors lead to placement in DAEP. Perhaps students focused on more benign types of incidents because they found them to be the most common reason for removal from school, and/or at the same time, the most unjust. Since part of their task in this project was to discuss how to change a problematic scenario so that a conflict would not occur, it is also likely that they chose situations that could more easily be resolved. Yet, as the Texas Appleseed Foundation suggests, defiance of authority is in fact, an offense that can escalate and eventually lead to expulsion, especially if it occurs in DAEP (Fowler 2010).

When asked to discuss what usually happens when DAEP students go back to their regular classes, they commented that "people are judging you," "you are more likely to get into trouble because everyone expects you to (get in trouble)," "bullying happens, either you bully or someone bullies you," and "some people try to commit suicide." In fact, one white female DAEP student was hospitalized during the spring semester because of a suicide attempt (field notes).

Students were also asked what changes they would make to DAEP, and the majority of their responses dealt with the need for more instruction, as in these examples, "be allowed to go to some classes," "have a work assignment (like mechanic shop)," and "have regular classes like math, social studies, English, and science in the DAEP classroom."One student remarked, "(in DAEP) there is nothing to do." They believed they would not get "any school credit" in DAEP and that they would "learn better outside [in regular classes]." Their comments highlight their awareness of the widening achievement gap. Students in Texas DAEPs, most of whom are minority students, are isolated because of misconduct and then they fall farther behind academically because they are not receiving consistent instruction (Fowler 2010).

TEACHER PREPARATION STUDENTS' VIEW ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCE

Two of the three undergraduate methods students participating in the program submitted field notes and reflections about their experiences. These two students, both White females were enrolled in the researcher's methods courses and were required to complete some type of service-learning. Since other options for service-learning were available to them, only two of the researcher's 26 students, chose to participate in the DAEP. The researcher could not mandate participation in DAEP, since she was teaching *elementary* literacy methods, and the students had to meet all the elementary field requirements, in addition to their work in DAEP. One of these students wrote in her reflection, "I had never really worked with high school students before and I've been trying to experience as many new things as possible about education so that when I actually start to teach, I will be as well rounded as possible."The other student's reason for volunteering was not related to her personal goals. She wrote, "To be brutally honest,my rationale for choosing this project was that I could not stay after school." The service-learning in DAEP was more appropriate for her schedule since it took place during the lunch hour the day of the methods block.

The third student had not been required to submit a reflection, because service-learning was not a component of the coursework in secondary methods classes. This student had volunteered to participate in the project during her lunch break, because she was doing her field work at the high school. Although the researcher attempted to solicit more volunteers prior to the start of the project by going into classes and talking personally with secondary teacher candidates, there was very little response. The researcher also met with secondary methods instructors to explain the project, and they assured her that they too encouraged their students to participate. On the other hand, since participation in other instructors' classes did not affect their grades in any way, it is not surprising that more did not volunteer. Service-learning is optional for faculty at this university. In hindsight, a project of this type must be a required part of the coursework, if it is to make an impact in teacher preparation.

Two of these methods students attended the sessions in the fall semester, and one attended in spring. Although they were not the main facilitators in the sessions, they contributed to the discussions and in some cases, worked with students in small groups. In the fall the two university faculty members conducted the sessions and in the spring, an African American graduate student was the main facilitator.

Both of the elementary methods students indicated they felt a certain amount of nervousness and anxiety at first with DAEP students. One wrote, "I had to become comfortable with letting these students curse in front of me and say some things that were inappropriate...I had to hold back being shocked when some of these students were talking and just pretend I wasn't listening..." The other student wrote, "I was fearful and nervous about being in this environment. As an EC-6 generalist student, I felt this was way out of my league and comfort level."

As they became more involved, they became more and more aware that DAEP students might be subject to mistreatment, as indicated by these comments, "I think this (my behavior) helped the students be more comfortable around us because we weren't barking orders or punishing them. Sadly, I think that is the kind of behavior they are used to from educators and administrators." (written reflection). After a discussion with DAEP students in the spring, the other methods student wrote, "Most of the discussion was centered around what gets you into the DAEP and how you are treated and labeled during and after the program. Teachers having the only voice seems to be the most 'heated' topic" (field notes). On another day she wrote, "I personally learned that some teachers are too quick to push students back into DAEP. I hope this SLP (service-learning project) will help those teachers and administrators (and possibly students) who might view the videos and to see how hard some students really do work and how unfairly they can be treated." (written reflection). This same undergraduate student noted "One (DAEP) student asked if they (the university) are letting them use only old, slow computers because they don't trust them? It is sad that he would think that way" (field notes).

By the end of the semester the students had changed their opinions of the DAEP students. One teacher candidate wrote in her reflections, "I learned that with just a little bit of encouragement, these students can get so much accomplished!..I didn't know about HIV/AIDS. So if anything, helping these kids has helped me become more aware about the topic. These students have come so far in the information they've learned about this topic." The other methods student wrote, "I learned a lot from the students as well. They showed real talent in computers, public speaking, and even critical thinking."

It would appear that the experience of working with these students, who they feared were so different from themselves, resulted in an awareness that these students were, in fact, very capable but had not had adequate educational opportunities to demonstrate that capability.

DISCUSSION

All the university students involved noted that the DAEP students made significant gains because of service-learning, as illustrated by previously cited comments and further by this reflection from the graduate facilitator,

> Despite the many challenges and the least ideal classroom setting there were cognitive and social gains..The most obvious gains is [sic] the students' ability to cooperate and work as a team, organize virtual video, and take on different roles such as leadership. Some students demonstrated strong technological skills that aided the group in the development of the video. Yet others demonstrated strong language skills and led the group with editing and grammar checks for the video. Finally, some students demonstrated the importance of keeping the group organized and on task.

Yet, all of these gains were made mostly because of the intervention of university personnel, rather than because of participation of high school teachers and staff. Service-learning requires a substantive partnership (Berger Kaye 2010;

Bridgeland, DiFulio and Wilson 2008; RMC 2006). The university had approached the school and was indeed permitted to carry out the project, but data suggest there was very little participation of school personnel, other than in the planning stages. The notion of service-learning was not embraced by school administrators and teachers as a possibility for transforming the school curriculum, even though their involvement was encouraged by the researchers. Additionally, school policies would not permit the students to engage in a meaningful way with the community they chose to serve. The DAEP students could have made presentations at the school and at the university, for example, in order to get feedback from students, teachers, and faculty, and in this way, their learning would have been more authentic. Instead, in this DAEP, the social problems addressed were kept "at a distance" as noted by the graduate facilitator.

On the other hand, the DAEP students themselves became more empowered by the service-learning experience, even though their comments suggest they were aware that aspects of DAEP were inequitable. Through service-learning they were given a choice in what they were learning, and they were treated with respect and dignity. They had an opportunity to express their concerns, and these concerns were acknowledged. Most of the students, in fact, were not referred again to DAEP after they exited the program, but some of them chose to return during their lunch break to participate in the service-learning projects.

Besides the impact on the DAEP students, service-learning was also beneficial for the teacher preparation students.It was clear from their reflections that they gained greater awareness of issues related to diversity. They also were able to experience firsthand the educational inequities at the root of placement of minority students in alternative programs and the widening of the achievement gap. Thanks in large part to service-learning pedagogy, they too felt empowered, because they had success in working with students that others had labeled as *incorrigible*. They discovered that these students, when given a voice, were capable of learning and worthy of educational opportunities. They became better managers of classroom behaviors.

CONCLUSION

The problem of inequity runs deep in the educational system, from lack of funding for schools in low income neighborhoods to school policies that can circumvent attempts to transform curriculum, particularly for those students who have been marginalized by those policies. One of the main findings in this study was the value of integrating service-learning with marginalized students into teacher preparation coursework. While providing choices in coursework for teacher preparation students is laudable, working with diverse populations such as those in DAEP, should not be optional.

REFERENCES

Andrews, D.J. Carter. 2009. "The hardest thing to turn from": The effects of service-learning on preparing urban educators. *Equity and Excellence in Education,* 3: 272-293.

Banks, J., M. Cochran-Smith, L. Moll, A. Richert., K. Zeichner., P. LePage, L. Darling-Hammond, H. Duffy, and M. McDonald. 2005. Teaching diverse learners. In *Preparing teachers for a changing world: What teachers should learn and be able to do,* ed. Linda Darling-Hammond and John Bransford, 232-274. San Francisco CA: John Wiley and Sons.

Berger Kaye, C. 2010. *The complete guide to service learning*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis MN: Free Spirit Publishing.

Billig, S.H. 2004. Heads, hearts, hands: The research on K-12 service-learning. In *Growing to Greatness 2004*, ed. National Youth Leadership Council, 2-25. St. Paul, MN: NYLC.

Bridgeland, J.M., J.J. DiFulio, and S.C. Wilson. 2008. *Engaged for success: Service-learning as a tool for high school dropout prevention.* A report by Civic Enterprises in association with Peter D. Hart Research Associates for the National Conference on Citizenship.

Cone, N. 2012. The effects of community-based service-learning on preservice teachers' beliefs about the characteristics of effective science teachers of diverse students. *Journal of Science Teacher Education* 23*:* 889-907.

Creswell, J.W., W.E. Hanson, V.L. Clark Piano, and A. Morales. 2007. Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation, *The Counseling Psychologist*, DOI: 10.1177001100000006287390

Fowler, D. 2010. *Texas' school-to-prison pipeline*: *School expulsion. The path from lockout to dropout.* Technical report from Texas Appleseed Foundation. Austin TX. http://www.njjn.org/uploads/digital-library/Texas-School-Prison-Pipeline-School-Expulsion_Texas-Appleseed_Apr2010.pdf

Furco, A. and S. Root 2010. Research demonstrates the value of service learning. *Phi Delta Kappan* 91, no. 5: 16-20.

Greybeck, B., J. Nelson and, and R. Henriksen. 2013. *Engaging at-risk students in a Discipline Alternative Education Program.* Technical grant report/EASL Project.

MacClellan, D. 2009. Linking university and high school students: Exploring the academic value of service-learning. *International Journal of Learning* 16, no. 7: 239-250.

Marbley, A.F., K.M. Malott, A. Flaherty, and H. Frederick. 2011. Three issues, three approaches, three calls to action: Multicultural social justice in schools. *Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology* 3, no. 1: 59-73.

Moustakas, C. 1994. *Phenomenological research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication Ltd.

Nelson, J.A., and S. Sneller 2011. Ensuring quality service-learning experiences for at-risk adolescents, *The Prevention Researcher* 18, no. 1: 14-17.

Pane, D.M., and A. Salmon-Florida. 2009. The experience of isolation in alternative education: A heuristic research study. *Western Journal of Black Studies* 33, no. 4: 282-292.

RMC Research Corporation 2006. *K-12 Service-learning project planning toolkit*. Scotts Valley, CA: National Service-Learning Clearinghouse, http://www.servicelearning.org/filemanager/download/K-12_Service-Learning_Project_Planning_Toolkit.pdf

Scales, P.C., E.C. Roehlkepartain, M. Neal, J.D. Kielsmeier, and P.L. Benson. 2006. Reducing academic achievement gaps: The role of community service and service-learning. *Journal of Experiential Education* 29, no. 1: 38-60.

Scott, B.K. 2012. (School District) bond issue fails by 63% of the vote. Local newspaper. Texas Association of School Boards, n.d. *Offenses and consequences chart*. http://www.tasb.org/services/legal/esource/students/documents/chapter_37_chart_2013.pdf

Texas Education Agency. 2010. *School district summary.* http://loving1.tea.state.tx.us/lonestar/Reports/Summary2010/

Texas Education Code. 1995. Title 2. Public Education; Subtitle G. Safe Schools; Chapter 37: Discipline; Law and Order; Subchapter A. *Alternative settings for behavior management.* http://www.statutes.legis.state.tx.us/Docs/ED/htm/ED.37.htm

Ward, N.L., M.J. Strambler, and L.H. Linke. 2013. Increasing educational attainment among urban minority youth: A model of university, school, and community partnerships. *The Journal of Negro Education* 82, no. 3: 312-325.

EQUITY, TEACHERS AND INTERVENTION

EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING: PERCEIVED REASONS, RESPONSIBILITIES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS AND SUCCESSFUL PEDAGOGICAL METHODS OF PREVENTION

Judit Juhász and Krisztina Mihályi
Judit Juhász and Krisztina Mihályi
Tempus Public Foundation, Hungary
judit.juhasz@tpf.hu, krisztina.mihalyi@tpf.hu

ABSTRACT

Prevention of early school leaving depends on many factors amongst which attitude towards the groups at risk and the application of innovative pedagogical methods seem crucial. The paper presents the results of the attitude survey - conducted among more than a hundred practitioners – on how different groups perceive the problem of ESL and see the responsibilities of different actors.

Results from interviews with practitioners show that cross-sectoral cooperation, individualization and changing attitude towards children at risk of dropping out are the crucial areas in efficient solutions. Changing attitude and individualization demand the application of innovative pedagogical methods. Interviewees confirm that non-traditional methods within the formal education systems and non-formal education highly support the prevention of drop-outs. The article devotes special focus to one innovative pedagogical method, animation as a learning tool, which has proven to be effective in raising the motivation of disadvantaged groups.

KEYWORDS

Early School Leaving, ESL, Attitude, Innovative Pedagogy, Animation

INTRODUCTION

Early school leaving (ESL) is a severe problem in many European countries. Hence its unfavourable consequences on the whole society the European Union urges for solutions to prevent the phenomenon. The factors of prevention include – among others – the positive attitudes towards the groups at risk, cross-sectoral cooperation and the changing policies and practices of schools including the enrichment of the pedagogical culture of the teaching staff.

This paper presents the final results of an attitude survey and a pedagogical method built on digital technology.

The survey connects to a one year long project named QALL – *Qualification for All!* realized by Tempus Public Foundation in partnership with the Equal Opportunities of Persons with Disabilities non-profit Ltd. and the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development. This project is financed by the European Commission and partially by the Hungarian Ministry of Human Resources. The work started in March 2013 and ended in May 2014. During this 14-months-time a nationwide network of experts was launched while national and international research was also being conducted. A national analysis was written by the members of the consortium:

- defining early school leaving and its socio-economic reasons, summarizing the concerning policy of the European Union
- describing early school leaving in Hungary: available data, long term tendencies, socio-economic reasons especially in Hungary
- portraying policy approaches, especially in the field of education
- analysing the legal documents of the institutional background

Based on the results of the above-mentioned elements policy recommendations will be put forward to relevant stakeholders to support the development of a national ESL strategy.

A wider network of local stakeholders from all regions of Hungary was aimed to be built through organizing seven regional conferences within the frameworks of the project. These conferences have reached about 500 people all over the country directly and some more by media, websites and communication activities.

21 experts from every county and from all relevant segments (schools, governmental institutions, child protection services, ministries etc.) have been working in the project as county coordinators in close collaboration with Tempus Public Foundation. Besides the daily communication between the members (through an internet platform) workshops and special trainings were organized for them in order to ensure the proper knowledge exchange concerning early school leaving and network building.

The online attitude survey has been conducted among the registered participants of the conferences prior to their participation at the events: aiming at mapping their preliminary perceptions about early school leavers.

The final results of the survey are presented in chapter 2.

WHAT MAKES THE ISSUE OF ESL CURRENT?

Early school leavers are 18-24 year old young people with ISCED level 2 (lower secondary education) as the highest educational level attained. Besides they had not taken part in any kinds of education or training in the previous 4 weeks of surveying.

Early school leaving has high costs not only for individuals but for the whole society. The most tangible cost shows up in schools with lots of unprepared and low motivated students, later drop outs and failures of teachers. Additional costs appear in the economy with the potentially less GDP, less taxpayer, high costs of social transfers, criminal justice, health etc. According to a CEDEFOP report the demand for low educated people will decrease by 28.5% between 2010 and 2020. This predicts a further raise even in the already 40% unemployment rate of early school leavers. The extremes of social inequalities compound to social tension which affects the whole community. Some hidden but as much important costs are the lower self-esteem of people and all together a negative public mood in the society.

The European Union set up new targets for 2020. One of its priority areas is to decrease the rate of early school leavers below 10% in EU average [Figure 1]. The Hungarian Government joined this target by benchmarking 10% and prepared a national strategic document aiming at tackling this issue. The problem itself is not simply the level of ESL in Hungary but its increasing trend illustrated in Figure 2: the rate increased from 10.5 to 11.9% between 2010 and 2013. This data also call for attention because of the unfavourable labour market situation of the early school leavers shown in Figure 3.

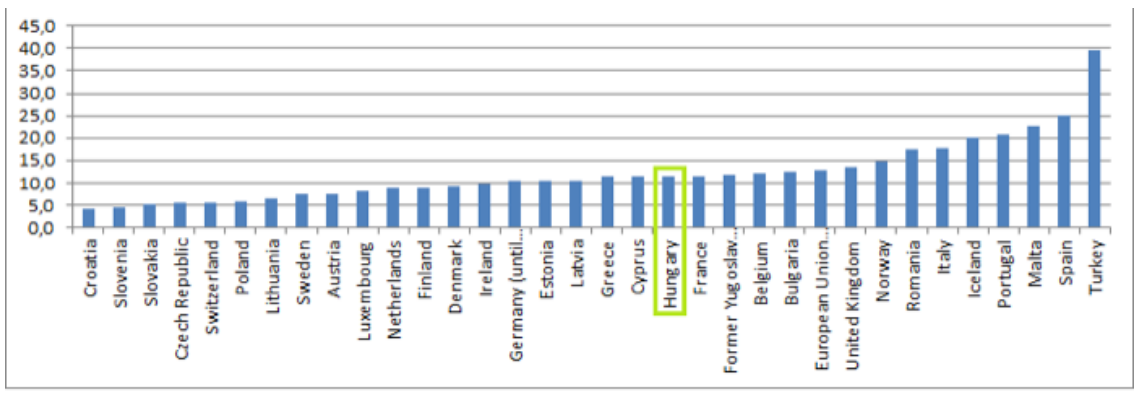


Figure 1: Rate of early school leavers in Europe, 2012
Source: Eurostat, Labour Force Survey annual data (LFS), saved:. 04. 09. 2013.

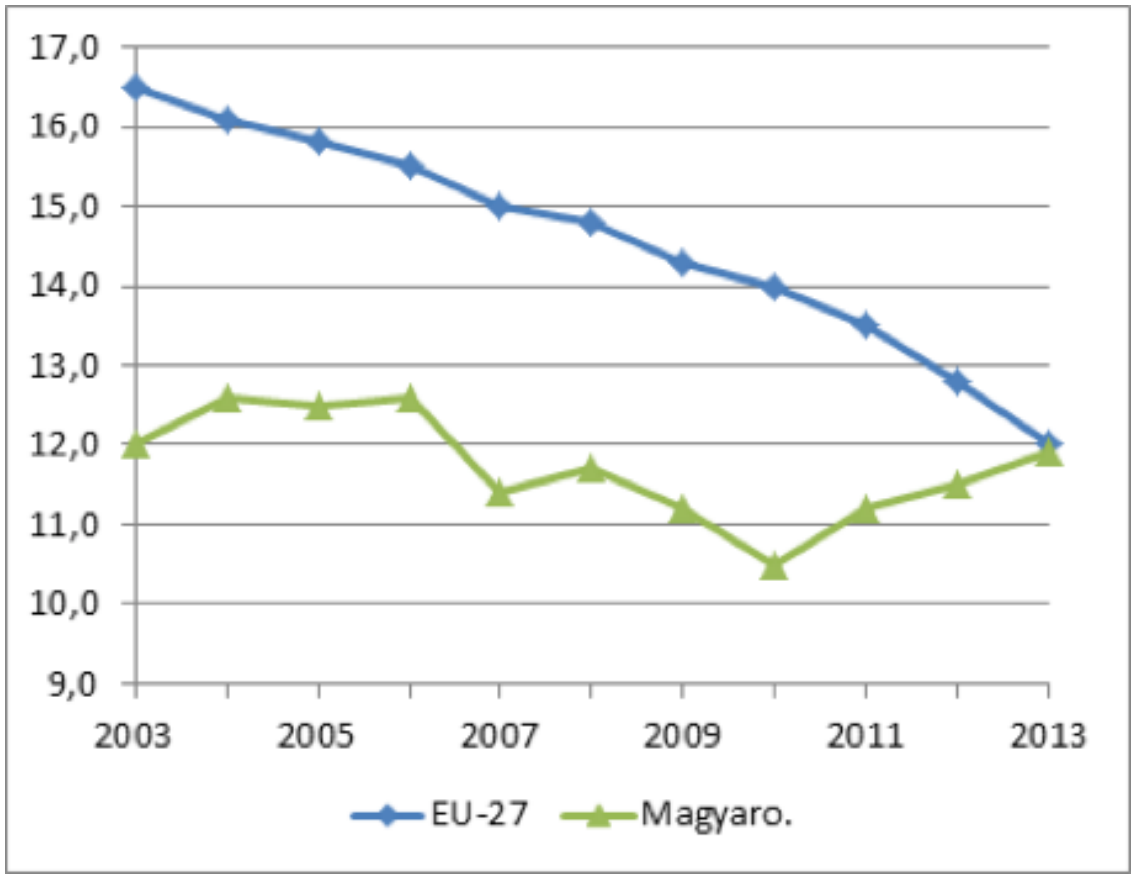


Figure 2: Rate of early school leavers in the EU and in Hungary, 2003-2013
Source: Eurostat, Labour Force Survey annual data (LFS), 2013.

The chart shows that only one forth of people with a lower secondary degree can find a job in Hungary while half of the people with similar educational level are employed in the EU on average.

MAIN FINDINGS OF THE HUNGARIAN ANALYSIS ON THE SITUATION OF ESL

The Report on ESL about the Hungarian situation prescribes attitudes towards the groups at risk of dropping out as follows:

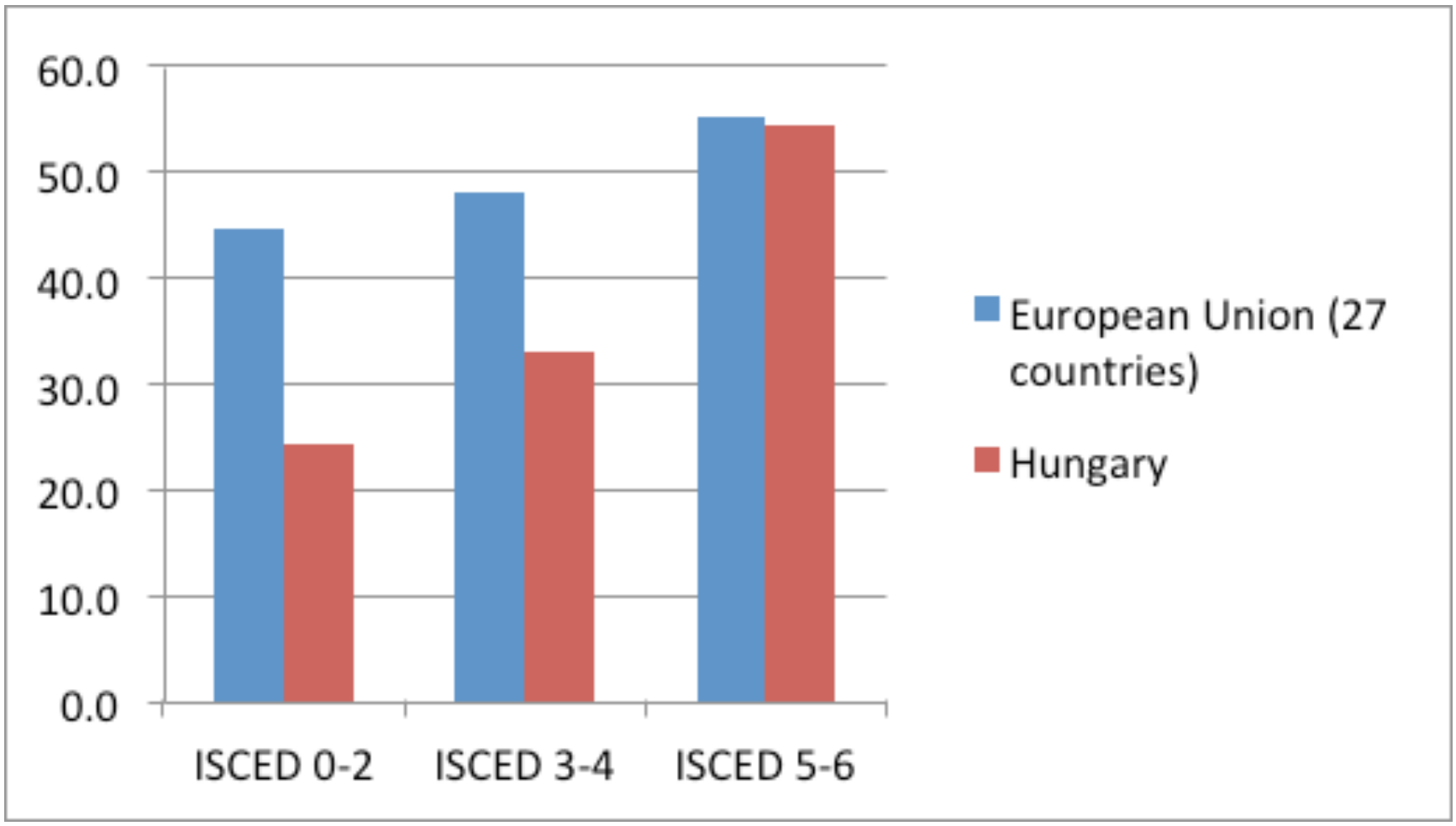


Figure 3: Employment rate of young people (20-24 years old) in the EU and in Hungary according to educational level, 2012
Source: Eurostat, LFS, saved:28. 09. 2013.

- On system level: among preventive actions a high quality early childcare system has to be available for everyone. One of the basic elements of prevention is a suitable school climate, which can be realized by a teacher training system with an inclusive attitude and methodology.
- On institute level a shift in attitudes and views is a must. Instead of a sanctioning-retributive pedagogical practice a success oriented and rewarding one should spread. This process has to be built on already existing good practices.
- Peer-experts opinions strengthen the need for inter-sectoral cooperation to solve this issue however they point out that school has a central role in this process. The aim should be an appropriate support for all children from the very beginning regardless of their social status.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUCCESSFUL SOLUTIONS: HOW COUNTRIES WITH FAVOURABLE RESULTS TACKLE THE PROBLEM

According to the Council recommendations prevention and intervention are much more beneficial and cost efficient than correction. Early warning systems play crucial role in tackling the problem of ESL which can be operated efficiently only in a comprehensive manner building on the cooperation of the education, social, employment, health and the justice

sectors. Based on the reports of the European Commission Thematic Working Groups on ESL (TWG on ESL) and study visit results three main elements seems crucial in preventing and tackling early drop out.

- *Support system on an individual level* is a must as reasons and factors behind leaving the school early differ from person to person, therefore only personalized solution can be effective.
- *Flexible pathways* in learning are important giving the chance to change and to return in any parts of education.
- As the problem of early school leaving is a complex issue, only *complex solutions* can be really effective. For this reason *cooperation on every level* is needed: among teachers in a school, among schools in a region, among schools and other institutions such as social service providers and parents. Cooperation in vertical manner is also necessary: among local and central government, school leaders and practitioners.

HOW DO PRACTITIONERS PERCEIVE THE PROBLEM?

As mentioned above a survey was conducted among participants of the regional events. They are different stakeholders of ESL, besides school teachers we could reach social workers, labour officers, child care system workers and representatives of NGOs. The research was aiming at exploring their attitudes towards and opinions about early school leavers and early school leaving as an issue considering their area as a location and as a profession too. It is important to note that results are not representative for any dimensions as it was absolutely volunteer to answer the questionnaire and it was sent to those people who registered for the conferences. The survey strengthened and confirmed the conclusions of international reports and experiences of practitioners. Below a short overview of the most important results is presented.

Between November 2013 and April 2014 altogether 198respondents answered the survey out of almost 600 people who attended the events. Respondents were participants of 7 different conferences in 7 different regions: the Central-Transdanubian region (CTR), the Northern-Great Plan region (NGR), the Northern-Hungarian region (NHR), the South-Great Plain region (SGR), the Western-Transdanubian region (WTR), the South-Transdanubian region (STR) and the Central-Hungarian region (CHR) including the capital, Budapest [Figure 4, Figure 5].

Most of the respondents came from

Figure 4. Map of Hungary within the 7 regions

the SGR in accordance with the fact that our conference was the most popular there.

60% of respondents were from some educational institution but the survey has reached beyond this sector: about 15-15% of the sample was from the social and the childcare system. There was a significant rate of the employment sector (7%), furthermore answers were gained from the justice, NGO and health sectors too [Figure 6].

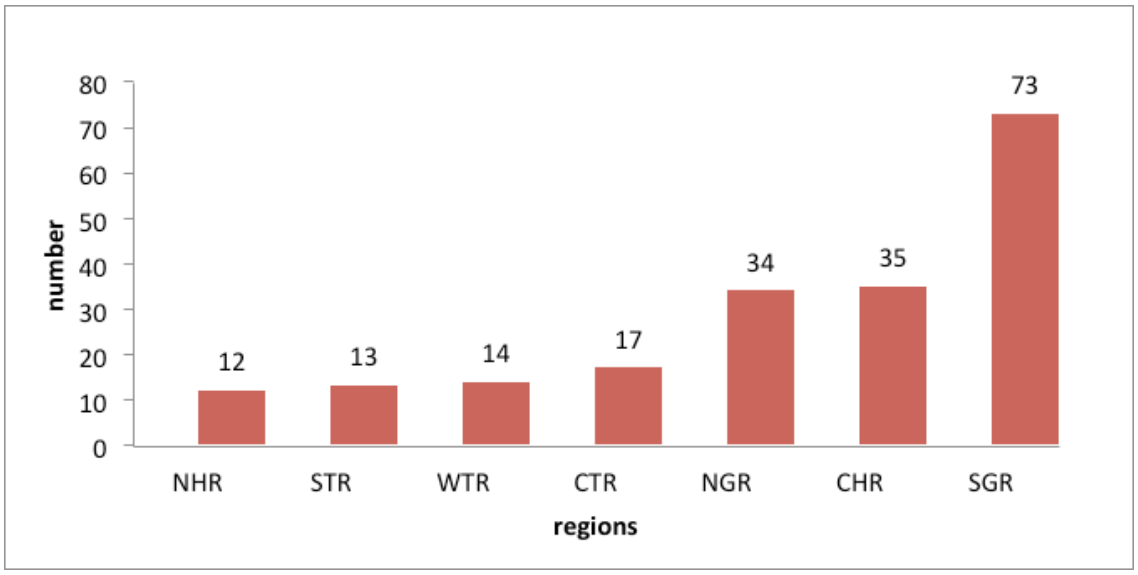


Figure 5: Number of respondents by region

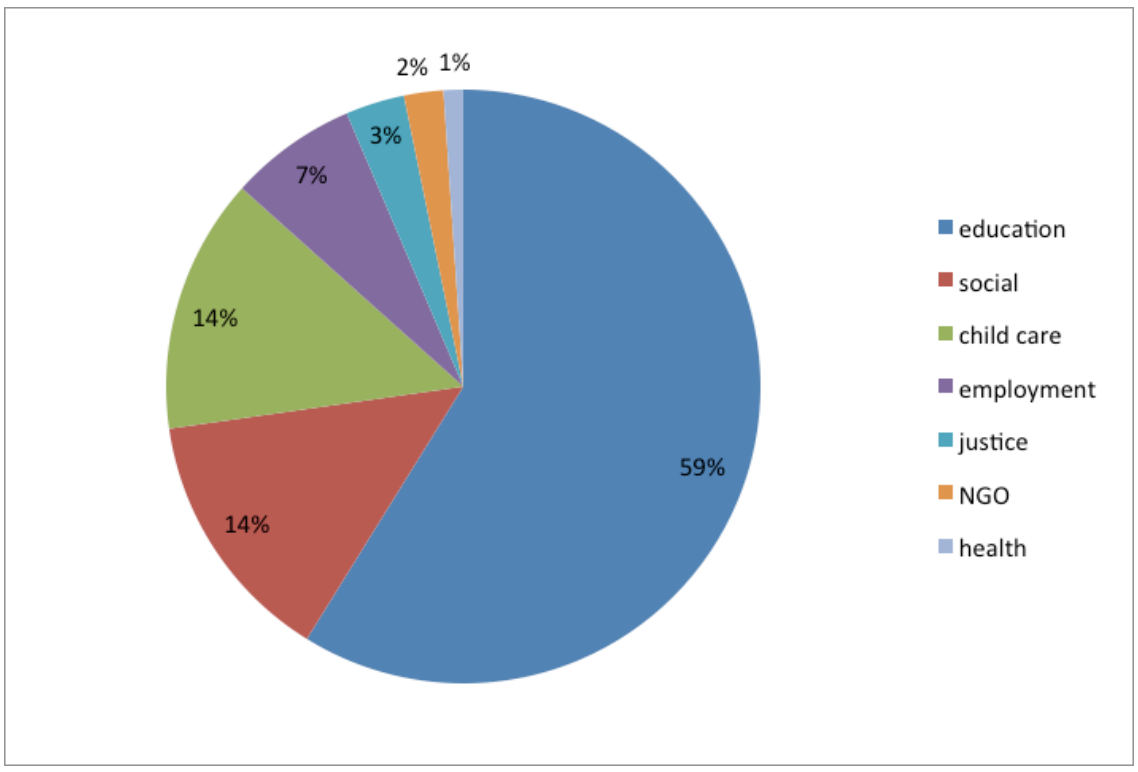


Figure 6. Respondents distributed by sectors
Source: Online questionnaire in QALL – Qualification for All! project, 2014.

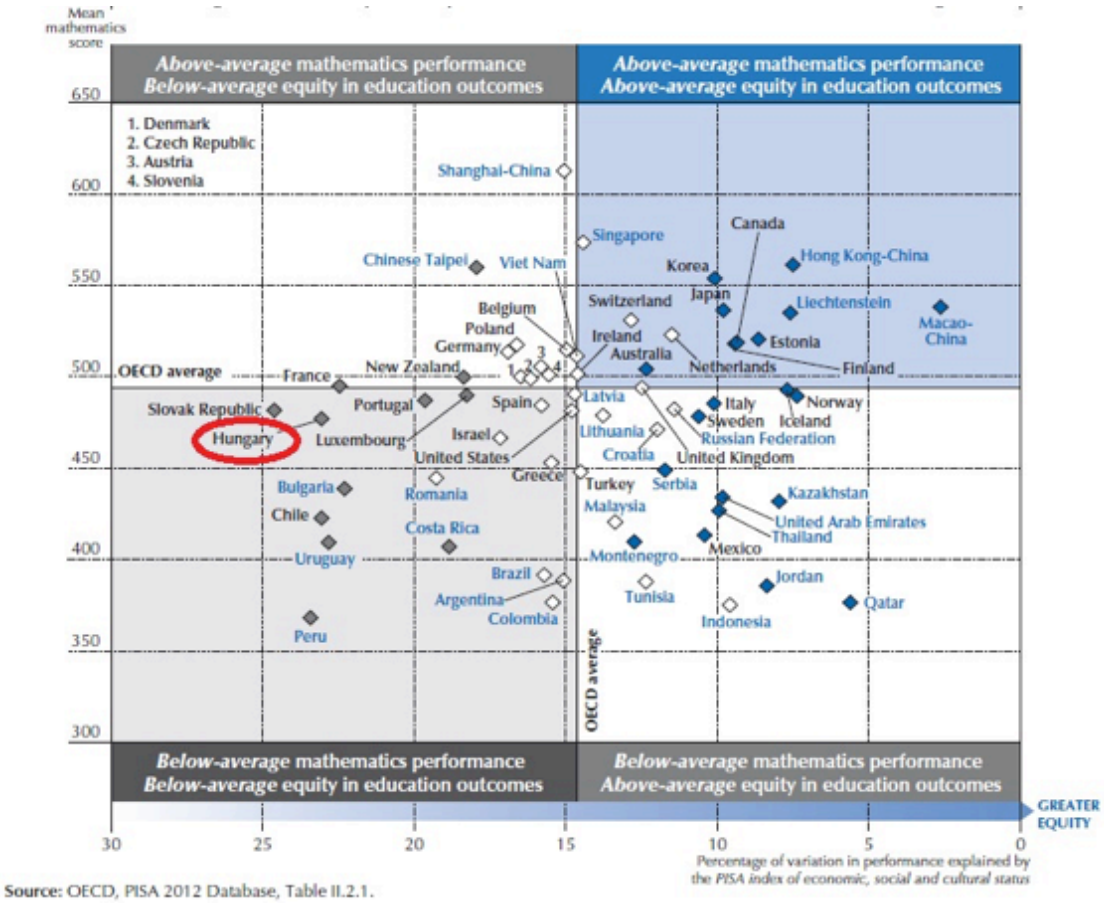
BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

80% of the respondents were women, which is in concordance with the ratio of women working in these fields.

Most of the respondents were above 50 years old while less than 10% was below 30 which approximately represents the age split of the whole teacher population of Hungary that is alike social sectors. Most of them live in bigger cities and only a bit more than 10% came from villages.

The entire sample consisted of 198 people, which is a small amount to enable us talking about significance or representativeness and does not let conclude strong correlations between features and attitudes in most cases. Item numbers are low in every category so that significance cannot work within the sample either.

However there are some strong directions outlined about the respondents' attitudes.



Source: OECD, PISA 2012 Database, Table II.2.1.

Figure 7: Performance and equity, 2012, PISA mathematics results
Source: PISA 2012 Results,Excellence through Equity, OECD, 2013

"Predestined to failure"

50% of the respondents fully or mostly believe that early school leaving is a social problem at the first place, and almost another 40% partially agrees. Research shows that poverty and Roma background are two possibility factors but firstly because of social circumstances.[1] Good quality education and social services are not accessible for people living in segregated or poorer areas. According to local health visitors" reports more than 10% of registered families live in the most disadvantaged areas where half of the settlements have no organized health visitor system at all.[2] There was a more direct question aiming at exploring the respondents' opinion about the statement "Family background necessarily predicts future school attainment" revealed that 80% agrees fully or mostly with this statement. This is consonant with the fact that Hungarian school cannot efficiently compensate social-economic background [Figure 7].

"Talking with the students must be compulsory for all teachers"
(quote from a school headmaster)

About 40% agrees fully or mostly that a strict sanction system could decrease ESL most effectively, 30% disagrees. 85% agrees (at least partially) with the statement that it is the teachers' responsibility to lead a class which is interesting enough for students to stay in. Only about 15% of respondents partially or fully disagree which is quite pleasant news about attitudes towards educational actors role and responsibility.

According to a Swedish research conducted by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) in 2013 the school leaders and the teachers of schools retaining their students most efficiently believe that "It is the teach-

1 Connecting a longitudinal career survey database and the national competence measurement data researchers found 1 standard deviation difference in the attainment of Roma and non-Roma children considering literacy and math results. By controlling for health state, parents attitude, school fix effect and family background this difference melt away at literacy and decreased to 0,15 in math. Tárki Social Research Institute, 2006

2 Tárki Social Research Institute. 2011. *Country report on the early childhood integration of Roma*. Budapest: Tárki Social Research Institute

ers' responsibility to conduct a lesson where students like to stay». This opinion confirms that ownership, responsibility and quality education go hand in hand.

About 30% of the survey respondents fully or mostly agree with the statement that today's children cannot appreciate the possibility to learn. Partially agree was the most frequent value accounting to 40%. Although this belief seems pertaining among teachers research suggests that there are pedagogical methods that can be efficient in motivating students with low level of interest in learning. One example is using animation in the classroom a method which will be presented later in this article.

The toughest question seemed to be responsibility: who is responsible for children at risk?

"The case belongs to that person whom the child can trust"

The question aimed at revealing respondents' opinion about the validity of establishing one position in the schools dedicated to tackle ESL. About 30% partially believes that it would be a reasonable solution, while another 30% mostly or fully agrees. It suggests that there is a need for one responsible person. Other interviews and conference presentations suggest that early school leaving is a process from early childhood till young adult ages. It has severe previous signs and the prevention is in the hands of the current actor closest to the young person at the specific moment.

For the question: who has the main responsibility in solving early school leaving, parents, teachers and peer group were the most frequently chosen answers. However 40% agrees that head teacher of the class should be responsible for ESL and another 40 partially agrees.

In the survey 3 different questions addressed the issue of responsibility. The conclusion was that: the responsible person is the one chosen by the student. On the other hand responsibility is probably not in one single hand as another quote from a teacher expresses it well: "nobody should think it is not their job!"Everybody has its own responsibility at a certain point.

Overall it can be concluded that this small scale survey strengthened the previous beliefs and knowledge with regards to the problem. It also confirmed that early school leaving is a complex and cumulative process involving lots of actors with different responsibilities which are not always obvious even for practitioners.

ROLE OF INNOVATIVE PEDAGOGICAL METHODS IN PREVENTING EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING

Dropping out from school is the end of a cumulative process resulting from personal, social, economic, education and family-related reasons (European Commission 2013). Researches show that student and family characteristics account for most of the variability in dropout rates but about 20 percent can be attributed to the characteristics of schools including–

besides the composition of the student body, resources and structural features – the policies and practices of schools.[3] It has come evident from several experimentations that pedagogical practices play an important role in the motivation and in the level of engagement of the students, which have proven to be crucial factors in keeping students in the education.[4]

Innovative pedagogies can take various forms but all those which have proven to successfully raise motivation share the following characteristics:

- build on team work: cooperation and sharing are part of the working process;
- apply to different learning/cognitive styles: give opportunity for students with different learning/cognitive styles to chose their working method and to express themselves in their preferred way;
- include creation: capitalize on creativity and result in something tangible;
- provide opportunity for questioning and reasoning: involve real students-students and students-teacher(s)dialogue;
- are based on facilitation as opposed to direction: the role of the teacher shifts from the traditional, authoritarian model towards a partnership model.

These characteristics are in concordance with the demands that are summarized by the 4C's of 21st century education namely: creativity, collaboration, communication and critical thinking.[5]

Pedagogical methods which meet the above listed demands are - for instance – project method, learning-by-doing, experimental pedagogy, sensory based learning etc. Learning by animation creation – a method which will be explained in more detail on the coming pages -can be categorized in either of the mentioned types.

ANIMATION AS A LEARNING TOOL

Using animation as a learning tool does not mean watching animations to learn a specific topic rather it refers to producing animations that cover in their theme a certain part of the curriculum. The topic can be anything from geography to physics, from literature to history through maths or even a vocational subject. The point is to create a short stop-motion animation that somehow connects to the material to be learnt.

---

3 Rumberger, R., Sun Ah, L. 2008. *Why Students Drop Out of School: A Review of 25 Years of Research*. Santa Barbara: CaliforniaDropout Research Project.

4 Ecorys. 2013. *Preventing early school leaving in Europe: lessons learnt from second chance education.* Rotterdam: Ecorys

5 Adam Sames (2010): The "Four Cs" of 21st Century Education, http://blog.entrepreneurthearts.com/2010/05/06/the-four-cs-of-21st-century-education/

The experimentation with animation creation as a learning tool was started by Aarhus University (Denmark)in the beginning of 2000 and experiments have been carried out since then within various international partnerships in consecutive projects like *"Teaching with Animation", "Animated Science"*[6] *, "Animated learning"*[7]*, "Animated literacy"*[8] *and "Animated Classwork"*[9]. This latter, presently ongoing project is aiming at transferring this innovative method into Hungarian vocational schools.

The research connected to the projects carried out by the Danish coordinators revealed that animation as a learning tool have positive effects on motivation, engagement and thus on the retention of the students.[10]

The characteristics of the method which lead to higher engagement, higher motivation and supposed to promote higher performance derive from the following:

- creating animation raises the level of perceived competence of the learners;
- through crating an animation hidden skills of the learners can come to the surface, therefore students who cannot gain self-esteem in traditional learning formats get opportunity to obtain their space in this non-formal, innovative educational set-up;
- gives opportunity for team work; promotes the development of cooperation skills and offers possibility for the matching complementary skills within a group;
- offers possibility for learners with different learning styles not only for learners with reading-writing preference; eg.: kinaesthetic and visual learners can express themselves more successfully;
- demands creativity, critical thinking and dialogue;
- inspires familiarization with the tangible atmosphere and the physics of our surrounding;
- supports familiarization with the materials (clay, sand, paper, objects); develops aesthetic skills and the sense of beauty;
- creates opportunity for learning from each other (student-student; student-teacher; teacher-teacher)
- involves learning through experience.

In the ongoing *Animated Classwork* project – coordinated by the Corvinus University of Budapest, including partners from Denmark (the experts of the method) and Estonia- research focuses on the following aspects:

---

6 http://www.animatedscience.dk/

7 http://www.animatedlearning.dk/

8 http://www.animatedliteracy.eu/

9 http://www.animclass.org/

10 Gjedde, L. 2007. *Learning with animation as a framework for educational excellence.* Canada: Imaginative Education

- attitude of teachers towards the method;
- motivation of the learners;
- connection between the learners'/teachers' cognitive style (analytic-holistic; visual verbal) and learning styles (based on Neil Fleming's VARK model[11]) and the applicability of the method.

Two vocational secondary schools are participating as pilot partners in the project but the teacher training organized by the Corvinus University of Budapest welcome teachers from 15 different schools. Therefore the method is being tested at 15 different educational institutions involving approximately 300 students.

The pilot is taking place between November 2013 and May 2014 therefore only preliminary results are available at the time of the publication of this paper.

A concise summary of the preliminary results:

- Learners in general show high level of interest in the method regardless of their cognitive and learning styles.
- Teachers falling closer to the visual cognitive dimension seem to be more motivated to use the method in their class.
- Teachers with kinaesthetic (tactile) learning style seem to be more motivated to apply the method then teachers with reading-writing preference.
- Learners (both teachers and students) falling closer to the analytic dimension are more motivated to create a story-board before creating the animation, while holistic learners skip the storyboard production and hit right at the creation of the animation.
- Motivation of the students in the class was raised by using the method. (The rating of "How much do you enjoy class-work with or without animation?" differed 1.8 points on average on a 5 rate scale.)

Since the experimentation is presently taking place, more results will be available in the next months. At the same time conduction of the identical questionnaires are taking place in Denmark and Estonia as well. The international comparative results will be published at the *Animated Classwork* final conference held in September 2014 in Sopron, Hungary.

CONCLUSION

Dropping out from school is the end of a cumulative process resulting from personal, social, economic, education and family-related reasons (European Commission 2013).

11 Hawk, T. F., Shah, A. J. 2007. *Using Learning Style Instruments to Enhance Student Learning.* Logan: Decision Sciences Journal of Innovative Education.

Efficient prevention demand high level of cooperation between educational, social, health, employment and youth sector policy representatives and also among practitioners.

The attitude survey conducted among several hundred practitioners from the different sectors in Hungary reveals that there is a firm belief that ESL is a social problem and that parents' and teachers' role is perceived to be primary in the solution.

Interviews conducted with early school leavers suggest (Ecorys 2013) that the applied pedagogical methods show connection with how efficient schools can be in the retention of the students. Schools which apply methods promoting experiential learning, team work and individualized learning happen to be more effective in keeping their students.

The method called *animation as a learning tool* – according to the preliminary results of survey conducted within the framework of the *Animated Classwork* project - has been proven to be effective in motivating various types of students including disadvantaged groups.

REFERENCES

Ecorys. 2013. *Preventing early school leaving in Europe: lessons learnt from second chance education*. Rotterdam: Ecorys

Gjedde, L. 2007. *Learning with animation as a framework for educational excellence*. Canada: Imaginative Education.

Hawk, T.F., and A.J. Shah. 2007. *Using Learning Style Instruments to Enhance Student Learning*. Logan: Decision Sciences Journal of Innovative Education.

OECD. 2013. *Excellence through equity*. Paris: OECD

Rumberger, R., and L. Sun Ah. 2008. *Why Students Drop Out of School: A Review of 25 Years of Research*. Santa Barbara: California Dropout Research Project.

Sames, A. 2010. The "Four Cs" of 21st Century Education. http://blog.entrepreneurthearts.com/2010/05/06/the-four-cs-of-21st-century-education/

Tárki Social Research Institute. 2011. *Country report on the early childhood integration of Roma.* Budapest: Tárki Social Research Institute

Tempus Public Foundation. 2013. The *situation of ESL in Hungary*, *QALL project report*. Budapest: Tempus Public Foundation.

Thematic Working Group on 'Early School Leaving'. 2013. *Reducing early school leaving: Key messages and policy support*. Bruxelles: European Commission

DISTRIBUTED LEADERSHIP FOR EQUITY - SYSTEMIC INFLUENCES ON TEACHERS' WORK AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Máté Schnellbach
Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development
schnellbach.mate@ofi.hu

Nóra Révai
Tempus Public Foundation, Knowledge Centre, Hungary
nora.revai@tpf.hu

ABSTRACT

The paper explores the relationship between forms of distributed leadership (DL) and equity in the Hungarian school context by the analysis of large-sample databases. The results unfold the mechanisms that link DL and equity by confirmatory path analysis and quantitative content analysis. We found that motivated and empowered teachers mobilise more energy to decrease the differences between students' achievements using methods in which homogeneous ability grouping prevails. Although this way equity outcomes do increase, the effectiveness of such methods remain limited. We suggest that in order that a DL approach increases equity a holistic development of teachers' competencies is crucial.

KEYWORDS

Distributed Leadership, Teachers' Empowerment, Motivation, Equity

INTRODUCTION

The concept of distributed leadership (DL) has been one of the central issues in research on school leadership in the last decade, literature on DL seems to be vast. On the one hand, however, a recent study conducted in the framework of the European Policy Network on School Leadership (EPNoSL) in 5 European countries (UK, Finland, Lithuania, Germany and Hungary) showed that DL was a widespread and known concept in only two of these countries: the UK and Finland, in the others there has hardly been any research done in this area. (Bolhöfer and Meyer 2013; Risku and Tian 2013; Sventickas and Salavejiene 2013; Woods and Roberts 2013; Révai and Schnellbach 2013) On the other hand the impact of distributed leadership practices on student learning and equity has not yet been widely explored. Thus,

studying this impact in the Hungarian school context has its raison d'être both because the phenomenon of DL has not been researched in this country and because of the particular challenges Hungary faces in terms of equity in education.

After giving a short overview of the relevant aspects of literature on distributed leadership and equity, the article will discuss the methodology of the analysis, present the hypothetical model and the indicators used. It will then present the findings and attempt to offer explanations for some of the surprising results such as the relationship of teachers' motivation, their teaching practice and the equity outcomes.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

DISTRIBUTED LEADERSHIP

A recent videoscribe entitled "Leadership is distributed" (Roberts and Woods 2013) illustrates that leadership is by nature distributed in as much as everyone in a school reacts to e.g. rules/measures, many "leading" the learning process through interactions and reactions. The question according to this videoscribe is not whether leadership is distributed or not, but how it is distributed; what difference it makes to students and their learning. Provided that DL does make a difference to student learning, another question is through what mechanisms does it exercise its effects.

The definition of distributed leadership varies largely in the literature,it has been used to label various forms of shared leadership activity and has been linked to concepts such as empowerment, democracy or autonomy without an adequate explanation on their relationship (Harris et al. 2007). A systemic literature review on distributed leadership identifies three distinctive characteristics of DL: its emergent property (it does not arise from an individual, rather it emerges from the interactions of a group); the openness of boundaries (DL is open as to the groups and individuals to be brought in or contribute to leadership) and leadership according to expertise (a variety of expertise distributed across the organisation is brought together). (Woods et al. 2004) A rather complex definition of DL by Philip Woods encompasses both the culture and the structure of the institution and includes that "this view of leadership can be deployed in order to improve organisational effectiveness". (Woods and Woods 2013).

Several studies suggest that distributed leadership can be a tool to improve effectiveness, in particular to enhance learning, due to which it has also become a recommended practice in some countries and has gained popularity in policy documents. In the UK for example, DL is recommended by e.g. the National College for School Leadership[1] (see e.g. the Distributed Leadership Action Pack (NCSL 2004)), and is increasingly more popular in various documents and studies aimed at improving school leadership. The OECD also promotes the concept, the publication "Improving School Leadership" considers distributing school leadership as a key policy strategy and recommends the encouragement and support

1 Called National College for Teaching and Leadership since 1st April 2013

of distributed leadership to ultimately improve school effectiveness. (Pont et al. 2008, 94) In the 2013 OECD publication "Leadership for 21st Century Learning" distributed leadership still appears among the concluding orientations, however the emphasis this time is more on the social and connected nature of leadership, in which networking and professional learning communities gain high importance and "the distribution of leadership [...] must extend to a range of different professionals, partners, and communities." (OECD 2013)

The normative approach of DL contrary to the analytical one that simply endeavours to understand the nature of leadership in a school, often suggests that this practice is more inclusive, giving the power of various actors in the school to lead the processes and can lead to more equity in schools (Lumby 2013). Lumby (2013) explores the literature on distributed leadership from the perspective of the use of powe rand concludes that "opportunities to contribute to leadership are not equal and that distributed leadership remains silent on persistent structural barriers". She also raises concerns about research findings emerging from self-reports carried out in a context in which DL has been largely promoted. This argument may suggest that there is potential in carrying out research in countries and school systems which hasn't yet been "corrupted" by a normative approach and implementation of distributed leadership.

In Hungary there has been no research done on distributed leadership, nor is this concept much used in the pedagogical context. The analysis of school legislation and of various studies[2] show the existing legal and formal frames of sharing leadership allow for school principals to form teams flexibly and assign leading roles to teachers, and teachers on the other hand, have power (both according to legislation and in practice) in making decisions concerning learning and teaching. (Révai 2013) Moreover studies indicate that a positive atmosphere in the school and co-operation between teachers are among the most important features of a good school according to principals (Kőrösné 2006; Szekszárdi 2006), which may suggest that principals are open to distributing leadership. There seems to be a strong need in Hungary to protect teachers from burning out and increase their motivation (Radó 2005; Golnhofer and Szekszárdi 2003) to further facilitate professional collaboration between the teaching staff, to better exploit the potentials of existing roles (e.g. heads of classes) in order to increase the quality of learning for all (Szekszárdi 2006). The question is how, if at all, distributing leadership can contribute to increasing the quality of learning.

EQUITY

Ben Levin notes that although we cannot precisely describe the level of equity in a school, it is easy to show if it is too low, defining equity actually means the definition of the accepted level of inequity. (Levin 2003, 5) From this point of view our task is to specify – besides the highest acceptable level of inequity – the groups that could but should not be affected by schools' chance reduction mechanisms.

2 This data holds largely for the period 1990 – 2012. In September 2012 a new Educational Act entered into force with major reforms concerning school legislation.

Most of the studies in the topic such as the OECD's Equity and Quality in Education (OECD 2012) investigate the differences caused by gender, ethnic origin and social background. "PISA defines equity in education as providing all students, regardless of gender, family background or socio-economic status, with opportunities to benefit from education." (OECD 2013) Equity is a key issue in the Hungarian educational system. The variance of Hungarian students' competence measurement results are explained by their socio-economic background in a ratio of more than 25%. (OECD 2012, 15) The following groups of students are more sensitive in the sense that they are more likely to have lower attainment and can thus be considered as disadvantaged in the Hungarian educational system:

- students with a low socio-economical status (OECD 2012; OECD 2013; Balázs, Kocsis and Vágó 2011; Mihályi 2013)
- boys (OECD 2012; Balázs, Kocsis and Vágó 2011, 363-367),
- children of unemployed parents (OECD 2013),
- students from rural areas (OECD 2013; Balázs, Kocsis and Vágó 2011, 363-367),
- students with roma ethnicity. (Kertesi 2005; Balázs, Kocsis and Vágó 2011, 363-367)

The failure of the students belonging to the groups listed above – although it is not specific to Hungary (OECD 2012; Levin 2003) – is in strong connection with the selection mechanisms of the Hungarian school system. (Kertesi 2005, 315-376; Mihályi 2013, 9-10) Compared to other PISA countries, in Hungary the variance of students' social background is extremely high between schools and extremely low within schools. Moreover, the level of reading performance is mostly explained by schools' and not by students' social background. (PISA 2010; 85-93) A wide range of selection mechanisms within and among schools lead to segregated vocational education (Mihályi 2013) and the system of average and elite institutions. Roma students tend to spend less time in our educational system and are only able to take part in training that is not needed in the labour market. (Kertesi 2005)

Roma people in Hungary suffer from many kinds of disadvantages: besides ethnic prejudice, they often live in a rural area with bad infrastructure, low industrial capacities and dying labour market. (Kertesi 2005) Consequently, whilst we do not have national statistics about Roma students' test results for legal (privacy) reasons, when considering the aspect of socio-economic status, we in fact consider and research a huge part of Roma students' disadvantages.

We have to note, that the expression 'family background' is used in different texts with two different meanings: it refers either to the social or the ethnic background depending on the paper. In this study we do not deal with ethnic background at all, we will use 'family background' always with the meaning of students' social background.

The influence of school leadership on student outcomes has a rich literature. The Nottingham University's longitudinal research (Day et al. 2009) is considered to have the most sophisticated methodology. It found that there are many behavioural patterns of principals which lead to a successful learning process,however there is no universal recipe for effective leading. Nevertheless, in the 90's it became clear that simple input-output models were not successful in unfolding school mechanisms. (Scheerens 1997) It is especially true if we try to understand leadership patterns behind equity, because the phenomenon of social justice is deeply embedded into a social and societal context.

METHODOLOGY

In our research we used a hypothetical model that describes the connection between distributed leadership and equity outcomes. This model's validity was examined and no further connections were searched. The analysis was purely confirmatory, exploratory analysis was not used. The reason behind this choice is that handling the question of the quality of the indicators and the unexpectedly emerging correlations in the databases at the same time is highly complex. Nevertheless, in order to deepen the research, in further work on the topic, it is recommended to carry out an exploratory analysis as well.

Our research is based on data collected from school principals reflecting their perception of the school, which may naturally differ from what the teachers, other staff members, students, parents and other partners can perceive in the same school. We thus decided to refer to our indicator as "the distribution of leadership" rather than distributed leadership, thus emphasising that it is the particular viewpoint of the person on top of the hierarchy of a school.

DATA SOURCES

As part of this report our aim was to provide evidence about the connection between distributed leadership and equity outcomes. We had the chance to use different data sources that were collected on broad samples and carry out a secondary analysis. The data sources we used were not originally intended to describe the phenomenon we have examined, thus we had a limited choice when defining the indicators. Yet we chose these sources because they contained a number of indicators that were relevant for our purposes. We used the *National Assessment of Basic Competencies* – an assessment carried out annually with a full sample – and the *School Survey* that is organised every three years on a sample of about 2000 schools.

National Assessment of Basic Competencies

National Assessment of Basic Competences is the main measurement tool of the Hungarian educational system's monitoring. It focuses on two basic competencies: mathematical and reading literacy, and measures every student in the 6th, 8th and 10th grade of the schools.

Data are collected through two tests (mathematics and reading) and two background questionnaires: one for the school and one for the family. School questionnaires do not provide data about leadership practices but the test results and the family background index[3] computed from the family questionnaires were key elements of our secondary data analysis.

3 Similar to the PISA ESCS (economic, social and cultural status) index.

School Survey

The School Survey is conducted every three years by the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development. The 2005 survey focused on school effectiveness, in particular on the school's inner world: on leadership and organisation. It was carried out with a representative sample of about 1200 schools. Data providers were school leaders only.

The two databases use the same school ID, so the data on learning, family background and on leadership can be matched. The merged database contains 833-977 cases depending on the combination of indicators we used in our analysis. The data of National Assessment of Basic Competences are from year 2005, however for certain calculations regarding the development tendencies results of the 2008 Assessment were used as well.

Analysis of Data

The model we set up to examine the relationship of distributed leadership and equity is described in the next section. The above databases were used to define a set of indicators on the basis of which the regression analysis was carried out on the model.

Path Analysis

Path analysis is a multiple regression analysis that allows us to find the directed dependencies among group of variables. It can be used in order to (1) create a model (exploratory path analysis) or (2) to test and verify a hypothetical model (verifying path analysis).

Our study uses a verifying path analysis through linear regression analysis of multiple variables, our model is based on theoretical concepts about the phenomenon of equity and distributed leadership.

Quantitative content Analysis

The path analysis was complemented by the quantitative content analysis of some of the open questions of the school survey (for details see the section on the indicators). The open questions were coded either on the full sample when it was possible or on a random sample of approximately 20% of the full sample. Both open questions used to enhance our information on leaders' attitudes to equity or institutional equity aims (see the set of indicators above) were analysed on two samples: a random one consisting of approximately 20% of the full sample (190 items) and a selected sample of those institutions whose institutional equity indicator was high (181 items).

The categories used through the coding process were mostly determined inductively, although our theoretical stance also contributed to some extent to the categorical scheme. The quantified data were analysed with quantitative statistical methods: word frequency, correlations, cluster analysis, factor analysis and were compared with the results of the path analysis.

The results of the content analysis were used for the following purposes:

- enhancement of indicators,
- collecting further evidence pertaining to our model,
- identifying potential emerging evidence.

The model

Our model aims to describe the link between school leaders' attitudes (to leading and to equity) and equity as an outcome. It is a multilevel integrated model of school dynamics that integrates school level characteristics only. The only indicator representing out-of-school actors is the Pedagogical Added Value, the variable describing equity outcomes. This variable is calculated on the basis of the family background index and the performance at the National Assessment of Basic Competences.[4]

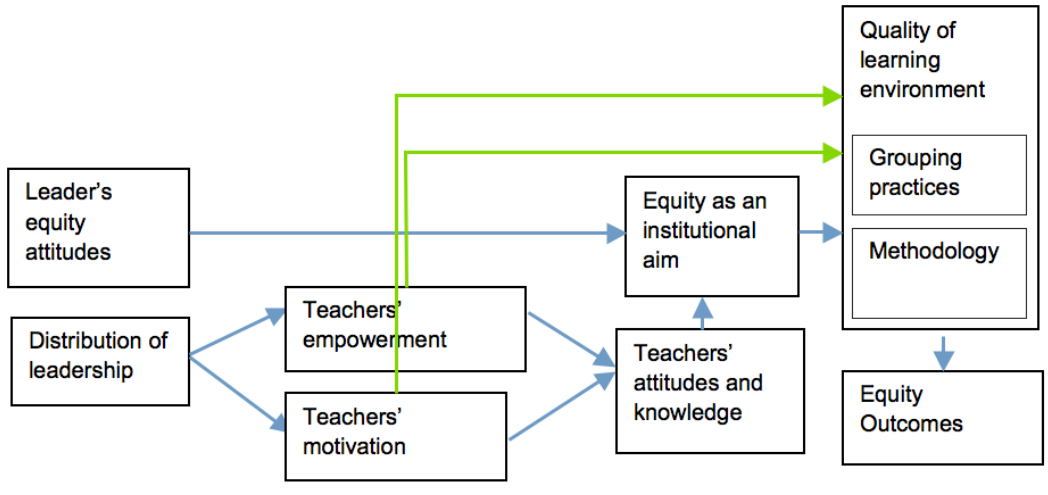


Figure 1: First version of the model

The first version of our model is based on pedagogical and leadership models, and represents the following ideas:

- The existence of equity aims and the quality of the learning environment are partly independent. A school can have very high quality teaching without the aim of supporting equity; however a school cannot provide equity without a high quality learning environment.
- Teachers' empowerment and motivation have both a direct and an indirect effect on the quality of the learning environment. They have a direct effect as both of these leadership techniques imply quicker and more adaptive problem solving, moreover empowerment connote training as well. They exert an indirect effect through their influence on attitudes.
- Leader's personal attitudes might have a direct impact on institutional equity aims.

4 This indicator will be described below together with the other indicators.

Indicators

In the following we will shortly summarise what indicators were used to describe the elements of the model (the actual indicators are listed in Annex 1.). In Figure 2 the colour of the model's elements indicates the amount of variables available to describe the given phenomenon.

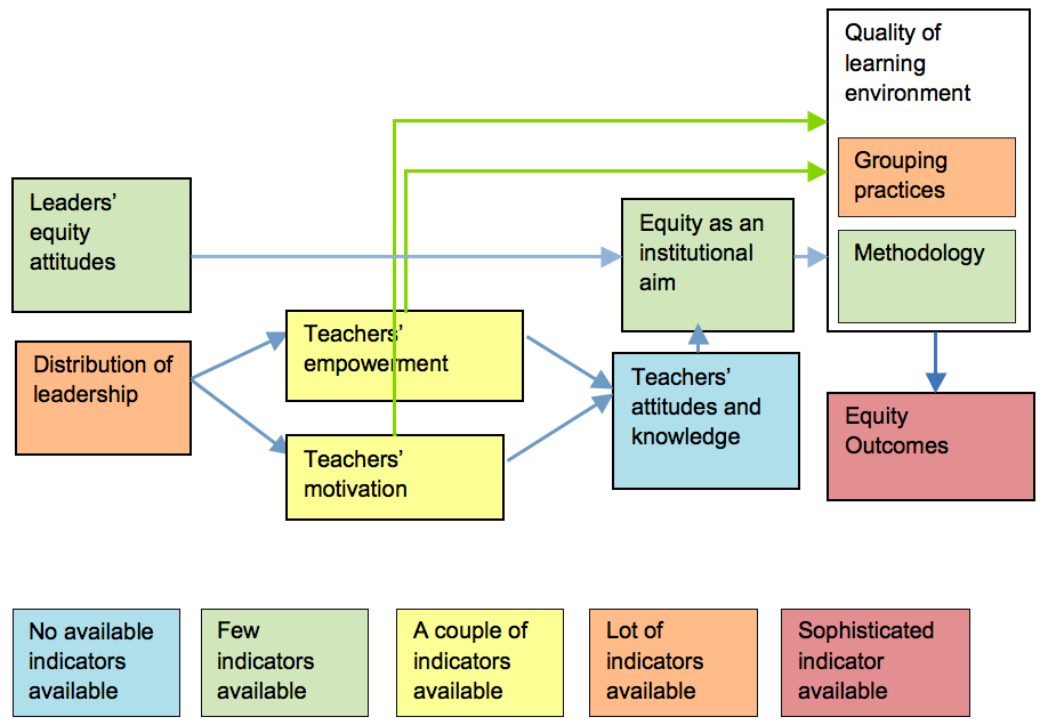


Figure 2: The amount of indicators assignable to the elements of the model

The indicator used to describe the distribution of leadership could not be as holistic and comprehensive as are some of the definitions mentioned in the introduction. In fact, due to the limits of our data source this analysis limits the interpretation of DL to the involvement of various actors in the decision-making over some areas of the organisation of learning.

Since the respondents of the *School Survey* were school principals only, we do not have much data on the classroom level (*teaching methodology*) or the shared aims or attitudes of the schools' staff. For the same reason we had limited data on the quality of the learning environment. The two aspects for which we had indicators available were grouping practices (heterogeneity – homogeneity) and methodology (whether the school as a whole uses democratic and equity-supporting methods or not).

In accordance with the chosen definition of equity we needed an indicator that shows the extent to which students' achievement is determined by their social status. Pedagogical added value (PAV) – calculated from the results of National Assessment for Basic Competencies on the basis of students' social background and test scores – is an acceptable indicator for that. This choice is also in line with the OECD's equity index. (OECD 2008)

As part of the national assessment for basic competencies a family background survey is used in order to collect data about the social background of the children. Since 2006, the family background index allows us to rank the students according to their social background. This index is the weighted average of six variables found to influence student achievement. (For more details see Annex 1.) Positive pedagogical added value means that a school helps its students achieve better test results than anticipated by their social background while negative added value means that the achievement of students is worse than in the case of other schools with the same background.

The only phenomenon that cannot be described with the given data at all is Teachers' attitudes and knowledge, so we had to leave it out of the quantitative data analysis. Nevertheless, we will keep indicating it in our figure as it plays an

important role in the school level processes. In our data analysis the only thing we were able to verify was whether there was any correlation between the two elements influencing and influenced by this phenomenon. We must note the huge restrictions of this statistical workaround: these calculations will only show us how significantly other factors determine teachers' attitudes and knowledge, and through that, if equity is a main element of institutional aims.

DISTRIBUTED LEADERSHIP AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

Surprisingly, there is a strong link between the extent to which leadership is distributed and the learning outcomes. Schools with higher level of leadership distribution have a higher added value (PAV) at the age of 16.[5] The same correlation cannot be verified for the other two age groups.

RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS

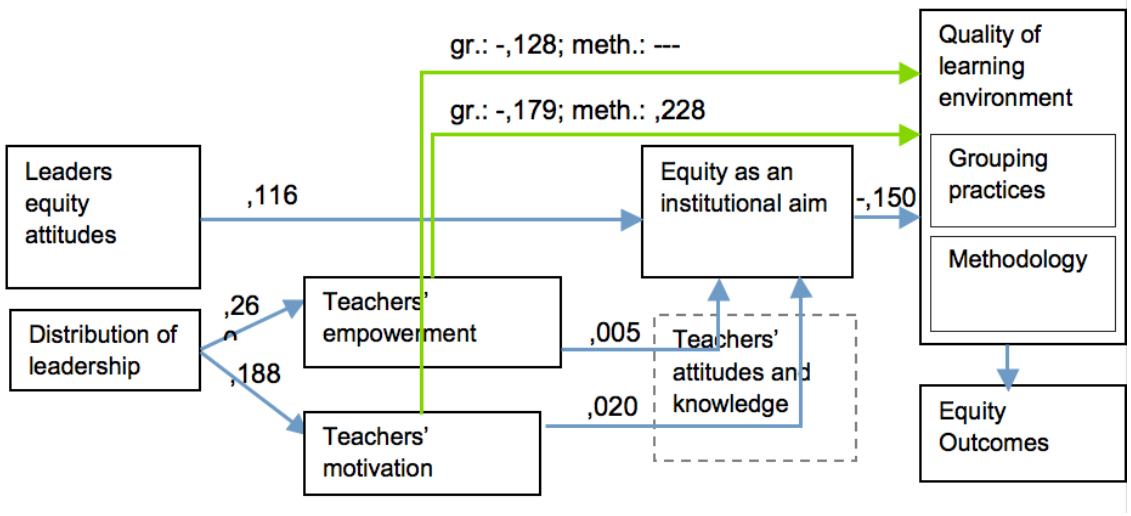


Figure 3: The computed version of the model and results of regression analysis (For the Quality of learning environment heterogeneity and student-centred methodology is positive, selection and teacher-centred methods are negative)

Since there is no scientific explanation for a *direct* link between distributed leadership and students' learning outcomes, the question of our analysis is whether this correlation can be unfolded through our model.

THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONAL AIMS

Considering the fact that data about institutional aims were collected by asking the school principals to describe them, it is not easy to separate the leader's aims from the institutional ones. We decided to interpret the school leaders' answers about their criteria of satisfaction as an indicator for their attitudes and to use the answers about the school's aims as variables for the institutional characteristics. Leaders of the investigated sample have a strong impact on the institutional aims: they influence it by the ratio of 11,6%. (That is, the leaders' attitudes determine the institutional aims by 11,6%, other factors account for the other 88,4%.)

There is a significant correlation between the institutional equity aims and the quality of learning environment. The cor-

5 r= ,128; p= <0,001

relation however, is negative in both cases[6]: the higher the value of the institution's equity aims is, the more they use non-integrative grouping practices and the less they use methods considered as appropriate to increase equity. Thus the impact of the organisational aims is the opposite of what we expected. A possible explanation for this result will be offered after analysing the whole model. Nevertheless, the effect of institutional aims on the quality of learning environment is strong: they influence it by 15%.

What would Principals like to achieve?

The personal objectives formulated by the school principals were first categorised into 15 categories determined inductively, which were further reduced to 10 categories (see the list of categories with the proportion of answers in each in Annex 2.). The most popular answer in both the random sample and the high equity sample was *Financial sustainability and infrastructural developments*, over one third of principals highlighted this aspect as an aim, while *Equity and Equality of opportunity* was only mentioned by approx. 12% and 13%.

The statistical analysis of the quantified data showed few significant correlations among the categories, neither could we identify any specific patterns (cluster and factor analysis showed no strong interrelations). Comparing the random sample and the one with high equity indicators we cannot observe any significant difference in the appearance of the different categories, it is *Quality of education, effectiveness* that is mentioned in a greater proportion in the high equity sample with the highest (4.30%) difference.

The most significant correlation was observed between *Equity and Talent development* (0.206), which can be explained with the characteristic discourse in the Hungarian pedagogical culture, which often involves a discourse of helping the disadvantaged and developing the talents[7]. This relatively strong correlation confirms the results of the path analysis and is closely related to the pedagogical culture of ability-grouping in the Hungarian teaching practice (see below), whereby teachers tend to deal with weaker students and gifted students in separate settings e.g. in the framework of tutoring (to help students with difficulties) and thematic study groups for gifted students.

For the purpose of the present paper let us have a closer look at principals' personal objectives with regards to equity. The support of disadvantaged, SEN learners and those with difficulties dominated the answers (36,7%), about 16% emphasised the skills development of each and every child. About one fifth of the equity-focused personal objectives aimed at enhancing integration or focusing on "differential instructions" (personalised or individual learning) and only 1 or 2 respondents formulated an objective related to the equality of opportunities, to raising the PAV of the school, reducing

6 Grouping practices: r= -,121 p< ,000; Methodology: r= -,098; p= ,018

7 The culture of talent support is deeply-rooted in Hungarian pedagogy, talent development has a very high significance in European comparison.

early school leaving or expanding special pedagogical support (e.g. special education teachers or other professionals assisting learners with difficulties).

What are Principals proud of?

The other open question inquired about what the leaders are proud of in connection with their students. Among the 9 categories determined the most popular ones were: *Results, achievements in competitions and examinations, Subsequent studies and performance in life* and *Behaviour, discipline.* (See details in Annex 3.)

Similarly to the question on personal objectives there were no strong correlations between the factors determined, nor could we identify any characteristic patterns of the categories. It is interesting to observe that in the selected sample of institutions with high equity indicators the proportion of references to the achievements of students with difficulties (*"Added value"*) is somewhat lower than in the random sample contrary to the expectation that these schools, placing a higher emphasis on equity aims, would score significantly higher in this category. At the same time answers containing references to achievements at competitions is considerably higher in the selected sample. The outstanding importance of competitions is also a phenomenon rather deeply-rooted in the Hungarian school system in line with a great emphasis on talent development (see also page 10).

Again the most important category from the perspective of equity is the one on "*Added value – Progress and achievements despite conditions/background*", that is students' skills, progress, achievements or attitudes – further studies, found a job, successful final examination etc. – despite their disadvantaged conditions, socio-economic background, learning difficulties etc. Interestingly there was no correlation at all between those principals who indicated *Equity, Equality of opportunity* as a personal objective and those who referred to "*Added value*" as something to be proud of. The discourse however is similar to what we have seen with regards to the personal objectives: nearly half of the respondents who indicated this category refer to being proud of the achievements, subsequent studies and performance of students of disadvantaged background, with SEN. A bit more than a third of these principals are proud that their students can achieve in life, perform well and make progress corresponding to their skills, and a much lesser proportion mentions low early school leaving rates or high employment rates of students after school.

BEHAVIOUR OF HIGHLY MOTIVATED AND EMPOWERED TEACHERS

In our conception of distributed leadership, we assumed that teachers' motivation and empowerment are strongly connected to the phenomenon of DL (Révai 2013, 3). Our data analysis seems to underpin this assumption: both *motivation and empowerment* are in strong correlation with the *distribution of leadership*. It needs further investigation however to decide whether *empowerment and motivation* are causes of DL or are inherent elements of the *distribution of leadership*.

This question could be answered by extensive analyses of literature, longitudinal analyses and case studies.

T*eachers' empowerment* has different influences on the different components of the learning environment. The correlation between *empowerment and grouping* is strong and negative[8], while there is significant and positive correlation between *empowerment and methodology*. [9]

Teachers' *motivation* has a similar correlation pattern with regards to *grouping*, that is, a strong negative correlation, whereas there was no correlation found in the case of *methodology*.

The partial lack of connection in case of *methodology* can be explained by the low quality of our *methodology* indicators. The fact that the data sources are school principals encourages a critical reading of the results, this area of our model needs further research and investigation. We suggest as a potential hypothesis for future research that it is easier or quicker to implement new classroom level methods than to renew the school's grouping practices, as this latter is more an organisational behaviour than the teachers' choice.

A deep interpretation of the statistical results concerning the negative correlation between empowerment or motivation and grouping practices would require further investigation. Here we suggest that a potential reason for this correlation is that highly empowered teachers working in a motivating environment use more techniques in order to decrease the differences between students' achievement, however, the techniques most widely known and used in the Hungarian education system are mostly segregative, that is, they are based on homogeneous groups (e.g. ability groups).

THE ROLE OF PEDAGOGICAL CULTURE

Analysing the connection between the quality of the learning environment and equity outcomes, we see the opposite of what we had expected again. The schools with selective (or segregative) grouping practices have a higher level of pedagogical added value in the cases where correlation is found[10]. The fact that correlation can be found only in the case of grouping practices, draws the attention to the low quality and quantity of indicators for other elements and characteristics of the learning environment. The pattern found in the case of students at the age of 16 is equally true for schools with high and low test results; or for schools with developing or deteriorating test results. [11]

---

8 r=-,179; p=<0,001

9 r=,228; p<0,018

10 Grouping practices and added value (mathematics, age 16): r= -,213; p< ,001
Grouping practices and added value (reading, age 16): r= -239; p< ,001

11 Counted for the period of 2004-2008.

Our first interpretation emphasises the role of pedagogical culture. In a selective pedagogical culture like the Hungarian, empowered and motivated teachers who want to raise the level of equity in their school only have access to selective practices. The dominance of this methodology is described in various studies (e.g. Golnhofer and Nahalka 2001). According to the Sutton Trust-EEF Teaching and Learning Toolkit[12] "ability grouping appears to benefit higher attaining pupils and be detrimental to the learning of mid-range and lower attaining learners", thus on the whole it has a negative impact on the attainment of disadvantaged pupils. According to our data the adequacy of these practices is limited but it exists: teachers will be partly successful. As they see that they are more successful than those who do not endeavour to achieve equity, they will conclude that their choices were right and adequate.
This might be the mechanism that leads to recognising not particularly effective choices as adequate.

The above phenomenon can explain the fact that even the dominance of methodology-oriented in-service training (Kocsis and Sági 2012, 38–44.) cannot change the dominant methodology at a system level. From a cultural perspective we can say that the selective environment of the Hungarian school system stimulates and rewards selective practices at the school level. They simply fit better the culture in which they are embedded in.

It would seem logical that *teachers' attitudes and knowledge* (the factor we do not have indicators for in this analysis) have a direct influence on *methodology and grouping practices*, since the *quality of the learning environment* is (to some extent) a matter of the teachers' choices. The low level of correlation between *empowerment and institutional aims* and between *motivation and institutional aims* however, means that there must be other and much stronger factors determining teachers' knowledge and attitudes. This result suggests that our model needs to be corrected or completed. If we complete it with a direct link between the teachers' attitudes and knowledge and the quality of learning environment then we have to find the main factors that have an influence on attitudes and knowledge (e.g. pre-service and in-service training, peer-mentoring and team working, co-operation with the schools environment, professional self-development). This is the point where we could compensate the impact of the in-practice (or in-culture) experience of teachers and could widen their pedagogical knowledge base with more methods that effectively increase the level of equity.

To sum up, the distribution of leadership, motivation and empowerment seem to lead to a more determined, more enthusiastic work of teachers, who however, seem to waste their energy in a sense: they are successful enough to consider their selective practices as adequate and sustain them, being unaware that it is mostly these strategies themselves that impede a real increase of the level of equity. If we consider that a cultural change of the above phenomenon constitutes a paradigm shift (Kuhn 1984), then we must recognise that facilitating such a shift means two things. Firstly, helping the teachers "look out of their box" and recognise that some of their practices are inappropriate, and secondly helping them find more adequate ways in their pedagogical work.

12 Produced by the Education Endowment Foundation, the toolkit provides guidance on how to use resources to improve the attainment of disadvantaged pupils. The toolkit is available here: http://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/toolkit/about-the-toolkit/

The importance of professional development is crucial in this process, Pasi Sahlberg points out that

> *"The best-performing educational systems all have built their change strategies on systemic approaches that rely on collective professional and institutional (or social capital) development, enhanced conditions for teaching and learning for all, and more equal educational opportunities within their education systems." (Sahlberg 2011, in: OECD 2013b.)*

SUMMARY

We found that *the distribution of leadership is strongly related to both teachers' empowerment and motivation*. In fact, the question arises whether teachers' empowerment is an inherent characteristics of distributed leadership or it is its strong and direct effect. Our data suggest that the success of leadership is context-dependent: *the impact of motivated and empowered teachers working in a DL environment on the extent of equity in the school could only be proved at the level of ISCED 3* with the secondary analysis of Hungarian data.

The main result of our data analysis is the recognition of *the importance of teachers' knowledge, attitudes and the culture their work is embedded in.* The distribution of leadership can be a powerful tool for bringing about change in a school, however in order that this tool is targeted at increasing the quality of learning, a holistic development of the school is needed including each and every element of our model and all other elements and influences that has not yet been identified.

The unexpected dynamics around teachers' motivation and their teaching practices, that is, *motivated and empowered teachers use more selective (homogeneous ability grouping) practices*, stimulate further investigation in this topic. We need to understand how these not necessarily the most adequate choices work and how these strong beliefs of the Hungarian schools could be changed. We assume that a paradigm shift is needed to lead Hungarian teachers towards a pedagogical culture which is more adequate to increase the level of equity.

Our analysis has shown that a shift of the pedagogical paradigm is not a need that emerges from the teaching practice: *teachers succeed in increasing social justice to a certain extent by using selective practices*, and thus the real benefit of comprehensive education must be proven. This aspect needs to be considered for the design of teacher training, the definition of its aims and the selection of its methods.

All in all, the model we used to describe a school level dynamics of distributed leadership and equity seems to work well, further data is needed however, to explore the role of teachers' attitude and knowledge with regards to the impact *of* and *on* classroom methodology. A new direct link, which we did not assume at the phase of model design, is needed between teachers' attitudes and knowledge and the quality of learning environment.

REFERENCES

Balázs, É., M. Kocsis, and I. Vágó. eds. 2011. *Jelentés a Magyar közoktatásról 2010* [Report on Hungarian Public Education - 2010]. Budapest: Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet.

Bolhöfer, J., and W. Meyer. 2013. *Distributed Leadership for Equity and Learning*. EPNoSL WP4 Final report - Germany.

Day, C., P. Sammons, D. Hopkins, A. Harris, K. Leithwood, Q. Gu, E. Brown, E. Ahtaridou, and A. Kington. 2009. *The Impact of School Leadership on Pupil Outcomes.* London: UK Department for Children, Schools and Families.

Golnhofer, E., and I. Nahalka. 2001. *A pedagógusok pedagógiája* [Teachers' Pedagogy]. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Golnhofer, E., and J. Szekszárdi. 2003. Az iskolák belső világa [The Inner World of Schools]. In *Jelentés a magyar közoktatásról 2003* [Report on Hungarian Public Education - 2003], ed. G. Halász and J. Lannert, 239-271. Budapest: Országos Közoktatási Intézet

Harris, A., K. Leithwood, C. Day, P. Sammons, and D. Hopkins. 2007. Distributed Leadership and Organizational Change: Reviewing the Evidence. *Journal of Educational Change* 8, no. 4: 337-347.

Kertesi, G. 2005. *A társadalom peremén* [On the Edge of Society]. Budapest: Osiris.

Kocsis, M. and M. Sági. eds. 2012. *Pedagógusok a pályán* [Teachers in the Field]. Budapest: Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet. http://tamop311.ofi.hu/21-szazadi-kozoktatas/kiadvanyok/konyvek/pedagogusok-palyan

Kőrösné Mikis, M. 2006. *Az iskola belső világa az igazgatók szemével* [The School's Internal World from the Point of View of the Principals]. In *Hidak a tantárgyak között* [Bridges between School Subjects], ed. Zoltán Kerber, Budapest: Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet. http://www.ofi.hu/tudastar/hidak-tantargyak-kozott/iskola-belso-vilaga

Levin, B. 2003. *Approaches to Equity in Policy for Lifelong Learning*. Paris: OECD.

Lumby, J. 2013. Distributed Leadership: The Uses and Abuses of Power. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 41: 581-597.

Mihályi, K. 2013. A szakképzés szerepe az esélyteremtésben. A befogadó iskola megteremtését szolgáló elvekről és gyakorlatokról [The Role of Vocational Education in enhancing Social Justice. About principles and practices of establishing an inclusive school]. In *Esélyteremtés szakképzéssel* [Promotion of Social Inclusion through Vocational Education and Training], ed. J. Hermándy-Berencz, E. Szegedi and Zs. Sziklainé Lengyel. Budapest: Tempus Közalapítány. http://oktataskepzes.tka.hu/pages/content/index.php?page_id=1127

OECD. 2008. *Measuring Improvements in Learning Outcomes. Best practices to assess the value-added of schools*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD. 2012. *Equity and Quality in Education: Supporting Disadvantaged Students and Schools*. Paris: OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264130852-en

OECD. 2013a. *PISA 2012 Results. Excellence Through Equity: Giving Every Student the Chance to Succeed* (Volume II), PISA. Paris: OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201132-en

OECD. 2013b. *Leadership for 21st Century Learning, Educational Research and Innovation*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Pont, B., D. Nusche, and H. Moorman. 2008. *Improving School Leadership 1. Policy and Practice*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Radó, P. 2005. *Emberi erőforrásmenedzsment a közoktatásban* [*Human Resource Management in School Education*]. Presentation given at Corvinus University Budapest on 29th november2005.

Révai, N. 2013. *Distributed leadership structures and cultures in Hungary*. EPNoSL WP4– Country Report.

Révai, N., and M. Schnellbach. 2013. *Distributed Leadership for Equity and Learning*. EPNoSL WP4 Final report – Hungary.

Risku, M., and M. Tian. 2013. *Distributed Leadership and Social Justice*. EPNoSL WP4 Final report – Finland.

Roberts, A., and P. Woods. 2013. *Leadership is Distributed.* EPNoSL VIP keynote videoscribe https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J5F0MNrDSpY

Scheerens, J. 1997. Conceptual Models and Theory-Embedded Principles on Effective Schooling. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 8: 269–310.

Sventickas, A., and D. Salavejiene. 2013. *The Head Teachers of Educational Institutions in Lithuania about Distributed Leadership*. EPNoSL WP4 Final report – Lithuania.

Szekszárdi, J. 2006. Az iskolák belső világa [The Inner World of Schools]. OFI. In *Jelentés a magyar közoktatásról 2006* [Report on Hungarian Public Education – 2006.]. http://www.ofi.hu/tudastar/jelentes-magyar/6-iskolak-belso-vilaga-090617-1

Woods, P.A., N. Bennett, J.A. Harvey, and C. Wise. 2004. Variabilities and Dualities in Distributed Leadership – Findings from a Systematic Literature Review. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 32: 439–457

Woods, P.A., and G.J. Woods. 2013. Deepening Distributed Leadership: A democratic perspective on power, purpose and the concept of the self. *Leadership in Education* 2: 17-40.

Woods, P.A., and A. Roberts. 2013. *Distributed Leadership and Social Justice*. EPNoSL WP4 Final report – United Kingdom.

ANNEX

Annex 1. Questions used as indicators for specific elements of our model

Leaders' equity attitudes

Statement: My satisfaction with my school's teachers depends on the extent to which they are able to teach in a differential and adaptive way.
Answer: listing 10 reasons of satisfaction (i.e. this sentence and 9 others) in order of importance.
Statement: My satisfaction with my school's teachers depends on whether they pay close attention to the students' individual problems.
Answer: listing 10 reasons of satisfaction (i.e. this sentence and 9 others) in order of importance.
Generated variable: higher value means higher commitment for equity.

Equity as an institutional aim

Statement: The aim of our school is to help the underprivileged students' social inclusion.
Answer: listing 11 aims (i.e. this sentence and 10 others) in order of importance.
Statement: The aim of our school is to be attractive for children with as high a social background as it is possible.
Answer: listing 11 aims (i.e. this sentence and 10 others) in order of importance.
Generated variable: higher value means higher commitment for equity.

Distribution of leadership

Question: Please, describe the participation of the following groups in decision making in the following areas: a) assigning classes to teachers, b) choosing a curriculum, c) choosing school books, d) evaluating teachers, e) evaluating students, f) handling parental complaints, g) handling students' major behavioural problems, h) quality management.
Answer: 1) school head, 2) deputy head, 3) the full teaching staff, 4) head of the team of teachers teaching the same subject, 5) head of class, 6) some of the teachers, 7) someone is responsible for this specific task.
Let us note that this DL indicator cannot be as holistic and comprehensive as are some of the definitions mentioned in the introduction. In fact, due to the limits of our data source this analysis limits the interpretation of DL to the involvement of various actors in the decision-making over some areas of the organisation of learning.

Teachers' Empowerment

Question: Did at least one member of your schools' teaching staff take part in the following activities? a) pedagogical experiment, b) mentoring novice teachers, c) regular co-operation between teachers teaching the same class in educational matters, d) curriculum development, e) developing teaching staff, f) development of teaching materials or tools, writing course books g) professional project.
Answer: Yes / No
Statement: My satisfaction with my school's teachers depends on whether they are able to renew themselves in a professional sense.
Answer: listing 10 reasons of satisfaction (i.e. this sentence and 9 others) in order of importance.
Statement: My satisfaction with my school's teachers depends on whether they are likely to undertake additional tasks.
Answer: listing 10 reasons of satisfaction (i.e. this sentence and 9 others) in order of importance.
Statement: My satisfaction with my school's teachers depends on whether they are able to manage complicated situations.
Answer: listing 10 reasons of satisfaction (i.e. this sentence and 9 others) in order of importance.
Generated variable: higher value means more co-workers in the decision-making and the school head's need for this.

Teachers' motivation

Question: Which of the following elements do you use for the teachers' professional evaluation? a) students' evaluation of teachers and satisfaction with them, b) parents' satisfaction with teachers, c) peer evaluation, d) class visits, e) professional work carried out by the teacher out of the school.
Answer: Elements used as part of teachers' evaluation were ticked.
Generated variable: higher value means more sophisticated form of teachers' evaluation.

Teachers' attitudes and knowledge

Since our data source is based on the responses of school heads, we did not have any indicators for teachers' knowledge and attitudes.

Quality of learning environment

For the same reason as in the case of teachers' attitude and knowledge we had limited data on the quality of the learning environment. The two aspects for which we had indicators available were grouping practices (heterogeneity – homogeneity) and methodology (whether the school as a whole uses democratic and equity-supporting methods or not).
Generated variable: the sum of the two variables below.

Grouping practices

Question: Do you use the following forms for teaching in your school? a) integrating skill-development group, b) integrated education of children with special educational needs, c) after-school tutoring for a group of underperforming students, d) school class for talent management, e) school class for underperforming children.
Answer: Elements used in the school were ticked.
Question: How do you organise learning in your classes? Which of the following forms do you use? a) working in the same class with student of different ages, b) creating a group for students with the same performance level, c) exempt a student from visiting a class.
Answers: 1) We do not use it at all. 2) We use it in some cases. 3) We use it in several cases.
Generated variable: higher value means more heterogeneous grouping.

Methodology

Question: How do you organise learning in your classes? Which of the following forms do you use? a) teaching integrated subjects, b) teaching in epochs , c) out of school activities are integrated in the teaching process, d) project methods.
Answers: 1) We do not use it at all. 2) We use it in some cases. 3) We use it in several cases.
Generated variable: higher value means using more methods considered to be appropriate for the aim of equity.

Equity outcomes

Our only equity indicator was the so called Pedagogical Added Value (PAV), calculated from the results of National Assessment for Basic Competencies.
The definition of equity we have chosen means that we needed an indicator that shows,to what extent students' achievement is determined by their social status. Pedagogical added value – calculated based on students' social background and test scores – is an acceptable indicator for that. This choice fits the way the OECD works with equity. (OECD 2008)
As part of the national assessment for basic competencies a family background survey is used in order to collect data about the social background of the children. Since 2006, the family background index allows us to rank the students according to their social background. This index is the weighted average of six variables found to influence student achievement. These variables are (1) mother's level of educational attainment, (2) father's level of educational attainment, (3) if the family has a computer, (4) the number of books the family has, (5) if the student personally has books, and(6) if s/he belongs to the legal category of multiply disadvantaged student. A school's social background is the average of the students' social background. The selection of variables and the weights assigned to them ensure that on system-level a strong linear correlation can be found between students' and schools' social background and achievement.
The pedagogical added value is calculated through a linear regression where schools social background is the independent variable and the average test result is the dependent one. A schools pedagogical added value is the residual belonging to the data that represents the school. Positive pedagogical added value means that a school helps its students achieve

better test results than anticipated by their social background while negative added value means that the achievement of students is worse than in the case of other schools with the same background.
Generated variable: higher value means higher level of equity outcomes.

Open questions used to enhance the above indicators and refine results of the data analysis

Leaders' equity attitudes / Institutional equity aims

Question: Please, indicate the most important goals you personally would like to achieve in the school.
Question: What are you most proud of when you think of your students?

Distribution of leadership

Question: Please, describe the participation of the following groups in decision making in the given areas: a) assigning classes to teachers, b) choosing a curriculum, c) choosing school books, d) evaluating teachers, e) evaluating students, f) handling parental complaints, g) handling students' major behavioural problems, h) quality management.
Answer: 8) Other, please specify:
Generated variable: the number of extra categories specified (extra categories defined by coding the answers) higher value means higher distribution of leadership Annex 2. Personal objectives of school principals coded in 10 categorie

Annex 2. Personal objectives of school principals coded in 10 categories

Name of category	Description	% of items in the random sample	% of items in the selected (high equity) sample
Academic results	marks, A-level results, results achieved at various competitions	11,52%	13,81%
Equity, Equality of opportunity	support and development of disadvantaged learners, SEN learners; integrated education, development of all children, supporting personalised learning	12,04%	13,26%
Innovation, change	innovative teaching staff, introduction of new teaching methods	1,57%	0,55%
Talent development	the support and development of talented, úgifted students	2,62%	4,42%
Learner centredness	creating a positive atmosphere in the school, personality development of students, etc.)	16,75%	13,26%
Financial sustainability and infrastructural developments	sustaining or increasing the number of students, infrastructural developments, establishing specific profiles	35,60%	38,12%
Quality of education, effectiveness	raising or sustaining the quality of teaching, professional development of teaching staff, etc.)	17,80%	22,10%
Partnership development, partners' satisfaction	establishing and maintaining good relationships with various partners: maintainer, parents, other institutions..., keeping the partners (parents, students, maintainer, local community etc.) satisfied	9,95%	9,39%
Competence development, modern skills and knowledge	development of basic and key competences such as literacy, learning to learn, foreign language skills etc., providing students with skills and knowledge useful in the world of work of the 21st century etc.	13,61%	11,05%
Values	transferring moral / religious / universal human norms, equip students with manners and good behaviour	14,66%	16,57%

Annex 3. What are principals proud of in connection with the students? Answers coded in 9 categories.

Name of category	Description	% of items in the random sample	% of items in the selected (high equity) sample
Results, achievements in competitions and examinations	sports, academic competitions, language examinations etc.	24,21%	33,15%
Academic results, student performance	Students' results in general, their academic performance in the school	16,32%	16,57%
Students' personal attitudes	Students' openness, honesty, empathy, willingness to help others etc.	14,74%	9,39%
Subsequent studies and performance in life	Students continue their studies in (are admitted to) secondary grammar schools or higher education, cope well with their later studies, have success in life, work etc.	32,11%	28,18%
"Added value" - Progress and achievements despite conditions/background	Students' skills, progress, achievements or attitudes – further studies, found a job, successful final examination etc. – despite their disadvantaged conditions, socio-economic background, learning difficulties etc.	7,37%	6,08%
Behaviour, discipline	Behave themselves outside the school, have good manners, are polite etc.	24,21%	30,39%
School atmosphere, loyalty to school	Students and staff are happy going/working in this school, the school has a good atmosphere, ex-students often visit the school later	17,37%	20,99%
Skills and competences	Students are creative, independent thinkers, have good skills and professional knowledge, are able to solve problems	5,79%	6,63%
Special profile of school	Arts or sports education	1,05%	1,10%

TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY

Bruno Leutwyler and Carola Mantel
Institute for International Cooperation in Education IZB,
University of Teacher Education Zug, Switzerland
bruno.leutwyler@phzg.ch

ABSTRACT

Teachers play a key role in dealing appropriately with culturally diverse classrooms. Research on teacher competences highlights the important function of teachers' beliefs. However, hardly any evidence addresses the crucial question of what actually shapes the beliefs about intercultural education and how these beliefs might be developed. Against this background, the present contribution suggests a conceptual approach to understand teachers' beliefs about intercultural education. By drawing on intercultural theory, the paper provides a framework of analysis on how teachers' beliefs about intercultural education differ according to different levels of intercultural sensitivity. Implications for teacher education are discussed.

KEYWORDS

Intercultural Education; Teachers' Beliefs; Teacher Education

INTRODUCTION

In modern societies, globalisation, individualisation, and pluralisation of values and cultural norms are self-evident. Against this background, societal developments such as the omnipresent migration or the recognition of cultural minorities are conceived as circumstances that produce new cultural and social constellations. Accordingly, the current educational discourse states 'diversity' as a crucial concept and claims an appropriate dealing with differences regarding culture, gender, or aptitudes. As central actors in education, teachers play a key role in acting appropriately in the context of social and cultural differences – differences, which are continuously socially constructed, by others as well as by themselves (Budde 2012).

Research on teacher competences suggests that the teachers' beliefs are crucial for performing specific functions and tasks in teaching, e.g. for dealing effectively with diverse students (e.g. Klieme and Hartig 2008; Klieme and Vieluf 2009; Reusser et al. 2011). Admittedly, the term 'belief' has still to be considered as a "messy construct" (as identified already more than 20 years ago, see Pajares 1992) and a clear distinction from related concepts (such as subjective theories, attitudes, conceptions or propositions) is still lacking. Nevertheless, a clear consensus has been reached that "beliefs

matter" (Reusser et al. 2011, 489) and that beliefs include affectively loaded and normative elements that influence strongly teachers' perceptions, interpretations and judgements of specific situations (ib.). Against this background, the term 'belief' is used in this contribution in the classical sense of Richardson as "psychologically held understandings, premises or propositions about the world that are felt to be true" (1996, 103).

Even though the important function of beliefs is empirically well documented, teachers' beliefs are rather scarcely investigated with regard to intercultural education. In this regard, an overview on the state of research shows a range of different foci: (a) Studies on the belief orientation among teachers in general, (b) investigations that led to the development of typologies, (c) a scrutiny that deals with the relation between teachers' beliefs and their classroom management, (d) approaches that regard beliefs as part of a 'collective intercultural competence', (e) examinations on the coherence or incoherence between teachers' beliefs and the prevailing policy discourse as well as (f) research on the relation between teachers' attitudes or beliefs and diversity-related burnout and stress. The approaches hardly address the question of the preconditions among teachers that shape their beliefs, however, (g) some studies deal with teacher beliefs related to sociocultural categories such as ethnicity, gender or class. The state of research shall now be presented in more details along these different foci.

GENERAL BELIEF ORIENTATIONS

In many studies, teachers' belief orientations were scrutinised in a general way regarding the overall orientation among teachers about diverse students:In the Serbian context, Macura-Milovanović, Pantić and Closs (2012) have examined the development of Inclusive Education (IE). They refer to a key finding of a former analysis on the development of IE in the Western Balkans. This finding entailed that the prevailing understanding of IE was rather narrow among educationalists, in the sense that it was often applied to the education of certain groups such as persons with disabilities, while a broad understanding would mean that IE was seen as a principle that prevents exclusion from education of any kind (Pantić et al. 2010). The authors explore reasons for this narrow understanding and hypothesise that many teachers' attitudes towards the inclusion of diverse students were negative or uncertain including teachers who „show outright hostility to including students with non-standard profiles, without recognizing that their behaviour is discriminatory, justifying their views in ways that blame the victim" (ib., 33–34). Consequently, the authors argue that the issue of teachers' attitudes towards IE is one of the major challenges in developing teacher preparation for IE in Serbia.

In the German context, Marburger, Helbig and Kienast (1997) have scrutinised teachers' attitudes towards cultural diversity and state an overall deficit-orientation: Teachers' attitudes are found to follow a cultural ethnocentrism and a readiness to marginalise students and their parents with a non-German background (ib., 56). Similar findings come from a study by Sterzenbach and Moosmüller (2000) who confirm this deficit-orientation and conclude that teachers in Germany were insufficiently prepared to deal with cultural heterogeneity. Weber (2003) has focused on teachers' perception of educationally successful female students with a Turkish background and found that teachers in German gymnasiums had a

deficit orientation even towards these educationally successful students. Slightly differing findings come from Kratzmann and Pohlmann-Rother (2012) who ask whether and in what ways stereotypical attitudes towards children with a Turkish background and their families appear among early childhood educators in Germany. Some stereotypical attitudes were indeed found, but a part of the respondents were shown to have a differentiated image of the families and not to apply stereotypes. Several studies from the USA also conclude on a general deficit orientation towards diverse students, for instance Cochran-Smith, David and Fries (2004) as well as Nelson and Guerry (2013) referring to in-service teachers, or Silverman (2010) referring to pre-service teachers.

For the Australian context, Buchori and Dobinson (2012) have found that early childhood educators viewed the cultural backgrounds of diverse students as a "cultural baggage" (ib., 51) and as a burden and restriction to them. The educators were also found to be concerned about enabling the students to adapt to the dominant culture and to be in fear that their students would fall below curriculum standards.

Apart from these repeatedly mentioned deficit orientations found among teachers, there is also a study from Hong Kong, in which teachers' attitudes are described to be in a state of struggle. Hue and Kennedy (2012) show that the interrogated teachers articulate struggles in four particular regards: in conceptualizing a new rationale for cultural responsiveness to diversity, in developing intercultural sensitivity, in strengthening the home-school collaboration and in broadening ethnic minority students' aspirations for their education and careers. The authors argue that the teachers who work with culturally diverse students, are engaged – like their students – in a cross-cultural process "through which they learn the culture of ethnic minority students, relearn their own culture and reexamine the relevant rationale underlying cultural responsiveness" (ib., 119).

DEVELOPMENT OF TYPOLOGIES

While the aforementioned studies deal with teachers' beliefs in a general way, the following investigations are pursued in a more differentiating way seeking to develop typologies on different belief orientations among teachers: Bender-Szymanski (2001), for instance, has investigated the way, pre-service teachers in Germany handle and reflect on intercultural experiences in multicultural classes. She has defined two different ways: Firstly, a 'synergy oriented' way, which is described as a „bi-perspective situation analysis" (ib., 94) based on an appreciation of cultural difference as well as an awareness of one's own participation in an intercultural situation. Secondly, she defined an ‚ethno-oriented' way, which is described as having a deficit view on students who appear to be culturally different and as having an expectation that culturally different students and their families should adapt to the norms and regulations of the teacher's own culture. Another suggestion for two different kind of teacher beliefs comes from Akkari, Loomis and Bauer (2011) who have examined pre-service and in-service teachers' attitudes towards cultural diversity in Western Switzerland. They conclude that the teachers are divided regarding their posture taken towards cultural diversity: On one side, there are those who support practices of indifference towards cultural diversity and on the other side, there are those who have a critical stance against the "monocultural school system" (ib., 9).

Additionally, there are studies that define more than two kind of beliefs and suggest several types of teachers' beliefs about cultural diversity. One such study has been conducted by Edelmann (2006) who has scrutinised the question of how primary school teachers in Switzerland think about cultural heterogeneity in their classes. The teachers' subjective interpretations and attitudes are presented in a six-type-typology: (1) a ‚dissociating-distanced' type, for whom cultural heterogeneity has no meaning at all regarding his or her pedagogical practice and who keeps distanced from cultural issues altogether; (2) a ‚tacitly-acknowledging' type, who acknowledges the cultural heterogeneity of all students and stresses the importance of a harmonic class community in which all students are equally appreciated, while potential differences and similarities remain unspoken. Teacher team work is not seen as particularly important in this respect; (3) an ‚individual-language-oriented type', who views linguistic heterogeneity as an important resource for the whole class and includes this resource into the lessons. Additionally, specific language support is given to disadvantaged students in order to increase equal educational opportunities for all. This approach is based on individual initiative, as team work is not experienced as helpful in this regard; (4) a ‚cooperative-language-oriented' type, who deals with cultural heterogeneity by focusing on language diversity regarding it as a central resource for all students including appreciation for the first language as a basis to learn the language of the majority. These teachers are part of an innovative team that continuously reflects on its approach; (5) an 'individual-synergy-oriented' type, that understands language as well as cultural knowledge as an important learning potential and constructively includes these resources into lessons of all subjects. Here again, the approach is based on individual initiative as team work is not experienced as helpful in this regard; (6) a ‚cooperative-synergy-oriented' type, that appreciates cultural heterogeneity as learning potential for all and attributes central meaning to it in the whole teaching and learning process. These teachers' pedagogical practice is shaped by a whole school culture and intensive cooperation with parents and within the team. According to the author, this typology shows that the teachers' subjective interpretation of cultural diversity as well as their personal interest in dealing with this diversity explain to a large extent how they deal with cultural heterogeneity. These factors are seen to be more influential than school context factors as within similar context conditions, different orientations are found among different teachers (ib., 243).

Another typology comes from Lanfranchi (2008) who has asked about pre-school and first grade school teachers' strategies in dealing with cultural differences in Switzerland. By identifying contrasting cases, the author suggests an approximation to a typology and describes five types: (1) a type that focuses on the adaption to the predefined monocultural school regulations and expects adaptation by culturally foreign children and their parents while being ready to exclude; (2) a type that has a deficit oriented perspective on immigrant children and wavers between not wanting to perceive differences and negative stereotyping; (3) a type that has a biologistical interpretation of culture but nevertheless seeks to foster contacts between children with different backgrounds; (4) a type that has a resource oriented perspective on immigrant children and focuses on the social integration of all children; (5) a type that has a differentiated perspective on different kinds of social difference and reflects school norms regarding their appropriateness in specific situations. The author concludes by stressing a range of aspects that should more strongly be taken into consideration in teacher education, including a critical reflection of the teachers' beliefs and values (ib., 256).

Another typology has been suggested by Stier, Tryggvason, Sandström and Sandberg (2012) who have explored pre-school teachers' understanding of and practical approaches to ethnic and cultural diversity in Sweden. A typology was defined describing four different – yet partly overlapping – approaches which are seen as increasingly productive in the order mentioned: an 'instrumental,' a 'co-productive,' a 'facilitative proactive', and an 'agitative proactive' approach. The authors characterise each approach by a particular 'interaction mode', 'reflection mode' and an underlying conception of culture – all of which are seen to be affecting the identity process of the children. The least productive type, the ‚instrumental' approach, is found most often in the – although not representative – sample and the authors emphasise the need for intensified teacher education which challenges the underlying conceptions and attitudes towards cultural difference.

RELATION BETWEEN TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

While the above mentioned studies focus on the description of different beliefs, one study also tackles the question, in what ways different beliefs are related to teachers' actions: Makarova and Herzog (2013) have scrutinised how acculturation attitudes are related to the classroom management among teachers in Switzerland. They show that teachers' attitudes towards diverse students are indeed related to their way of teaching (ib., 264). Additionally, the authors describe how different attitudes towards immigrant students' acculturation have different effects on the teaching practice. They distinguish between an ‚integration', ‚assimilation' and ‚separation' attitude and show – amongst others – that teachers with an ‚integration' attitude have a high propensity to punish students for misbehaviour, but they also show high levels of diagnostic expertise in social areas, while teachers with an ‚assimilation' attitude are also likely to punish students for misbehaviour, but tend to have low levels of expertise in diagnosing social tensions among students.

TEACHERS' BELIEFS AS PART OF A 'COLLECTIVE INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE'

Another approach draws attention to teacher beliefs by regarding them as part of a "collective intercultural competence" of teacher teams: Ulf Over (2012) puts a focus onto schools as a whole and asks about the individual teachers' theories about an 'interculturally competent school' in a secondary school in Germany. The findings show three main fields of discourse and tension: the attitude towards cultural diversity in a tension between 'distanced' and 'open'; the way of dealing with cultural diversity between 'feeling overloaded' and 'actively designing'; and the responsibility being attributed either to the students or to the institution. The author follows an application-oriented approach and shows, how uncovering the implicit theories of the teachers can help improve and create an 'interculturally competent school' (see also Harmon and Wilson, 2011, who find a "lack of collective beliefs" among teachers in the USA).

TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND POLICY DISCOURSE

A further approach comprises studies focusing on the coherence or incoherence between teacher beliefs and the prevailing policy discourse: Bereményi (2011) has scrutinised teachers' perspectives and attitudes towards Roma students in Spain. The study reveals a main incoherence between a deficit-compensation paradigm that is applied by the teachers and intercultural education principles that teachers are supposed to follow. Similar findings are presented by Mizrachi (2012) who states an incoherence in Israel between the educational actors' own „worlds of meaning" (ib., 185) and the liberal message in the multicultural education policy discourse. However, some teachers were also found to be in a role as mediators between the liberal ideas and the population by translating and adjusting these ideas and by engaging students into a dialogue. Govaris and Kodakos (2003) find *co*herence rather than *in*coherence and describe this coherence as problematic: They find teachers in Greece to have an overall defensive attitude towards the idea of a multicultural society and see this attitude in close connection to the assimilative orientation of the Greek school system.

TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND DIVERSITY-RELATED BURN-OUT

An again different approach deals with the relation between teachers' attitudes or beliefs and "diversity-related burnout" and stress: Tatar and Horenczyk (2003) have investigated 'diversity-related burnout' among teachers in Israel. They distinguish between an 'assimilative' and a 'pluralistic' attitude among teachers and found the highest levels of diversity-related burnout among teachers who have an assimilative attitude and who additionally work in schools with an assimilationist orientation, while teachers with pluralistic views showed the lowest degree of diversity-related burnout.

TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND SOCIOCULTURAL CATEGORIES

A few studies relate different beliefs to socio-cultural categories such as ethnicity, gender or class: Beady and Hansell (1981) have investigated whether the ‚race' of elementary school teachers in black schools in the USA was associated with the teachers' perceptions of effort and their expectations for student achievement. Controlling for teachers' sex, education and years of teaching experience, as well as average school achievement and socioeconomic status, the data revealed that "black teachers expected their black students to be more successful in college than white teachers" (ib., 199). Quiocho and Rios (2000) published a review on the literature on minority group teachers – mainly from the USA – and conclude in their synthesis that „many minority group teachers, in comparison with their European-American counterparts, are more likely to bring a critical, social justice orientation and consciousness that stems from their real, lived experiences with inequality [...]. Minority group teachers have a greater sense of how to develop (and therefore enact) culturally relevant curriculums and to understand the human, social and communal nature of teaching and learning" (ib., 522). Ford and Quinn (2010) asked about pre-service teachers' dispositions for intercultural learning in the USA and revealed differences

related to gender: Females showed a larger agreement in questions on multicultural engagement such as on the need for multicultural instructional practice or the need for teachers' multicultural awareness. Differences also appeared between White and non-White students as non-White students were found to be able to understand cultural differences and to have a self-awareness and a desire for social justice. In line with these findings, Cochran-Smith, Davis and Fries (2004) describe White middle-class teachers in the USA to have a deficit orientation towards diverse students and to have low expectations and fears about students who are different from themselves (ib., 934).

The above mentioned studies ask – in many different ways – about the kind of beliefs. Some of them additionally relate the beliefs to different contexts such as classroom management, "collective intercultural competence", policy discourse or stress. And some few studies investigate how teachers' beliefs might be related to socio-cultural categories such as ethnicity, race, gender or class. But, the state of research has shown that hardly any studies address the question *what shapes* teachers' beliefs about intercultural education. From the perspective of teacher education, this can be seen as one of the crucial questions: If teacher education aims at preparing and supporting teachers for dealing effectively with culturally diverse settings, it has to understand how teachers conceptualise key facets of intercultural education and how these conceptualisations might be influenced.

A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS' BELIEFS

Intercultural theory suggests that beliefs about intercultural education are shaped differently depending on the level of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett 1986a; 2011). This level of intercultural sensitivity expresses the level of complexity in the perception of cultural differences and similarities. This is a constructivist approach applied to the field of interculturalism: perceptions take place on different levels of sophistication and complexity. The complexity refers to sets of categories that are used to organise the perception of phenomena. According to Bennett (Bennett 2004, 73) «more cognitively complex individuals are able to organize their perceptions of events into more differentiated categories.» This means that a higher intercultural sensitivity is reflected in a more differentiated and more sophisticated way how to perceive specific constellations and situations regarding cultural differences and commonalities.

An individual's development of intercultural sensitivity can be seen as a development process for which an elaborated model has been provided by Bennett (Bennett 1986b; 2011). His 'Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity' (DMIS) conceptualises the development of intercultural sensitivity in different stages. The DMIS defines five distinct kinds of experience that spread across the continuum from an ethnocentric to an ethnorelative worldview. The most ethnocentric stage is called 'denial' of cultural difference (expressing a worldview that does not notice other cultures or constructs them in very vague ways as 'foreigners' or 'immigrants') and is followed by 'polarisation' (expressing a worldview that organises and polarises the perceptions in terms of 'us' and 'them'). The middle of the continuum is named 'minimisation' of cultural difference (expressing a worldview that avoids cultural difference by assuming 'deep down, we are all the same'). This

'minimisation' stage is conceived as a transitional stage leading to the two more ethnorelative orientations of 'acceptance' (expressing a worldview that perceives one's own culture as just one of many other equally complex worldviews) and 'adaptation' (expressing a worldview that allows for flexible frame shifting in order to organise one's own experience through the perspective of another culture) (Bennett 2004; Hammer 2011).

The level of intercultural sensitivity – including the respective beliefs according to such a level – can be seen as a crucial precondition for acting with intercultural competence: It "creates the potential for increased intercultural competence" (Bennett 2004, 73). The existing literature, however, does not portray a conception of how teachers' beliefs change or differ depending on the level of intercultural sensitivity, i.e. depending on the complexity of how individuals perceive schooling and teaching. Regarding intercultural sensitivity and focusing on levels of perception, decisive differences between ethnocentric and ethnorelative worldviews have to be expected. In other words, teacher students, teachers and teacher educators will most probably have different images of cultural differences and similarities and therefore also upon Intercultural Education if they are in an ethnocentric stage of development or if they have developed an ethnorelative perspective.

The summary of the current state of research made clear that, up to now, no evidence addresses the question of how teachers' beliefs about intercultural education are related to their intercultural sensitivity. Therefore, a new conceptual approach should identify how perceptions regarding intercultural education differ according to different levels of intercultural sensitivity. In doing so, it could refer to the 'Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity' (DMIS) which conceptualises the development of intercultural sensitivity in different stages (see above).

With such an approach, a translation of different levels of intercultural sensitivity to the school context is provided: How are different levels of intercultural sensitivity reflected in perceiving specific situations in school? What are prototypical operationalisations of different levels of intercultural sensitivity in teaching? By answering these questions on an empirical basis, 'intercultural education' may be moved from normatively imbued top-down training to a need-based support of teachers.

CONCLUSION: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL RELEVANCE

The conceptual approach suggested above explains how more or less differentiated categories are reflected in different individuals' beliefs about intercultural education (see for a detailed illustration: Petrović et al. 2013). The *theoretical relevance* of this approach has to be seen against the background that the discourse about 'intercultural competence' lacks a specific focus on teaching and schooling (Leutwyler et al. 2009; Sieber 2007). A vast body of literature defines normative claims for intercultural education and identifies the features of interculturally competent persons in general

(see e.g. Deardorff 2009). But only very scarce approaches identify what 'intercultural competence' means specifically for teachers: What does it mean to act interculturally competent in the school context?

The specific challenge in the school contextarises from the predominantly monocultural setting of schooling as it is reflected both in its history and its current self-conception (Gogolin 1994). School as an institution is an expression of culture and has the duty to socialise the following generation into a given culture (Bruner 1996). Schools are historically targeted at contributing to the development of cultural cohesion in societies. Monoculturality, in this sense, is both aim and programme of the historically developed institution 'school' (Radtke 2004, 630). Establishing common norms and a common notion of normality is a central aim in schooling; or explained with Foucault's terms: Normalisation of individuals is a central characteristic of modern societies (Foucault 1973, 1976). In this perspective, the role of schooling is to contribute to this normalisation of pupils. Therefore, dealing with cultural heterogeneity in schools cannot be limited to dealing with individual cultural peculiarities. Rather, interculturally competent teachers are required to deal appropriately and productively with both the conflicting priorities of individual diversity on the one hand and the societal function of schooling on the other hand. The predominant discourse on intercultural education and on interculturally competent teachers, however, lacks a specific consideration of these conflicting priorities.The suggested approach could contribute empirical evidence to better conceptualise different forms of dealing with these conflicting priorities and, in doing so, to define key features of intercultural competence in the context of schooling. In this sense, the suggested approach has the potential to contribute to theory development in intercultural education.

This approach has also a *practical relevance*. In many countries, teachers have been found to have a narrow understanding of Intercultural Education referring only to students with special needs, to immigrant students or to minority group students rather than having all students in mind as all students would need to be included into this learning process (Macura-Milovanović et al. 2012; Sieber 2007). Furthermore, in many countries, different ethnic groups have different opportunities to succeed in education. Although many of these countries legally dispose of more or less appropriate policies regarding Intercultural Education, their implementation does not succeed appropriately. This may be shown in the cases of Switzerland and Serbia: Whereas the access to education is formally ensured also for marginalized groups in both countries, quality education considering the special needs of marginalized groups is not provided sufficiently both in Switzerland and in Serbia. This fact is reflected by the high percentage of school failure e.g. for Serbian children in Switzerland (Bundesamt für Statistik 2010 [Swiss Federal Statistical Office])as well as e.g. for Roma children in Serbia (Macura-Milovanović et al. 2010). It may be assumed that the more or less appropriate policies in this regard are not implemented in daily teaching – precisely because they do not fit the teachers' individual belief systems. The explicit connection of individuals' belief systems and normative demands of curricula and legislations has to be seen as a key issue in intercultural education on the level of teacher education. Fostering productive dispositions of teachers will only be possible when contradictions, discrepancies and ruptures between the biographically imbued beliefs of individual actors, on the one hand, and officially taught claims of policies and curricula, on the other hand, are explicitly dealt with (Kidd et al. 2008; Villegas 2007). Thus, the knowledge about deeply held beliefs is a basic prerequisite to support teachers for dealing effectively with culturally diverse settings. It allows for moving intercultural education from normatively imbued (and, therefore, mostly ineffective) top-down training to a need-based support of teachers.

REFERENCES

Akkari, A., C. Loomis, and S. Bauer. 2011. From accomodating to using diversity by teachers in Switzerland. *The Journal of Multiculturalism in Education* 7, no. 1

Beady, C.H., and S. Hansell. 1981. Teacher race and expectations for student achievement. *American Educational Research Journal* 18, no. 2: 191-206.

Bender-Szymanski, D. 2001. Kulturkonflikt als Chance für Entwicklung? In *Interkulturalität im Arbeitsfeld Achule. Empirische Untersuchungen über Lehrer und Schüler*, ed. G. Auernheimer, R. Van Dick, T Petzel and U. Wagner, 63-98. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.

Bennett, M.J. 1986. A developmental approach to training for intercultural sensitivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 10, no. 2: 179-96.

Bennett, M.J. 2004. Becoming interculturally competent. In *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education (2nd edition)*, ed. J. Wurzel, 62-77. Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation.

Bennett, M.J. 2011. *A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity*. Milano: The Intercultural Development Research Institute.

Bereményi, B.-Á. 2011. Intercultural policies and the contradictory views of teachers: The roma in catalonian schools. *Intercultural Education* 22, no. 5: 355-69.

Bruner, J. 1996. *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Buchori, S., and T. Dobinson. 2012. Cultural diversity in the early childhood classroom in Australia: Educators' perspectives and practices. *IJE4D Journal* 1: 41-56.

Budde, J. 2012. Problematisierende perspektiven auf heterogenität als ambivalentes thema der schul- und unterrichtsforschung. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 58, no. 4: 522-40.

Bundesamt für Statistik. 2010. *Anzahl Schüler/innen in der obligatorischen Schule nach Nationalität 1990/91-2008/09*. Neuenburg: Bundesamt für Statistik.

Cochran-Smith, M., D. Davis, and K. Fries. 2004. Multicultural teacher education. In *Handbook of research on multicultural education*, ed. J.A. Banks and C.A. Banks, 931-75. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Deardorff, D.K. 2009. Synthesizing conceptualizations of intercultural competence: A summary and emerging themes. In *The sage handbook of intercultural competence*, ed. D.K. Deardorff, 265-70. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Edelmann, D. 2006. Pädagogische Professionalität im transnationalen sozialen Raum. Eine Studie über Sichtweisen und Erfahrungen von Primarlehrpersonen in Bezug auf die kulturelle Heterogenität ihrer Schulklassen. In *Kompetenzen und Kompetenzentwicklung von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern*, ed. C. Allemann-Ghionda and E. Terhart, 235-49. Weinheim: Beltz.

Ford, T.N., and L. Quinn. 2010. First year teacher education candidates: What are their perceptions about multicultural education? *Multicultural Education* 17, no. 4: 18-24.

Foucault, M. 1973. *Archäologie des Wissens*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

Foucault, M. 1976. Überwachen und strafe. Die Geburt des Gefängnisses. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

Gogolin, I. 1994. *Der monolinguale Habitus der multikulturellen Schule*. Münster: Waxmann.

Govaris, C., and A. Kodakos. 2003. Multikulturelle Gesellschaft und interkulturelle Erziehung: Orientierungen griechischer Volksschullehrerinnen und Volksschullehrer - Ergebnisse einer explorativen Studie. *Tertium Comparationis* 9, no. 2: 124-38.

Hammer, M.R. 2011. Additional cross-cultural validity testing of the intercultural development inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35, no. 4: 474-87.

Harmon, C., and M. Wilson. 2011. An investigation of the diversity beliefs of educators. *The Journal of Multiculturalism in Education* 7.

Hue, M.-T., and K.J. Kennedy. 2012. Creation of culturally responsive classrooms: Teachers' conceptualization of a new rationale for cultural responsiveness and management of diversity in hongkong secondary schools. *Intercultural Education* 23, no. 2: 119-32.

Kidd, J.K., S.Y. Sanchez, and E.K. Thorp. 2008. Defining moments: Developing culturally responsive dispositions and teaching practices in early childhood preservice teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 24, no. 2: 316-29.

Klieme, E., and J. Hartig. 2008. Kompetenzkonzepte in den Sozialwissenschaften und im erziehungswissenschaftlichen Diskurs. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 10, no. Sonderheft 8: 11-29.

Klieme, E., and S. Vieluf. 2009. Teaching practices, teachers' beliefs and attitudes. In *Creating effective teaching and learning environments. First results from talis*, ed. Oecd, 87-135. Paris: OECD.

Kratzmann, J., and S. Pohlmann-Rother. 2012. Ethnische Stereotype im Kindergarten? Erzieherinnenhaltungen gegenüber Zuwanderern aus der Türkei. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 58, no. 6: 855-76.

Lanfranchi, A. 2008. Interkulturelle Kompetenz als Element pädagogischer Professionalität — Schlussfolgerungen für die Lehrerausbildung. In *Interkulturelle Kompetenz und pädagogische Professionalität*, ed. G. Auernheimer, 231-60: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Leutwyler, B., E. Steinger, and P. Sieber. 2009. Stufenmodell der Normalitätsreflexionen. Wie Lehrpersonen kulturelle Heterogenität in Schule und Unterricht unterschiedlich reflektieren. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Bildungswissenschaften* 31, no. 3: 565-83.

Macura-Milovanović, S., I. Gera, and M. Kovačević. 2010. *Mapping policies and practices for the preparation of teachers for inclusive education in contexts of social and cultural diversity: Serbia country report*. Torino: European Training Foundation.

Macura-Milovanović, S., N. Pantić, and A. Closs. 2012. The rationale for a wider concept of inclusive education for teacher education: A case study of serbia. *Prospects* 42, no. 1: 19-39.

Makarova, E., and W. Herzog. 2013. Teachers' acculturation attitudes and their classroom management: An empirical study among fifth-grade primary school teachers in switzerland. *European Educational Research Journal* 12, no. 2: 256-69.

Marburger, H., G. Helbig, and E. Kienast. 1997. Sichtweisen und Orientierungen Berliner Grundschullehrerinnen und -lehrer zur Multiethnizität der bundesdeutschen Gesellschaft und den Konsequenzen für Schule und Unterricht. In *Schule und multiethnische Schülerschaft*, ed. A. Heintze, G. Helbig, P. Jungbluth, E. Kienast and H. Marburger, 4-63. Frankfurt a.M.: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation.

Mizrachi, N. 2012. On the mismatch between multicultural education and its subjects in the field. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 33, no. 2: 185-201.

Nelson, S.W., and P.L. Guerra. 2013. Educator beliefs and cultural knowledge: Implications for school improvement efforts. *Educational Administration Quarterly*.

Over, U. 2012. *Die interkulturellkompetente Schule*. Münster: Waxmann.

Pajares, F.M. 1992. Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct. *Review of Educational Research* 62, no. 3: 307-32.

Pantić, N., A. Closs, and V. Ivošević. 2010. *Teachers for the future: Teacher development for inclusive education in the western balkans*. Torino: European Training Foundation.

Petrović, D.S., B. Leutwyler, B.M. Zlatković, C. Mantel, and B.M. Dimitrijević. 2013. *Teachers' intercultural sensitivity. An approach for teacher education*.

Quiocho, A., and F. Rios. 2000. The power of their presence: Minority group teachers and schooling. *Review of Educational Research* 70, no. 4: 485-528.

Radtke, F.-O. 2004. Schule und Ethnizität. In *Handbuch der Schulforschung*, ed. W. Helsper and J. Böhme, 625-46. Wiesbaden: VS, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Reusser, K., C. Pauli, and A. Elmer. 2011. Berufsbezogene Überzeugungen von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern. In *Handbuch Forschung zum Lehrerberuf*, ed. E. Terhart, H. Bennewitz and M. Rothland, 478-95. Münster: Waxmann.

Richardson, V. 1996. The role of attitudes and beliefs in learning to teach. In *Handbook of research on teacher education*, ed. J. Sikula, 102-19. New York: Macmillan.

Sieber, P. 2007. Transnationalität und nationale Schulsysteme: Perspektiven für Forschung und Lehre. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Bildungswissenschaften* 29, no. 3: 345-62.

Silverman, S.K. 2010. What is diversity? *American Educational Research Journal* 47, no. 2: 292-329.

Sterzenbach, G., and A. Moosmüller. 2000. *Kulturkontakt - Kulturkonflikt in der Schule. Untersuchung zum interkulturellen Handeln an Münchner Schulen*. München: Landeshauptstadt München, Direktorium/Stadtkanzlei.

Stier, J., M.-T. Tryggvason, M. Sandström, and A. Sandberg. 2012. Diversity management in preschools using a critical incident approach. *Intercultural Education* 23, no. 4: 285-96.

Tatar, M., and G. Horenczyk. 2003. Diversity-related burnout among teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 19, no. 4: 397–408.

Villegas, A.M. 2007. Dispositions in teacher education: A look at social justice. *Journal of Teacher Education* 58: 370-80.

Weber, M. 2003. *Heterogenität im Schulalltag. Konstruktion ethnischer und geschlechtlicher Unterschiede*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

DIFFERENT MATHEMATICS EDUCATION PERSPECTIVES IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY. A PRELIMINARY STUDY IN KOSOVO'S INSTITUTIONS

Xhevdet Thaqi
Faculty of Education, University of Gjilan, Kosovo
xhevdetthaqi@uni-pr.edu

Valbona Berisha
Faculty of Education, University of Prishtina, Kosovo
valbona.berisha@uni-pr.edu

ABSTRACT

Kosovo is a complicated multicultural reality in which we want to study the roles that culture and context plays in different mathematics classrooms. In this paper we focus in comparing practices in three different schools according the division created in this society. We analyze their textbooks and classrooms discourse to understand which mathematical practices can be closer than others to be aware for accepting real multiculturalism. A semiotic analysis reveals how monoculturalism is present in such a multicultural society, but some experiences are more fruitful than others in terms of participation and meaning production.

KEYWORDS

Education, Mathematics, Multiculturalism

INTRODUCTION

Kosovo is not well known as multicultural society. In fact, with an apparent domination of 90% Albanian, five languages are spoken: Albanian, Serbian, Bosnian, Turkish, Croatian and Romany. Religion is another strand for differences, because just 8% is orthodox (Serbian, Montenegrian and Romanyes), 16% of Catholic are Albanians and Croats, and the 76% Moslem are Albanians, Turks and Bosnians. What an impressive landscape, in which language plays an important role for division! Even after 1999, Kosovar Curriculum coexists with Serbian Curriculum imposed for Serbian students, having separated schools. In such a framework, some albanian experiences present students taught to value not only the traditions of their own family and community, but to be open to the history and culture of others in a multicultural perspective (Daxner 2002), so called "multiethnic untrue dream" for some serbian authors (Smucker 1999).

Which is the role of culture and context in such a perspective in the case of mathematics education? We assume that culture, ethnicity and language are not only intertwined but also carry strong divisive and exclusive connotations.

Our position is that it's not only a problem of policy of doing what the community decides, but also a matter of scientific reflection by the maths education community about the understanding of what mathematics is, and the role of language and multicultural perspectives for teachers. Our big conjecture is that the official interdisciplinary and open multicultural mathematics curricular perspective (MASHT 2012) is not a result of the real teacher beliefs and enacting in the different communities.

Are the Kosovar teachers enough aware and prepared for accepting approaches to mathematics education that are sensitive to the contexts and lived experiences of all learners in a multiethnic classrooms?

Our main aim, founded by a socioconstructivistic approach (Lerman 2001), is to recognize which is the specifically understanding of teachers on such a way they can improve the ability to implement an equitable, rigorous, and coherent mathematics multicultural agenda for the next expected multicultural classrooms. Therefore, this paper reports a part of ongoing study started on 2009, to understand how mathematical practices reveals different positions about the understanding of culture in such different three curricular experiences. And more specifically, how different teachers from three different school systems used cultural background or ideas, for improving mathematical meanings and connections.

More specifically, we ask now, which are the main cultural characteristics in each monolinguistic group when some mathematics classroom practices are observed? And, can we identify meaningful practices if the curricular materials and influences seem to be uniform, and there is a major belief that mathematics is a set of principles to be learned?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Our starting point is based upon three main principles: First, our thought that if student's social and cultural values are encouraged and supported in mathematics classroom becomes a closer representation of their "real world" experience and ultimately, their social, cultural, personal, "folk" or "ethno" mathematics will be given enhanced mathematical recognition in social setting (Boaler 1993). The second is the need to acknowledge that the "cultural" solutions offered by students in the real world are also mathematical (Boaler 1993). And third, the need to know that the status of cultural approaches to education in multicultural societies often assume that cultures are compatible and in harmony within themselves and with each other (Roestrier 2005).

We assume that culture includes several aspects as semiotic, socio-political intentions, constructive aspects and technological aspects (Oliveras 1996). But, we focus now on the analysis from semiotic perspectives in practices when students and teachers used representation registers as showing how they are influenced by different paradigms, with different social knowledge structures and perhaps different beliefs. In fact there is not a single register of a given kind: the nature

of a register depends on the community of practice in question. And we also assume that to present Mathematics as a means with which to understand reality (Boaler 1993) allows students to become involved with mathematics and to break down perceptions of a remote body of knowledge (Thaqi 2009).

An epistemic-semiotic perspective on mathematical activity provides a way of conceptualising the teaching and learning of mathematics that transcends and encompasses both psychological perspectives focusing exclusively on mental structures and functions, and performance-focused perspectives concerned only with student' behaviours (Ernest 2006).

The way in which a teacher gives meaning in practice to an approach that focuses on the cultural background of their students hinges on many things, one of which is the teacher's own understanding of the concept of culture and the reasons for focusing on learners' cultural backgrounds. The question of how these approaches are translated into practice within classrooms remains. Teacher not only have to access, understand and accept their students' social and cultural background knowledge, they need to be able to interpret these outside realities in terms of mathematics and transform them into curriculum experiences (Thaqi 2009).

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

For the analysis of classroom practices, we start by observing three Primary School teachers: one from school where teachers used Albanian language (AT), one from school where teachers used Serbian language (ST) and one from school where teachers used Turkish langauge (TT). Interviews were conducted to 23 Albanian teachers, 3 Turkish and 6 Serbian teachers. But just three women accepted to participate in the study to observe their practices. They live at Gjilan (one of regional centre in Kosovo). Both trained in Faculty of Education (or/and Higher Pedagogical School), with at least 10 years of experience. Albanian and Turkish teachers share the same school space, but different period (morning-evening). It corresponds to the general situation in Kosova. It was quite impossible to have teachers in the same level accepting being videotaped in their classrooms.
The teachers were interviewed, and observed in some classrooms. One of each is specially transcribed and analyzed in which it starts a new content. A semiotic analysis is conducted recognizing specific role of connections and meanings in classroom discourse.

We accept that classroom discourse provides the conditions through which cultural and social dimensions come to sight and are expressed. Discourse helps to construct the relationships between the participants in the classroom and their ways of acting and experiencing. Any exercise in either theorising the notion of discourse, or interpreting classroom discourses, involves attention to social processes and practices that reflect cultural and social differences. However, all of the different theorisations of discourse emphasize particular features of these social processes and suggest some particular relationships among them. We did also a socio intentional analysis (Miller and Baker 2001), not explained in this paper.

We describe not only the use of symbols, meanings and expressions, as well as actions, gestures and students' speech voices during the classroom practice, but how it appears in the textbook. We identify some conceptual relations observed, and the opportunities given by the teachers for the students' interactions.

RESULTS

Interviews showed us that most teachers in school focus only teaching students to reproduce knowledge and use it for solving typical problems. Teachers said that they are prepared for multiculturalism, but it's interpretation is only the fact to speak different languages. Just some Albanian teachers are convinced that education should be contextualized and the context helps for ways of updating individual students' facilities, developing their skills and cultivating their sociability.

	Albanian Teacher (AT)	**Serbian Teacher (ST)**	**Turkish Teacher (TT)**
Use of symbols, meanings and math expressions	A regular familiar lunch situation is used to start. The teacher hides mother figure to emphasize the eight number of the family	Drawing a segment in the blackboard is used as a context for comparing segments.	A poster with 6 oranges and 3 dishes was presented to enter to a set of division problems
	Uses verbalisation of existent and missed elements as signified for creating many examples of a new number	Blackboard is used as the only common place for symbolizing the idea of comparison.	Distribution of oranges in different days is the proposal for division
	Connect different meanings for numbers	Questions are always "*Do you know what ...is*" Strip is just used to convince, not to relate knowledge.	Dishes were evoked as a way of representing both grouping and sharing. Just in some moment number line was used to interpret a division of the oranges into days.
	Uses always reasoning to prove and refute knowledge	Questions are almost dualist Comparison as action is overlapped to metric approach.	Emphasizing computation and insist in the subtraction method

Table 1: Semiotic epistemic perspective

From the analysis of videotapes, we recognize in the following table (table 1) the main differences of three teachers according semiotic perspective.

According his textbook (Zejnullahu, 2008) for Primary School in Albanian language, the Albanian teacher try to introduce mathematics in out-of-school contextual experience by using a poster similar as it is in the textbook (the situation of lunch with the whole family, discussion about traditional role of mother in preparing and in traditional habit of sister to surveying the food).

The actions means how to integrate previous knowledge from the student interactive discussions and negotiations of mathematical norms as effective and efficient frameworks are the key elements in building student's understanding.

Guided by the teacher, students develop their identification of abstract number with concrete objects. "Who prepare the food" is the contextual problem to be solved in learning and understanding of number concept.

Using models of repeated addition, such as 1, 1+1=2, 2+1=3, etc. pupils apply mathematical tools to find the solution. And then the mathematical solution becomes when the pupils realize its rationale by comparing it to the context of the problem.

	Albanian Teacher (AT)	**Serbian Teacher (ST)**	**Turkish Teacher (TT)**
Actions Intensity of voice of students' speech & gestures.	The students spoke aloud when they were sure on their ideas. Teacher addressed to all students and they usually work in group. They feel free for content-free sentences. Everyone uses hands to help oral communication. Uniformity and formalism in pupil's mathematical strategies are not essential in this case.	Students did not communicate overly with others in the group. Every time teacher's voice was aloud and students' voice lower. The teacher usually addressed to one student. Students usually don't speak but just writes in the blackboard. The gestures were very inexpressive. The teacher just pointed to some written or drawn objects.	One-to-one communication. Always the voice of teacher was higher than that of students. If they did not know how to go on they made a pause waiting the teacher to continue. The teacher pointed the objects, Students are inexpressive.

Table 2: The sociocultural analysis

From the class discussion students are approaching to the observation of cardinality and inductive process of building natural numbers.

Albanian teacher introduce the students what they know about the subject trying to identify previous mathematical knowledges. She tries to use participative sentences as it can see:

T- What do you learn till now in maths classroom? Come on?
St (majority) - Numbers.
T- What else?
St (majority) ... Equalities
T- Anything else?
3 Students- "The Minus " (in Albanian language it means the symbol but also the difference as operation")
T- What else?
St – (two students) Plus
T- But addition and plus have any relation among them?
St- Putting together.
T- Anything else? ... (Silence)
T- So, which numbers does have been learned till now?
St- (chorus) 1,2,3,4,5,6,7.
T- Today we'll go further to learn another number, are you ready to begin the explanation of a new number?
St- (chorus) Yes....

According to Romberg (1998), three aspects (model, language, and symbol) are involved in these activities. Modeling the process of distribution of food to 8 persons where one (the mother) is not present, using mathematical language of numbers, and writing mathematical symbol of the numbers, i.e. 7+1=8, are the processes of understanding the new concept of number 8. After that, they understand the context, using their informal everyday language and formal language of mathematics.

They create the formal mathematical model of the context. When they try to solve the problem, they come up with ideas of understanding of concept of number 8 as successor of number 7 or, as new number bigger than 7 for one, etc.

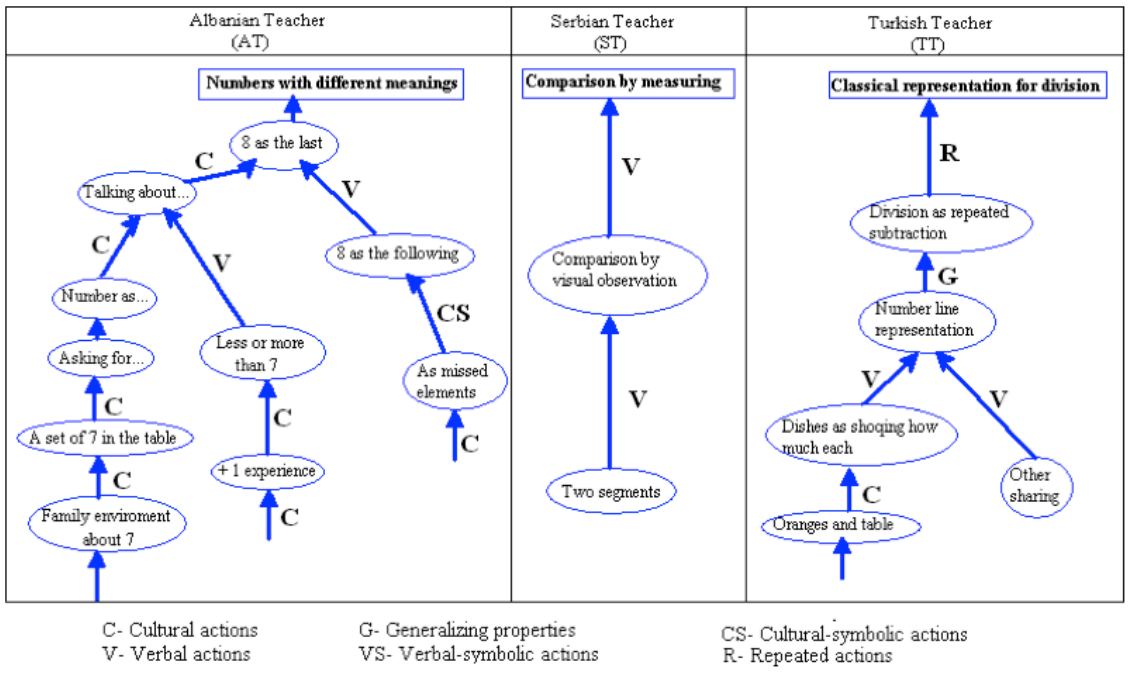


Figure 1. Schemes of constructing meanings.

The following table (table 2) shows how the actions of three teachers are also different. Turkish teacher starts without questioning, just "entitling". She writes "operation of division" in the blackboard. Every student writes the sentence in their notebook. After some seconds they tell the teacher "I wrote it". And the teacher starts talking about the designs in the blackboard. These sentences don't have any question without asking anything about children's knowledge background.

Serbian teacher starts also writing in blackboard "Segments and their comparison" A student asks: "*Is it the same title as it's written in the book?*" Teacher doesn't answer to him. Then after seconds, says: "*What a segment is?*" drawing a segment AB in the blackboard.

The observations show clearly how Albanian teacher tends to a constructivist position in which a set of connections is presented in an interrelated grid that is more complex that for the other teachers (figure 1).

Serbian mathematics books in general (Sotirovic et al. 2004) are algorithmic in fact. For instance, length of segments is presented by theoretical comparison. In the Serbian language class of mathematics, Milan looking to measure the given segment, doesn't know how to answer to question given by teacher.

Turkish mathematics books (Taskin and Çarhoglu 2005) explain the algorithmic way of teaching multiplication and division of multi-digit numbers using place value, mental algorithm, and standard (column) algorithm. Something similar appears in the case of TT. The pauses which appeared in many students' discussions were filed by watching "the world around" when the students expected that teacher take the initiative, or when the students having difficulties were thinking about how to continue or when the students gave up solving the situation as they were not sure how to continue.

In the case of teacher ST or TT, one can argue that the reason is the low qualification of teacher's knowledge of mathematics or a lack of teacher's pedagogical knowledge of teaching mathematics. But it also relates to teachers beliefs. *In the Case TT* it seems that the students develop their understandings by utilizing their existing mathematics knowledge by interactive discussions and negotiations solving situated mathematical problems (i.e. dividing the set of 6 oranges for 3 persons). But mechanistic learning is the usual way of doing.

In the case ST, the pupils doesn't answer during the learning activity in many occasions, afraid of being different, hardly giving reasons on discussion, barely having different solution. In contrast, to promote full mathematical participation for all the pupils in the classroom, the teacher should be concerned to seek ways of developing approaches to mathematics education that are sensitive to the context and lived experiences of the pupils. By focusing on the experiences that each pupil brings to the classroom, (case AT) the various interpretations of the knowledge could be made explicit and negotiation would be possible. It's not important who is more reflective, but we emphasize more possibilities for enculturation in this case.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

From the semiotic analysis of networks according videotapes, and interviews we can see that kosovar teachers observed relate mathematical experiences to their own beliefs and textbook experiences in different ways according their school traditions making students dependent on the teachers' instructions and leads them to a uniform attitude.

Mathematics was not a subject that they were used to talking about. For these students, to do mathematics meant to fill out a worksheet and return it to the teacher for evaluation. The idea of discussing a problem, listening to different points of view and building on each other's ideas was just observed in the Albanian language example.

Moreover, even when learners are seen as sharing a particular cultural background, the experiences and mathematical knowledge acquired by different learners from the same cultural context varies. In our case of class TT on teaching division in Kosova, is showed this to be the case in a context where children are engaging in the same social or cultural practice such one student speech for selling oranges and other speech for served oranges at home. The culture of any one group cannot be thought as being uniform.

Such teachers observed seems not being aware of the importance of cultural variables in building mathematical meanings, identifying language monoculture gethos. In their talks, teachers justify monocultural positions as knowing other languages. The observations of our analysis present us a set of discriminated facts. Even using in some case regular out-of-school situations any reference to the other cultures is proposed.

REFERENCES

Boaler, J. 1993. *For the learning of mathematics*. King's College, London University.

Daxner, M. 2002. Multiethnic schools: promoting a wider identity. http://www.unmikonline. org/pub/focuskos/feb02/focusksocaffair4.htm

Ernest, P. 2006. A Semiotic Perspective of Mathematical Activity: The Case of Number, *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 61, 67-101.

Lerman, S. 2001. Cultural, discursive psychology: a sociocultural approach to studying the teaching and learning of mathematics. *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 46, 87-113.

MASHT e Kosovës. 2012. *Korniza e Kurrikulës së Arsimit parauniversitar të Kosovës.* Prishtinë.

Miller, K., and D.A. Baker. 2001. *Mathematics and Science as social practices: an investigation into primary student teacher responses to a critical epistemology*. BERA, University of York.

Oliveras, M. L. 1996. *Etnomatematicas. Formación de profesores e innovación curricular.* Editorial COMARES, Granada

Roestrier, D. 2005. Human Development Education for Social Workers in Multicultural Societies. *Social work education* 24, 311-326.

Romberg, T.A. 1998. Problematic Features of the School Mathematics Curriculum. In *International Handbook of Mathematics Education*, ed. A. Bishop, M.A. Clements, C. Keitel-Kreidt, J. Kilpatrick and C. Laborde. Dordrecht. Kluver Academic Publishers.

Smucker, F. 1999. Multiethnic Kosovo is a dream untrue. *Post Gazette*. http://www.post-gazette. com/headlines/19991119kosovo3.asp

Smulders, A. 2004. Friendly school. Report UNICEF. http://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase /files/Kosovo_2004_003_Child_Friendly_School.pdf

Sotirovic, B., D. Lilovac, and M. Latkovic. 2004. *Matematika za cetvrti razred osnovne skole*, ZUNS, Beograd.

Stockall, N. 1998. Reading the Signs: A Semiotic Perspective of Inclusive Practice. *Language awareness* 7, 192-205.

Taskin, S.Z., and M.A. Çarhoglu. 2005. *Ilkögretim matematik.* DORTEL, Ankara.

Thaqi, Xh. 2009. *Aprender a enseñar transformaciones geométricas en primaria desde una perspectiva cultural. D*octoral thesis. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona.

Yackel, E. and P. Cobb. 1996. Sociomathematical norms, argumentation, and autonomy in mathematics. *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education* 27, 458-477.

Zejnullahu, R. 2008. *Matematika per klasen e pare te shkolles fillore*. Dukagjini, Prishtinë.

INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

CHALLENGES TO EMBEDDING GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE INTO INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION - AN IRISH PERSPECTIVE

Mags Liddy
Department of Education and Professional Studies, University of Limerick, Ireland
mags.liddy@ul.ie

ABSTRACT

The Ubuntu Network works in Ireland to embed global development education into initial teacher education for post-primary sector. The Network is composed of 13 initial teacher education providers, and provided funding for approx. 30 development education projects in both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes. To summarise these projects is difficult as there is an extremely diverse and complex landscape of teacher education in Ireland. As the Network moves into a new phase of strategic planning, it is opportune to consider challenges facing from the position of complexity and change in order to review progress and consider future steps.

KEYWORDS

Initial Teacher Education, Ubuntu Network, Ireland, Critical Pedagogy

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an overview of the Ubuntu Network in Ireland which aims to embed global development education into initial teacher education. The work of the Network is presented in relation to the themes of complexity and change. In recent years Ireland has undergone considerable reform; the financial crisis and less resourcing for public sector has led to significant changes in the funding and management environment for publicly funded work, while the educational landscape in Ireland has and is undergoing considerable structural changes both in teacher education and at school level. These structural changes and challenges are first described in this paper, leading to a consideration of the tensions arising between a critical development education perspective of the Ubuntu Network with the discourse of increasing managerial and output orientated public sector reform. As the Network moves into a new phase of strategic planning, it is opportune to consider challenges facing from the position of complexity and change. This paper is intended as a thinkpiece for the Network to inform organisational planning and thinking on future workplans and objectives as it is an opportune time to review progress and consider future steps.

CONTEXT: GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

The Ubuntu Network[1] aim is to integrate and embed global development education into post-primary initial teacher education. In 2005 the Network began as a pilot project with two teacher education providers and has since grown to working with 13 initial teacher education providers[2] (Hogan 2009). It is funded by Irish Aid, a section of the Irish Government responsible for overseas development aid and civil society work on global development in Ireland.

Development education (DE) aims to increase awareness and understanding of a rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world,

> *"seeking to engage people in analysis, reflection and action for local and global citizenship and participation... It is about supporting people in understanding and acting to transform the social, cultural, political and economic structures which affect their lives at personal, community, national and international levels" (Irish Aid, 2006 np).*

Development education highlights the inequalities and injustices present across our globe, and advocates action for global social justice. In its early days in Ireland, returned development workers and missionaries began awareness work to strengthen public understanding of the developing world in order to encourage charitable response and support the provision of emergency aid (Regan and Sinclair 1999). Since these early days, global development education has moved towards principles of human rights and solidarity with others, recognising global responsibility and lack of global justice in political and economic condition and policies (Bourn 2003). Ireland's historical trajectory for development education with strong engagement from religious organisations and NGOs has led to an emphasis on the social aspects to the human development story as it is presented in Ireland with both positives and negative consequences. This social focus has heightened a sense of difference and similarity between 'us' and 'them', sometimes negatively by reinforcing our privilege and 'luckiness'. It tends to neglect the local aspects to the human development story and can ignore poverty in Ireland or Irish nomadic people's rights. On the positive side, this focus places the educational emphasis on participation for change by engaging learners in working for social development. It emphasizes principles of human rights and solidarity with others, recognising global responsibility.

Gleeson, King, O'Driscoll and Tormey (2007) study of 119 Irish post-primary schools found that a majority of teachers value development education and report teaching development education topics as part of their subject. Most notably, 65% stated that they saw opportunities for integrating development education in their main subject area. Development

---

1 The term Ubuntu originates from Xhosa expression ***umuntungumuntungabantu*** (a person is a person through persons). Essentially it means the essence of being human through our allegiances and relationships with others, akin to solidarity. A similar concept is expressed in the Irish seanfhocal ***Ní neart go cur le chéile*** (there is not strength without unity).

2 The 13 ITE providers are Crawford College of Art and Design, Dublin City University, Mater Dei Institute, the National College of Art and Design, Limerick School of Art and Design, National University of Ireland Maynooth, National University of Ireland Galway, St. Angela's College, Sligo, Tipperary Institute, Trinity College Dublin, University College Cork, University College Dublin, and the University of Limerick

education content and methodologies have been included across the Irish curriculum, particularly in *Civic Social and Political Education* at post-primary level (Dillon 2009). The social action orientation is uniquely endorsed in the Irish formal education system through the Action project element of the *Civic, Social and Political Education* syllabus. However the action element to development education can centre on charitable responses and critical politically aware accounts of global development can be limited. Various reasons for this are presented- teachers report anxiety in addressing controversial issues especially local and economic topics (Clarke and Drudy 2006), whilst concerns are raised on Irish teachers' knowledge of global development issues as this content does not form part of their professional preparation programmes (Liddy and Tormey 2012). One of the biggest drawbacks to *Civic Social and Political Education* at post-primary level is the lack of a Senior cycle subject to further students engagement with development and political issues. The proposed new subject Politics and Society is hoped to be offered in Irish schools; its inclusion would address some of the issues raised here and continuing professional development opportunities in political education and global development would become more attractive to teachers.

Development education often cites Freire's (1979) work on critiquing banking forms of education, and highlighting the need to move to transformative education. By this Freire (1979) means education should become a process of transforming the learner and 'the practice of freedom'. However Andreotti (2006) argues that much of development education can be termed as 'soft' rather than critical, because key underlying issues of power and dominance through economics or culture are rarely questioned and can work to endorse and reinforce negative and stereotypical views of the developing world. One development issue that highlights these questions is Fairtrade. In Gallwey's (2009) informal study, roughly one-third of the students showed evidence of 'soft', consumer-based Fairtrade learning. While Fairtrade aims to address unfairness in the global economic system, it also works to maintain consumerist activity and promotes ethical consumerism as method of social action. Questioning the overall economic system, colonialism and exploitation of developing countries requires something further-'critical' global education as Andreotti (2006) terms it. Education as the practice of freedom would also reject the charitable approach to activism which takes place in Irish schools (Bryan and Bracken 2011) rather than action to transform the social, cultural, political and economic structures (Irish Aid 2006).

The Ubuntu Network provides seed funding through an annual call for projects to integrate global development education into post-primary teacher education. In these calls for funding, criteria are specifically named- some are practical e.g. funding is aimed at full-time staff not part-time, funding cannot be used for capital expenditure, monitoring and evaluation of activities must be included. The Network also calls for inclusion of critical development education, endorsing Andreotti's call for critical global education. In academic years 2010-2014, the Network funded approx. 20 development education projects in both undergraduate B. Ed. programmes and in post-graduate Higher/ Professional Diploma in Ed. (see www.ubuntu.ie/project for greater detail). To summarise these projects is difficult as there is an extremely diverse and complex landscape of teacher education in Ireland; this landscape includes both concurrent and consecutive programmes, with both large and small teacher education providers. To give an example, NUIG postgraduate diploma has approx. 280 student teachers for its consecutive programme, whilst St Angela's College of Education has an annual intake of 30 student teachers. The actual development education work also differed due to the subject specific nature of the ITE programmes;

Art and Design focused on visual literacy and imagery of developing world, Religion student teacher engaged in cultural revaluing; Science examined climate change and food security as global issues.

In academic year 2013-2014, the Network funded seven projects envisioned as pilot initiatives for the new Professional Master of Education. These new Master programmes are beginning in September 2014 in ten post-primary teacher education providers, all of which are members of the Ubuntu Network. These new Masters programmes replace the current one year Professional Diploma and require changing to a new two-year format. This is a mandated change from the Teaching Council. In Ireland, The Teaching Council was established in 2006 as the regulator of the teaching profession and to promote professional standards in teaching. The Teaching Council Act (2001) and the Teaching Council Amendment Act (2006) provide a legislative framework for the Teaching Council and state the Teaching Council is empowered and designed to

> *'promote teaching as a profession; to promote the professional development of teachers; to maintain and improve the quality of teaching in the state; to provide for the establishment of standards, policies and procedures for the education and training of teachers... to provide for the registration and regulation of teachers and to enhance professional standards and competence...' (The Teaching Council Act, 2001 np).*

In their Criteria and Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education (2011b) the Teaching Council identify mandatory elements such as citizenship and diversity which the Ubuntu Network argues align with development education themes- this is explained further in the later section. The decision to specifically focus on the post-graduate curriculum development opportunity was a strategic move by the Ubuntu Network to address an area of reform within teacher education; it provided a strategic opportunity for the formalisation of global development education into post-primary teacher education.

Prior to this approach, the Network funded action research initiatives, and Liddy (2012) provided a meta-analysis of key learning from 22 action research projects and events supported by Ubuntu during phase 1 and completed between 2006-2008. These were collected in an e-book *Ubuntu Network - Action Research and Other Projects to Integrate Development Education into Initial Teacher Education 2006-2008* (Liddy and O'Flaherty 2009). This action research approach was endorsed by a review of models on integrating education for sustainable development. In this review Ferreira, Ryan and Tilbury (2007) highlight action research as a successful approach realising changes in organisations, curriculum and pedagogy, and as a key dimension to mainstreaming education for sustainable development into formal education systems. Action research is 'a participatory, democratic process ... [which] seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in pursuit of practical solutions to issues pressing concern to people... and to the flourishing of individual persons and communities' (Reason and Bradbury 2001, 1). It often involves the addition of a small-scale intervention in the functioning of the real world and a close examining of the effects of such an intervention (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007). Action research is not technically a methodology, but rather Bryman says can be defined as an approach to the diagnosis of a problem by practitioner and respondents, and the development of a solution (Bryman 2008, 382). The action research process can aid participants to socially construct meaning and understanding calling on their own experiences and prior knowledge to focus on the process of change (Liddy and Parker-Jenkins 2012).

As the Ubuntu Network moves into a new phase of strategic planning, it is opportune to consider challenges facing the aim of integration of global development education into initial teacher education. In this paper I am employ a similar strategy to action research in order to identify challenges presenting themselves in the present situation. Ireland has undergone considerable reform and is facing more reform across the public sector including the education system. The financial crisis and austerity measures means less resourcing and funding for public sector, and has led to significant changes in management environment for publicly funded work. In addition the educational landscape and policy-making in Ireland is undergoing considerable structural changes both in teacher education and at school level. These ongoing structural changes and challenges are reviewed in the following section, presenting possibilities and opportunities for the Ubuntu Network to consider in its phase of strategic planning.

COMPLEXITY AND CHANGE: STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES

I will review three changes and challenges in this section; namely teacher education reform, education policy changes at Junior Cycle (lower secondary) level, and changes in funding environment and encroaching managerialism in the form of results-based frameworks. Whilst these challenges present difficulties for the Ubuntu Network and its membership, they can also be read as opportunities for workplans with possibilities for strategic organisational planning.

TEACHER EDUCATION REFORM

The Ubuntu Network is currently working within an era of unprecedented reforms within teacher education in Ireland. The current range of policy changes in teacher education has been termed as convergence and acceleration by the Director of the Teaching Council (Ó Ruairc 2013). Since its establishment, the Teaching Council has taken a strong stance on regulation of the teaching profession and in naming professional standards. In 2011, they published Criteria and Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education. These new requirements led to the development of new 2-year Professional Masters of Education (PME) programmes, as explained above. The curriculum development work undertaken by ITE providers in the development of the new Professional Masters of Education (PME) programmes provided an excellent opportunity for Ubuntu to integrate development education into curriculum policies and programme descriptors. An unfortunate consequence of this change is the expected reduction on the numbers of student teachers enrolling in 2014 as more time and financial resources are required for a two-year programme. However the actual figures are not known at time of writing this paper. A second unfortunate consequence of availing of this strategic opportunity has meant that the focus of Ubuntu initiatives has been on the ten Ubuntu members who offer this new Masters programme rather than all 13 Ubuntu members. The opportunity to redress this is offered this academic year as the concurrent teacher education degree programmes are undergoing review. Supporting this review process allows a further strategic opportunity for Ubuntu members to integrate development education into teacher education programme descriptors and enhance engagement with global development.

The Teaching Council Criteria and Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education (2011b) includes a mandatory element in all Irish initial teacher education programmes on citizenship, creativity, inclusion and diversity. Teachers' professional role lies in preparing young people for the world they will inherit including the social, economic and environmental concerns of the present as they will become the responsibility of the young people in the future (Liddy and Parker-Jenkins 2012). This responsibility includes living within an intercultural society. This is implemented in various ways by post-primary initial teacher education providers- for example the new Professional Master of Education (PME) at University of Limerick beginning in Sept 2014 includes a programme objective to develop an awareness of issues relating to social justice, globalisation, inequality and diversity both in school and society and to promote the role of the educator in bringing about change. At NUIG, student teachers engage in a lecture series on development education followed by a Development education day where they engage in workshops on global issues facilitated by development NGO staff and utilising active learning methodologies. All of this is supported in modules on diversity, teaching for social justice.

Additionally social inclusion and equality is a mandate for their profession. In Ireland Teaching Council's Code of Professional Conduct for Teachers (2012) states specific values of the profession which includes that teachers shall 'promote equality' and 'in their professional practice, teachers demonstrate respect for spiritual and cultural values, diversity, social justice, freedom, democracy and the environment' (Teaching Council 2012).The Ubuntu Network argues that addressing this professional value can be achieved through the lens of development education. Particular structural barriers to positive promotion of social inclusion are recognised in Ireland. The demographic profile of Irish teachers in Ireland is overwhelmingly homogenous i.e. white, female, middle-class and of Irish ethnic origin (Leavy 2005; Devine 2005). Full demographics of entrants to teacher education programmes across a spectrum of social factors is not all gathered. Socio-economic class, disabilities and gender are recorded, but questions such as sexuality, religion and political beliefs are not recorded. Evidence of strong and consistent homogenous patterns lead Devine to conclude that

> *"members of the teaching profession tend to be white, Catholic and sedentary, and therefore very much embedded in the life world of the dominant ethnic group in Irish society" (2005, 53).*

Furthermore, in her classic account of dominant discourses in Irish education system, Lynch (1987) identified a prevailing discourse of consensualism in Irish education which prevents strong social critique and analysis of difference. Within a consensualist society there is a belief that society is an undifferentiated whole, based on a failure to recognise difference in terms of class, gender or race and ethnicity. Where subject matter and knowledge is based upon acknowledging difference and celebrating diversity, content can clash with the dominant thinking and culture of the system. These structural factors can act as a barrier to the promotion of positive attitude to social inclusion and ethnic diversity (Liddy 2011). This is further reinforced by teachers lack of political and sociological knowledge. Research in Ireland shows a deficit in the preparation and support for teachers on issues of diversity and inclusion. Just one third of school principals believe pre-service and in-service education prepares teachers for working in a multicultural setting, and 9/10 recommend more in-service is needed to promote inclusion within schools (Smyth et al. 2009). The Teaching Council's Code of Professional Conduct for Teachers (2012) provides a strategic opportunity for the Ubuntu Network to focus on addressing these structural barriers to counteract consensualist discourse and embeddness in dominant ethnic perspectives. Critical global

education as described by Andreotti and de Souza (2012) advocates for this through the lens of critical literacy where educators reflect on their positionality and unlearn complicities (Spivak cited in Andreotti 2007). Furthermore this approach promotes ethical relationships and solidarity with the Other. This approach to development education is endorsed by the Ubuntu Network- this approach is considered further later in this paper.

Other teacher education reforms include the proposed creation of six Teacher Education Clusters or Centres of Excellence, which has resulted in much uncertainty. This consolidation of ITE providers, if it occurs, would be a major change in the teacher education landscape reducing the number of national ITE providers to six. This reduction could lead to a possible reduction in the number of projects and opportunities for the Ubuntu Network to support. However it also could lead to more consolidation of previous work and greater collaboration in workplans.

EDUCATION POLICY CHANGES AT JUNIOR CYCLE (LOWER SECONDARY) LEVEL

Junior Cycle education is undergoing vast changes at present in Ireland; this change is mandated through the national Department of Education and Skills. Within lower secondary education from September 2014, learners will engage with newly developed subjects and short courses, and new approaches of assessment and reporting of evidence of learner engagement. This reform is based on research which argues for that system-wide reform rather than piecemeal approaches are necessary particularly change in assessment forms (NCCA 2011).

Junior Cycle reform centres on the learner developing five key skills- Managing Information and Thinking, Managing Myself, Working with others, Communicating, Being creative, and Staying well (NCCA 2011). In order to develop the learners'

8	**Develops an understanding of the natural world**
9	Values what it means to be an active citizen, with rights and responsibilities in local and wider contexts
10	Learns how to think and act sustainably
11	Understands the distribution of social, economic, and environmental phenomena
12	Values local and national heritage and recognises the relevance of the past to current national and international issues and events
13	Makes informed financial decisions and develops good consumer skills

Table 1 New Junior Certificate Learning Statements, Ireland. Source: NCCA 2011

key skills, each school must now provide an array of subjects to meet specific Learning Statements. Each school has the option of what subjects it provides; as long as they meet the full array of 24 Learning Statements. A number of these Learning Statements clearly link with development education and the Ubuntu Network argues that a strong development education ethos and provision of global learning opportunities could meet the schools requirement to meet the learning needs of all learners.

Additionally the values underpinning the new Junior Cycle programme include equality and inclusion, justice and fairness, freedom and democracy, and respect for human dignity and identity. All of these themes, values and learning statements have clear links to development education. However anecdotally it is reported that schools argue that the provision of subject such as History, Geography or Home Economics meet these Learning Statements rather than through the provision of the subject Civic Social and Political Education which has the closest syllabus alignment with development education. This is worrying development as the lack of syllabi opportunities afforded by the Civic Social and Political Education reform syllabus for the inclusion of global development issues could undermine all of the work carried out in initial teacher education. The proposed reforms are to be implemented in schools from Sept 2014 while Ireland is undergoing a time of austerity. This era of restricted public spending means there is low level of professional development opportunities for teachers and school principals to address these major reforms. Furthermore there is considerable disquiet from teaching unions, who have a strong voice in Irish society. In summary there is considerable confusion and misunderstanding on the implications of changes at Junior Cycle level. Working to help schools and teacher address these changes and learning statements is a further strategic opportunity for the Ubuntu Network; however this is a change of organisational focus form initial teacher education towards continuing professional development. As I argue above, the integration of global development does need to be followed through the entire spectrum from initial teacher education to teacher work so this could be an opportunistic change of direction for the Network to work with agencies and NGOs addressing school concerns.

Further opportunities at school level are offered in the reform of subject syllabi; a key example for global development education is the new syllabus for Civic Social and Political Education reform which promotes more action projects in the assessment rather than one as is current requirement. This means greater opportunity for social action and activism by young people; however this activism does need to guided away from 'soft' and charitable based responses to social concerns. The provision of continuing professional development opportunities for teacher on critical forms of global development education can work towards this goal. Also development education focus on cooperative and active teaching methodologies (Hogan 2009) aligns with the goals of the key skills approach. Also the Department of Education and Skills in Ireland is due to publish a National Strategy for Education for Sustainable Development. While it is envisioned that this document will be not supported by resources, it is a national policy and schools will be expected to address education for sustainable development in curriculum and school management. Supporting this work would be a good opportunity, if the Network chose to work in the arena of continuing professional development rather than exclusively within initial teacher education. As stated this could new direction could be in partnership with agencies already working in this arena.

FUNDING ENVIRONMENT AND ENCROACHING MANAGERIALISM

The global financial crisis hit Ireland hard. This crisis has resulted in austerity measures and reduced public expenditure, and also increased calls for efficiency and accountability in public spending. The Ubuntu Network is publicly funded through Irish Aid Civil Society and Development Education grant scheme[3], which has to meet new performance standards. The rules of this grant scheme require annual reports on income and expenditure and for organisations with an annual income of over 200,000 full audited accounts are required.

In recent years, Irish Aid have also required each funded organisation to work towards a mutually agreed set of results and funded organisations must annually report on the progress towards the expected results. Their preferred management format for this process is through a Performance Measurement Index (PMI) and which they require the Ubuntu Network to now adopt to assess the integration of development education into initial teacher education. To meet these changes, the Ubuntu Network staff and management team are working towards a Network-wide Results Based Framework being prepared in conjunction with our 5 year strategy. We have begun this process with our new Visions and Mission statement available to read at http://www.ubuntu.ie/about/vision.html. This process provides broad strokes of a strategy and organisational development. However we must also meet our annual project outcomes and measure indicators of progress which is achieved through a results-based framework.

A Performance Measurement Index (PMI) approach to project management insists on the inclusion and development of indicators of expected change, assessment of baseline, stated targets and validation tools to provide evidence of change. This results orientated approach emphasizes efficiency and accountability in public spending, with clearly defined outputs and results demonstrating the value for money. As budgets shrink the emphasis is on demonstrating social value and efficiency in spending. On the positive side, PMI approaches to project management provide a feedback loop achievements can be recorded and where problems in meeting targets could be identified early. However one of the negatives is that outputs and results need to be objective and quantifiable. When it comes to education, both defining outcomes and measuring success are difficult as the process of education is complex and multifaceted. Assessing young people's knowledge and understanding of global justice may be straightforward in terms of their cognitive acquisition, but assessing their behaviours and actions for social justice, and their underlying values and attitudes is far more complex. The Ubuntu Network has been working on this element in its development of a cross-Network tool to assess student teachers' orientation towards teaching global development as part of their professional practice. But the Network is challenged to define development education appropriate learning outcomes and selecting indicators for intangibles such as inclusive practices, identity in global context, self-confidence in challenging racism or other social unjust behaviours, or where the impacts are long-term rather than immediate. Furthermore the content of global development is not readily understood nor

3 Irish Aid is part of the Department of Foreign Affairs. They provide funding to support Development Education across formal (primary and post-primary schools) and non-formal (adult, youth and community) sectors through an Annual Development Education Grant call. In 2013, 30 organisations were approved under the annual grant. The total allocation amounted to €1.25 million. https://www.irishaid.ie/what-we-do/who-we-work-with/civil-society/development-education-funding/

can easy solutions be found. Learning about global issues can raise overwhelming and far-reaching concerns, describing a world of ecological risk and threats, without hope or realistic plans for the future. The fundamental questions on our economies, politics and social choices are often left without answers, leaving students feeling overwhelmed, dejected and cynical about their efficacy to make change.

Additionally the ethos of results orientated approaches to project management clashes with the critiques of educational paradigms. With regard to educational change to meet and address sustainable and environmental challenges, Sterling (2001) contrasts a mechanistic education paradigm with an ecological paradigm. He argues that the potential for change is limited in a mechanistic education system; this mechanistic description of education system is reminiscent of the features of Performance Measurement Index (PMI) approach to education. Sterling's work highlights the limits to prescriptive forms of education with predetermined learning outcomes, rather than an emphasis on education as a process of learning and development of self. As Freire said, 'Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information' (1972, 53). Both Sterling and Freire's analysis is apt here as the complexity of initial teacher education is not easily reductive to numbers and quantifiable indicators.

Postcolonial pedagogies employ the concept of transformative learning which asks learners to rethink their positionality within global context; as Andreotti and de Souza term it imagining education 'otherwise' (Andreotti and de Souza 2012). It identifies barriers which prevent reciprocal learning, mutuality and ethical engagement which is often the stated aim of global development education. Overcoming these barriers aims to expose contractions within power structures and neoliberal discourses, to enable informed action through exposure of bias and thus facilitate social political change to redress inequalities. Postcolonial pedagogies aim to compel Western learners into unlearning and relearning identities and global positionality (Andreotti 2006; Bryan and Bracken 2012) as essential for global understanding and working towards equality. Postcolonial theory present education as 'otherwise' allows for emergent and unknown understandings of the work toa ppear. It does not define any post-agenda for education or for global politics; rather it is a space for questioning, unsettling, and multiple voices. This approach to critical development education and particularly the actionable postcolonial global citizenship as success-without-guarantees (Andreotti 2007), clash with standardised and predetermined learning objectives which are demanded within a results-based framework. As Freire (1979) demonstrated education can either be an instrument which is used to integrate the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or education can become the 'practice of freedom' where people learn to deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. Change is occurring throughout the Irish education system; therefore developing skills and abilities of young people (and their teachers) to engage with change and allow for emergence and questioning of current logic is essential preparation in an era of globalization and changing social responsibilities.

SUMMARY

Within an era of rapid educational change, it is difficult to find the space for critical reflection on past achievements and to envision future directions. All of these reforms and changes in teacher education, as well as post-primary education provision, are taking place within the setting of reduced public spending, increased managerialism and movement towards an output orientated public sector. This change agenda is complex and challenging for those working within it; however it also provides some strategic opportunities for the Ubuntu Network to build upon. This paper is intended to encourage reflection on the rapid educational change occurring in Ireland and to inform organisational planning and thinking on future workplans and objectives as it is an opportune time to review progress and consider future steps.

Change present difficulties as well as opportunities and space for new ideas and thinking. Curriculum reform and education policy changes create space for change as well as closing existing opportunities. Creating a new argument and rationale for the inclusion of development education in schools and in teacher education may be necessary, rather than relying on civic, social and political education to meet this. With regard to output measurement public sector reform agenda, I believe that it conflicts with some of the ideals of critical development education and particularly the actionable postcolonial global citizenship education proposed by Andreotti (2011) as it raises tensions between the Ubuntu Network agenda for critical development education and the goals of the public sector and education reform agenda. On the other hand some of these prescribed goals of the reform in education, such as the naming of particular core values of the teaching profession, proffer opportunities for the Network to enhance its work and move it towards a central and core aspect of all teacher work particularly in challenging consensualist social values. A era of wide scale reform is daunting as change can engender fear of unknown and resistance; however reform also offers opportunities for new thinking and paradigms to emerge.

Within the changing landscape of teacher education, the Ubuntu Network needs to identify its own strategic goals and purposes, setting out clear indicators for success and to define achievements. As education reform is ongoing and further initiatives may be announced, the Network must be flexible to rise to the challenges, while being mindful of their mission- to support teacher educators and student teachers to engage with local and global development issues, to see how they are relevant to their subject areas and disciplines, and to understand the value that such perspectives bring to teaching.

DISCLAIMER

The views expressed herein are those of author. They can in no way be taken to reflect the official opinion of the Ubuntu Network or Irish Aid.

REFERENCES

Andreotti, V. 2006. 'Soft versus critical global citizenship education', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* 1, no. 3: 40-51.

Andreotti, V. 2007. An Ethical Engagement with the Other: Spivak's ideas on Education, *Critical Literacy: theories and practices*, University of Canterbury / Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice 1, no. 1: 69-70.

Andreotti, V. 2011. *Actionable postcolonial theory in education.* London: Palgrave Macmillan

Andreotti, V., L. Barker, and K. Newel-Jones. 2006. *Open spaces for dialogue and enquiry: Professional development pack.* Derby: Global Education Derby.

Andreotti, V., L. Mario, and T. Souza. 2006. *Learning to read the world through other eyes.* Derby: Global Education Derby.

Bateson, T.J., and R. Tormey. 2011. *Teaching Global Perspectives; Introducing Student Teachers to Development Education.* Dublin: Liffey Press

Bourn, D. 2003. Towards a Theory of Development Education. *Development Education Journal* 10, no. 1: 3-4.

Bourn, D. ed. 2009. *Development Education, Debates and Dialogues*. London: University of London.

Bryan, A. 2008. Researching, and Searching for, International Development in the Formal Curriculum: Towards a Post-Colonial Framework. *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* 7: 62–79.

Bryan, A, M. Clarke, and S. Drudy. 2009. *Social Justice Education in Initial Teacher Education: A Cross Border Perspective: A Report for the Standing Conference on Teacher Education North and South* (SCoTENS)

Bryan, A., and M. Bracken. 2011. *Learning to Read the World? Teaching and Learning about International Development and Global Citizenship in Post-Primary Schools.* Dublin: Irish Aid.

Clarke, M., and S. Drudy. 2006. Teaching for diversity, social justice and global awareness *European Journal of Teacher Education* 29, no. 3: 371-386

Cochran-Smith, M. 2004. *Walking the road: Race, diversity, and social justice inteacher education*. New York: Teachers College Press

Devine, D. 2005. ‚Welcome to the Celtic Tiger? Teacher Responses to immigration and increasing ethnic diversity in Irish schools'. *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 15, no. 1: 49-70.

Dillon, S. 2009. Trócaire and development education: remembering the past, signposting the future. http://www.trocaire.org/sites/trocaire/files/resources/edu/trocaire-history-development-education.pdf

Drudy, S., and K. Lynch.1993. *Schools and Society in Ireland*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan

Ferreira, J., L. Ryan, and D. Tilbury. 2007. Mainstreaming Education for Sustainable Development in Initial Teacher Education in Australia: A review of existing professional development models. *Journal of Education for Teaching* 33, no. 2: 225-239

Freire, P. 1979.The *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* London: Sheed and Ward

Holden, C., and D. Hicks. 2007. Making Global Connections: The Knowledge, Understanding and Motivation of Trainee Teachers'. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 23, no. 1: 13–23.

Holden, C., N. Clough, D. Hicks, and F. Martin. 2003. *Education for global citizenship*: *the knowledge, understanding and motivation of trainee teachers.* Unpublished report to the World Studies Trust. http://www.globalteacher.org.uk/grg_report.htm accessed January 20th 2008

Honan, A. 2005. 'Opportunities for Development Education within Formal Education in the Republic of Ireland'. *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* 1: 20–30. www.developmenteducationreview.com/issue1-focus2

Gallwey, S. 2009. Teaching about Fairtrade. *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* 9, Autumn, 59-66.

Gleeson, J., P. King, S. O'Driscoll, and R. Tormey. 2007. *Development Education in Irish Post-Primary Schools. Knowledge, Attitudes and Activism.* Dublin: Irish Aid

Inman, S., and R. Wade. eds. 1997. *Development Education within Initial Teacher Training: Shaping a Better Future*. Oxford: Oxfam United Kingdom and Ireland

Irish Aid. 2006. Irish Aid and Development Education: describing, understanding, challenging. Dublin: Irish Aid www.irishaid.gov.ie

Irish Aid/ NCCA (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment). 2006. *A Study of the Opportunities for Development Education at Senior Cycle.* Dublin: Irish Aid and NCCA

Jeffers, G., and U. O'Connor. eds. 2008. Education for citizenship and diversity in Irish contexts. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration

Hogan, D. 2009. An Approach to the Integration of Development Education into Initial Teacher Education. Paper presented at *Critical Thinking for Development Education- Moving from Evaluation to Research*, NUIG conference, October 2009

Leavy, A. 2005. 'When I meet them I talk to them': the challenges of diversity for preservice teacher education. *Irish Educational Studies* 24, no. 2-3: 159-177.

Liddy, M. 2011. Mainstreaming Education for Sustainable Development. In *Teaching Global Perspectives; Introducing Student Teachers to Development Education*, ed. T.J. Bateson and R. Tormey, Dublin: Liffey Press

Liddy, M. 2012. From marginality to the mainstream: learning from action research for sustainable development. *Irish Educational Studies* 31, no. 2: 139-155.

Liddy, M., and J. O' Flaherty. eds. 2009. Action Research Projects to Integrate Development Education into Initial Teacher Education 2006-2008. www.ubuntu.ie

Liddy, M., and M. Parker-Jenkins. 2012. *Education that Matters: Teachers, critical pedagogy and development education*. Oxford: Peter Lang

Liddy, M., and R. Tormey. 2012. A Question of Knowledge. In *Education that Matters: Teachers, critical pedagogy and development education*, ed. M. Liddy and M. Parker-Jenkins, 23-47.

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment. 2005. *Intercultural Education in the Primary School*. Dublin: NCCA

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment. 2011. Innovation and Identity: Ideas for a new Junior Cycle. http://ncca.ie/framework/doc/NCCA-Junior-Cycle.pdf

Ó Ruairc, T., Director of the Teaching Council. 2013. Current directions in teacher education and curriculum reform in Ireland›. Paper presented at UCC on Friday, 22 February 2013, http://www.teachingcouncil.ie/_fileupload/Teacher%20Education/Presentations/Teacher%20education%20and%20curriculum%20reform%20in%20Ireland%20UCC%2022Feb2013.pdf

Reason, P., and H. Bradbury. eds. 2001. *Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*. Sage: Thousand Oaks.

Regan, C., and S. Sinclair. 1999. *Essential Learning for Everyone: Raising the Debate about Civil Society, World Citizenship and the Role of Education*. UK: The Development Education Commission.

Smyth, E., M. Darmody, F. McGinnity, and D. Byrne. 2009. *Adapting to diversity: Irish schools and newcomer students*. Dublin: ESRI

Sterling, S. 2001. *Sustainable Education Revisioning, Learning and Change*. UK: Green Books

Teaching Council. 2011a. Policy on the Continuum of Teacher Education. http://www.teachingcouncil.ie/teacher-education/the-continuum-of-teacher-education.190.html

Teaching Council. 2011b. Criteria and Guidelines on Initial Teacher Education. http://www.teachingcouncil.ie/_fileupload/Teacher%20Education/ITE%20Criteria%20and%20Guidelines%20Final%20July%202011.pdf

Teaching Council. 2012. Code of Professional Conduct for Teachers. www.teachingcouncil.ie/new-code-of-professional-conduct-for-teachers

THE POSITION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM IN HUNGARY

Erika Kopp and Judit Szivák
Department of Teaching Theory, Eötvös Loránd University of Science Faculty of Education and Psychology
kopp.erika@ppk.elte.hu, szivak.judit@ppk.elte.hu

Sándor Lénárd and Nóra Rapos
Department of Applied Educational Theory, Eötvös Loránd University of Science Faculty of Education and Psychology
lenard.sandor@ppk.elte.hu, rapos.nora@ppk.elte.hu

ABSTRACT

This presentation reports on the research carried out in the Institute of Educational Science, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, following the development of Initial Teacher Education Programme for primary and secondary student teachers in 2013. Hungarian Teacher Education has changed significantly in the last two years as its psychological and pedagogical elements have been dramatically reduced. Our research aims to analyse the effect of the changes related to social justice content in teachers' education. The social context of the research is especially interesting because racism and nationalism have increased among future teachers. By using content analysis we compare the legal regulatory environment, the previous and current curricula and the related focus group meeting reports. The research points out that social justice as a subject topic was reduced in the new curriculum and it became a horizontal principle. This shift will inevitably increase the responsibility of educators as to how to raise awareness of this issue.

KEYWORDS

Social Justice, Initial Teacher Education, Hungary, Teacher Education Curriculum

CONTEXT

SOCIAL CHANGES DIRECTLY AFFECTING TEACHER EDUCATION

The Hungarian society has changed rapidly in the past 20 years. These changes caused several social and political phenomena, which have a direct effect on the field of teacher education. The most crucial factor is the significant increase of intolerance, radicalism and racist prejudice especially among the youngest generation. The constant popularity of the right-wing radical party among younger voters (20%) clearly demonstrates the existence

of these negative attitudes. The research studies focusing on the attitudes of youth toward minority groups (Murányi 2012) also diagnosed the increase of intolerance. Whereas the studies clearly demonstrate that it is the socio-economic factors that considerably affect these attitudes in general, the negative attitudes toward the Roma minority do not depend on these factors: the prejudice is at about the same level in each age group. These negative effects were also identified among higher education students in general (Oross 2012) and teacher education students (Géczi et al. 2002) in particular. The implications are twofold: on the one hand, teacher education programmes have to take into consideration students' possible negative attitudes toward minority groups, especially the Roma. On the other hand, these results could be explained as signs of rejecting critical thinking. All this faces teacher educators with a complex problem: they should place a great emphasis on students' personal development while dealing with their negative attitudes.

Parallel to these social changes, the Hungarian educational system has developed several other features which contribute to the low level of dialogue among different social groups. The most crucial element from these is the strong selectivity of the school system. The system's institutional structure and the existent programmes allow for an early selection, therefore, the social background of parents tends to be rather similar, and the same applies to the abilities of students. (Balázsi 2011) (Expanzió 2011). As a result, these school choices contribute to conserving the stratification of the society, thus reducing social mobility. At the same time, the selection mechanism also raises the number of students going to "elite schools" or more prestigious schools, which also supports selectivity and segregation. As the PISA assessment results show (Balázsi 2010), the proportion of high performers is lower in Hungary than in other countries with similar characteristics. The recent education policy (regulated by the political power, defined as conservative national right wing) introduced several reforms, but the direction of changes seems to conserve the inequalities: the reduction of school age to 16 years, the predominance of vocational content and the reduction of general education content in the Curriculum of Vocational Education inevitably reinforce selectivity. The loser of these changes is undoubtedly the underprivileged youth. The characteristics of the current school system put tremendous burden on teacher education.

CHANGES IN TEACHER EDUCATION

In Hungary, there have been several significant changes in the field of teacher education in the last decade. The most remarkable of these occurred in 2006, when – in accordance with the Bologna Programme - a new training structure was introduced. As a result of this, teacher education programmes uniformly led to Master's degrees and the training became competence-based. The internal proportions of the training content were changed, the number of lessons offered for practice increased, the new framework granted accessibility between academic studies and teacher education. The most typical feature of the changed training content was the increase of pedagogy and practice within training, however, even this proportion did not reach the European average (See Stéger 2012, 24; Hunyady 2010)

In terms of the principles and the place of teacher education radical changes were implemented in this system after the change of government (Higher Education Act 2011, with amendments). Today the main focus is placed on structural reforms, in particular the return to the concurrent model, where a student teacher simultaneously studies two academic subjects

and pedagogical-psychological subjects, which involves seriously reducing the credit number of the pedagogical-psychological part of teacher education. In other words, whereas this new undivided system kept the competency-based outcome regulation, the new Act again transformed the training structure. It significantly modified the internal proportions of the training (leaving only 28 credits for pedagogical and psychological courses), considerably increased the length of teaching practice (to 1 year), and, in addition, it decreed to establish mandatory Teacher Training Centres.

These new regulations established a completely different framework, which were interpreted differently in each institution. At the Pedagogical-Psychological Institute of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE PPK), we believed that we just cannot agree to the simple narrowing of the previous 'divided' system, which otherwise had considerable professional achievements (Rapos and Kálmán 2007). Also, it was obvious that in order to ensure a coherent training programme it is not enough to elaborate a new curriculum (Rapos 2009). That is why when establishing the new undivided training related to the pedagogical-psychological module of the training programme we agreed on the following basic concepts:

- our aim is to develop a *training programme* and not to elaborate a curriculum, that is we are planning to prepare for programme management (e.g. harmonizing, assessment or quality assurance and innovation mechanisms), and sustainability,

- the development, curriculum elaboration will originate from the *job-related competence-requirements of teachers,* which will be based on the professional interpretation of Training and Outcome Requirements,

- in terms of the basic components of pedagogical-psychological knowledge we *will not distinguish between the levels of ISCED2 és ISCED3*, i.e. we are planning to develop a unified training,

- emphasising pedagogical tasks and *ongoing professional development* is of key importance while developing the training content,

- we will establish subject blocs, which will include *both the pedagogical-psychological and the complex social science theories and professional knowledge*, the latter providing the frame,

- these subject blocs will support the *interaction between theory and practice*, the intention to synthesise different learning sources and experiences,

- In the content of subject blocs we will consistenly include so-called '*horizontal aspects*', which we think are basic concepts of pedagogical culture to develop in students, for example, getting to know a pupil from different aspects, individual treatment, supporting individual development, reflectivity, improving pedagogical skills, knowledge construction and development based on experience, Social Justice,

- we will try to support *individual progress and learning methods* and reflecting on them, also, we will work out the appropriate structural and facilitating methods for these,

- we will have no 'great go' exams in the system, *student synthesis* will be based on the optional tasks of the subject blocs,

- as we plan only a small number of lectures, their role is of key importance, which should be taken into consideration in the elaboration of assessment,

- to ensure the theoretical foundation and avoid repetition we will consciously connect lectures and seminars, the link will be formally prescribed, if necessary.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The framework of curriculum development is based on the concept of adaptive school, which was defined as a new theoretical approach of school research and development, developed by the research group of ELTE PPK (Rapos et al. 2011). The research defines the term of "Adaptive school" as follows: "Adaptive school is in continuous *relation* with its context, with the different actors, with the students; ready to *change* (*innovation*), not simply accommodating, but *transforming* on the base of *values* always reinterpreted (*reflection*)."

Apart from these basic concepts, we think it is fundamental to formulate a school vision which is responsive to the societal needs and local problems described above, i.e. it is concerned with social justice as well as establishes the framework for effective learning (Rapos et al. 2011).

- **Deconstruction of categories**, that is, we should question the patterns with the help of which we describe and re-interpret our world. Although when creating notions we inevitably set up categories, they should be deconstructed over and over again, as it is never the reality that they represent. The two basic aspects of this concept (critical pedagogy and inclusion) also stress the importance of questioning the categories. Critical pedagogy draws the attention to the fact that these categories can be risky because they may be oppressive. Inclusion goes beyond this, stating that regarding pupils destruction of categories also involves everybody's adaptivity and acceptance with their individual characteristics and it also places the appropriate pedagogy in its centre.

- **adaptivity**, which highlights the values of constant change, learning (innovation) and reflection, as well as pointing out that the response is not formally prescribed, but should be responsive, investigative and postmodern in nature. Adaptivity at the same time is not simple adaptivity, - as it is suggested by the evolutional approach -, it is an interaction with the environment articulating ongoing values. In other words, we interpret adaptivity as a dynamic reciprocal process between the notions of change – reflection – learning/innovation.,

- **identity** builds on the ongoing questions and responses: who are we? what is a school? 'who' is our school?

- **Community and network of relations** attempt to establish a value-oriented dimension in our 'decaying' postmodern age. This is done by representing pedagogy in a new way, but also going back to the modern age, highlighting values such as community involvement, relations, networking and collaboration. Emphasising these values in this concept can be interpreted as a reaction to the dangers of the individualistic approach of adaptivity linked to the postmodern age, which created the opportunity for us to define adaptivity and learning in a community dimension.

- **learning centeredness** basically expresses the opposition against the teacher-centred approach. In adaptivity, this can also be connected to the crucially important process of change (triggering ongoing learning). This also follows from the theoretical principles, because it can easily be linked to constructivism in terms of tackling problems such as the accessibility, structure and interpretation of the world just line in the constructivist approach. It can also be related to the concept of dialogical learning of critical pedagogy, which refutes the 'bank concept'. By selecting the socio-constructivist learning theory we attempted to connect the values of learning and community, which needs to be considered as particularly important in the Hungarian context.

The concept tries to find a balance between the modernist approaches of social justice (critical pedagogy: Freire 2000; McLaren 1995; Mészáros 2005) and interpretive postmodern questioning and theories, social constructionism, social constructivism (Burr 2003).

Related to this orientation, students are encouraged to promote culturally relevant teaching, suggesting that cultural backgrounds have certain characteristics that must be considered for successful teaching and learning. Referring to critical theory our approach intends to raise critical consciousness to help marginalized groups and individuals to resist social oppression and actively pursue cultural transformation. Such a critical orientation is necessary to reveal the unequal and unjust social and pedagogical reality of marginalization, but it also may have a risk of setting up the camps of minority-majority.

With the influence of postmodern approaches, social differences are perceived as fluid, conflicting. The essential project of emancipation is under scrutiny. In this framework, the approach highlights the complexity of the concepts of 'self' and 'others' as well as the dualism between the oppressor and the oppressed, thus indicating a greater potential for addressing the complexity, uncertainty, and ambiguity of cultural diversity.

The adaptive school concept is influenced by the postmodern approach in terms of considering the inherent confining effect of categorization.

In terms of the curriculum development and research we conceptualize our teaching model (Cohran-Smith 2004) as an integrated pedagogical, ideological, and curricular approach that requires teachers to

- assume that all students are participants in knowledge construction, have high expectations for students and themselves, and foster learning communities;
- acknowledge, value, and build upon students' existing knowledge, interests, cultural and linguistic resources;
- teach academic skills and bridge gaps in students' learning;
- work in reciprocal partnerships with students;
- employ multiple forms of assessment;
- explicitly teach about power and inequity in schools and society.

FRAMEWORK OF THE INVESTIGATION

The report is based on selected results of research and development carried out at the Institute of Educational Science, Eötvös Loránd University following the new Initial Teacher Education Programme for primary and secondary student teachers 2013-2016. The theoretical framework of the entire research is based on action research drawing on the theories of learning community (Senge 1990; Vámos 2014), and aims to renew the Teacher Education Programme at ELTE-PPK. The research and development group set up a series of investigations on development using document analyses, focus groups and surveys. The present report selected document analyses and focus group reports related to the topic of social justice.

The paper draws on data collected in the following documents:

- Focus group discussion February, 2013: participants: 10 teacher educators
- Focus group discussion September, 2013: participants: 8 teacher educators
- Medium-term education development strategy of the Ministry of Education,
- Teacher Education Standards 15/2006 (IV. 3.) OM
- Teacher Education Standards 8/2013 (I. 30.) EMMI
- Teacher Education Curriculum 2007. ELTE-PPK
- Teacher Education Curriculum 2013. ELTE-PPK

METHODOLOGY

We used constant-comparative and open-coding protocols to identify the central themes in the curriculum, drew on the results of focus group discussions and wrote memos to explore the emergent trends in the data. (Falus and Ollé 2008; Szabolcs 2006) We also used open-coding to examine how the module descriptions addressed specific social justice topics, pedagogical strategies and curricular standards. These protocols included the line-by-line analysis of the curriculum, which was followed by open-coding to identify the social justice topics and then the coding was focused on evaluating which standards were explicitly addressed in each module.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following section presents key findings from our study, a brief summary of primary dimensions of teaching social justice, followed by an analysis of documents and discussions. The remainder focuses on specific challenges associated with teaching social justice in a special political and social context, it also includes participants' strategies for overcoming these challenges.

The 'Education and Training 2020' (Council of the European Union 2009) which discussed the European cooperation in education and training is a new strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training, building on its predecessor, the 'Education and Training 2010' (Council of the European Union 2010) work programme. It provides common strategic objectives for Member States, including a set of principles for achieving these objectives, as well as common working methods with priority areas for each periodic work cycle. The third strategic objective of the 'Education and Training 2020' is **promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship. Four significant objectives have been elaborated within this area:**

1. all citizens should be enabled to acquire, develop and employ their professional skills and key competencies over their lives,
2. educational disadvantage should be addressed by providing high quality early childhood education, by promoting inclusive education and providing targeted support,
3. we should ensure that all learners complete their education (including the more personalised learning of the 'second chance' schools),
4. the aim of education is to promote intercultural competences, democratic values, respect fundamental rights and the environment and fight against all forms of discrimination.

Hungary's public education strategy is directly connected to the second and third aims within this framework (Ministry of Human Resources 2014). It is planned that a complex alignment system will be established to deal with educational disadvantages and increase the role of education. This would equip these groups with more chances, help them to catch up and, also, gifted students could be given different treatment in public education. The aim according to which we should ensure that all learners complete their education is also highlighted in the Hungarian education strategy, which is related to the priority of effective childhood education. Another highlighted principle linked to this aim is the necessity to adequately prepare a lot larger proportion of school-age population for higher education than previously. Furthermore, it is also considered crucial that socially-economically disadvantaged groups or children not socialised according to the norms of the middle class should be enabled to join higher education. We should also prevent them from leaving the school system after the compulsory school age without obtaining the secondary qualification. Again the complex alignment system is to resolve these problems, which, apart from promoting children to catch up, also stresses the necessity of providing a fair chance to them and helping the gifted learners.

Another aim formulated in the strategy was introducing and operating a nationwide signal system to prevent drop-outs. As for dealing with early school leavers, the strategy does not specify concrete intervention points, it only indicates that independent strategy parts will be developed to tackle the issue. The Hungarian strategy states that the most important new means of ensuring catching up is the intelligent intervention of state-sustained institutions, although no concrete intervention points or activities are formulated in this case, either. In the EU's strategy a highlighted principle is enabling all learners to acquire the key competences. There are references to this among the basic principles in the Hungarian public education strategy, too, but the concrete elaboration is, again, missing in the intervention points.

Although in terms of giving everyone a fair chance, the Public Education Strategy does not consider teacher education as an intervention point, the teacher image formulated in the teacher education regulation can undoubtedly be the strategic point of establishing social justice. While analysing No 8/2013 (30 January) EMMI (Hungarian Ministry of Human Resources) regulation (about the common requirements of teacher preparation and the training and outcome requirements of different teacher majors), we can state that the training content related to personalised learning and adaptivity has an important role almost in each teacher competence. It is essential to note that in the competences of personal development, learner support, learning organisation, which are highlighted in the document, you can find the knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate for equity in a detailed form. Also, in the described teacher role, all the necessary skills are present which are important to get to know individual learners, to educate them together and to provide them personalised learning. At the same time, when planning and evaluation are described in the competences (i.e. when you operate the system), adaptivity is much less significant, more important are age considerations. Regarding competences for encouraging individual learning and constructing knowledge or using alternative methods for evaluation you can hardly find any requirements described. Reflection, critical thinking and practice can be interpreted as basic organising principles in the field of skills and attitudes. However, these are only important when reflecting on teaching as a trade and not in terms of taking professional, social responsibility. It is also vital to remark that from the competences of autonomy and taking responsibility the social-societal content is almost completely missing, which is becoming more and more typical of the international professional context today.

The spread of social justice orientation between the Curriculum documents reveals some interesting differences between them. The dimension of social justice used by the selected documents gives some indication of how they perceive the concept of social justice. Therefore, examining how they were put in the notion is the first step towards categorising their social justice orientation. We have identified the following categories (See Table 1), directly related to social justice content in the Curricula:

Categories	Teacher Education Curriculum 2006	Teacher Education Curriculum 2013
adaptive	3	14
categorisation	4	10
child protection	8	3
comprehensive school	3	0
critical thinking	12	12
disadvantaged	8	5
diversity	2	8
inclusion	5	3
inequality	5	6
integration	2	2
inter- and multicultural education	5	3
learning environment	4	4
personalized education	3	10
segregation	3	1
selectivity	5	3
self regulation	6	3

Table 1. Identified Categories

The categories related to social justice were reduced in the new curriculum compared with the old one, but the categories are more concentrated and present a more focused vision of social justice at a curriculum level.

The analysis shows tensions between the defined learning, teaching and evaluation methods in the Curricula applied by modules related to social justice. The 2006 Curriculum is more focused on social justice on a content level, as it included a larger volume of direct topics compared with the 2013 Curriculum. On the other hand, Curriculum 2013 contains social justice related topics at the level of student learning activity and the evaluation process, too, and is based on students' teaching-related activities. Curriculum 2013 described more concrete learning supported activities, which create the basis of students' own knowledge construction and the experimental learning process.

The place of social justice topics and the related activities were radically changed in the whole Teacher Education Programme. Curriculum 2013 is embedded in a five-year study programme, as students begin studying teacher education subjects already after the entrance exam.

The analysis of focus group discussions indicated the following problem areas of new modules related to social justice:

- The majority of students do not have any experience with other groups of society, not with minority groups in general and the Roma minority in particular.
- Despite this, the majority of students accept the selectivity and segregation of the school system.
- The courses aim to help students to form categories and theories about disadvantaged groups, and, parallel to this, deconstruct their existing categories.
- The students' categories about disadvantaged groups are strongly connected with their categories about children.

The discussions made the following implications for teacher training courses related to social justice:
during the courses

- supportive classroom climate needs to be created that embraces multiple perspectives,
- we need to emphasize critical thinking and inquiry,
- teachers need to raise students' awareness of inequity and unjustice.

SUMMARY

At the present phase of research and development, the implications for future work were made on the basis of the educational strategy and curriculum development as well as the focus group discussions accompanying the research and development. According to these, it can be stated that in terms of the declarations and the basic principles, the subject of supporting social justice still has a significant role in the educational policy documents. Nevertheless, the framework, which would encourage the implementation of these objectives (for example, the training and outcome requirements, the credit numbers offered for the training stages of this field), are becoming more and more narrow. As a consequence of all this, teacher education should support student learning in a more focussed and effective way embracing several subjects. However, in several areas this development has been met with strong resistance on the part of the students during the courses. This was teacher educators' general impression when they attempted to improve critical thinking. The resistance was especially strong when they tried to deal with students' prejudices against the Roma minority.

The research group raised several questions which go beyond this research field, first of all issues concerning the legitimation of the training objectives and the training content. We were not able to reach a consensus in a very important issue: what legitimates the characteristics of a university training which opposes segregation and supports equity when a given educational policy intention (in this case the educational policy covertly supporting segregation) has gained a nationwide support, the majority of public institutions regard it as legitimate, and, also, the majority of students agree with it? As a response to this, the research group firmly believes in the traditional social values and functions of universities, consciously keeping the critical mentality alive. However, in a context when new measures will come into force in order to reduce universities' autonomy, the chances of implementing this project seem questionable.

REFERENCES

Balázsi, I., and Zs. Horváth. 2011. A közoktatás minősége és eredményessége. [Quality and Efficiency of Education] In *Jelentés a magyar közoktatásról 2010*. ed. J. Kaposi, I. Balázsi, I. Mihály and I. Vágó, 325-362. Budapest: OFI.

Balázsi, I., L. Ostovics, B. Szalay, and I. Szepes. 2010. *PISA 2009. Executive Summary*. Reading Literacy Over Ten Years. Budapest: Educational Authority.

Bergmark, Ulrika. 2009. *Building an Ethical Learning Community in Schools*. Luleå: Luleå University of Technology, Department of Education.

Burr, Vivien. 2003. *Social Constructionism*. London: Routledge.

Cochran-Smith, Marilyn. 2004. *Walking the road: Race, diversity, and social justice in teacher education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Council of the European Union. 2004. Oktatás és képzés 2010. [Education and Training 2010] http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/letolt/eu/interim_report_vegleges_magyarul.pdf

Council of the European Union. 2009. Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020) http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HU/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX-:52009XG0528(01)&from=HU

Derrida, Jacques. 1991. *Grammatológia*. Szombathely: Életünk.

Expanzió Tanácsadó Kft. 2011. *A hátrányos helyzetű tanulók kompetenciamérésen elért eredményeinek elemzése*. [Results of Underprivileged Students on National Assessment of Basic Competencies] Budapest: Expanzió.

Falus, Iván, and János Ollé. 2008. *Az empirikus kutatások gyakorlata*. [Practice of Empirical Research] Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Freire, Paolo. 2000. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum

Géczi, J., Zs. Huszár, A. Sramó, and J. Mrázik. 2002. A romákkal kapcsolatos beállítódás vizsgálata tanárjelöltek körében. [Novice Teacher's Attitudes to Roma Minority] *Magyar Paedagogia* 1: 31-61. http://www.doktori.hu/index.php?menuid=193&vid=9459&lang=EN

Hungarian Ministry of Human Resources. 2011. Higher Education Act 2011. http://net.jogtar.hu/felsookt-tv

Hungarian Ministry of Human Resources. 2014. Az Oktatási Minisztérium Középtávú oktatás-fejlesztés stratégiája. EMMI: Budapest. http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/letolt/kozokt/om_kozeptavu_kozoktatas-fejlesztesi_strategiaja_040506.pdf

Hungarian Ministry of Human Resources. 8/2013. (I. 30.) számú EMMI rendelet. Magyar Közlöny. http://www.kozlonyok.hu/nkonline/MKPDF/hiteles/mk13015.pdf

McLaren, Peter. 1995. *Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture. Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Era*. New York: Routledge.

Mészáros, Gy. 2005. A „rossz arcúak" szava: a kritikai pedagógia kihívása. [Voice of "man with an evil air": challenge of critical pedagogy]. *Iskolakultúra* 4: 84-101. http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00011/00092/pdf/iskolakultura_EPA00011_2005_04_084-101.pdf

Murányi, I. 2012. Előítéletesség és demokrácia-értelmezés a fiatalok körében. [Negative Attitudes and Democratic Values among Yourth] *Educatio* 2: 149-171.

Oross, D. 2012. Civil és közéleti aktivitás. [Civil and Public Activity] In *Magyar Ifjúság 2012*, ed. Székely Mózes 283-315. Budapest: Kutatópont.

Rapos N., and O. Kálmán. 2007. Kellenek-e alapelvek a pedagógusképzés átalakításához? Európai tendenciák. [Do We Need Principles in Teacher Education?] *Pedagógusképzés* 4: 23-42.

Rapos, N. 2009. A tanulást támogató értékelés a pedagógusképzésben. [Learning Supported Evaluation in Teacher Education] *Pedagógusképzés* 2-3: 221-238.

Rapos, Nóra, Krisztina Gaskó, Orsolya Kálmán, and György Mészáros. 2011. *Az adaptív-elfogadó iskola koncepciója*. [Conception of Adaptive School] Budapest: OFI.

Senge, Peter. 1990. *The fifth discipline: the art and practice of the learning organization*. New York: Doubleday/Currency.

Stéger, Csilla. 2012. *Tanárképzési helyzetkép a bolognai reformok után*. [Teacher Education in Hungary after the Bologna Reforms]

Szabolcs, Éva. 2001. *Kvalitatív kutatási metodológia a pedagógiában*. [Qualitative Methods in Educational Research] Budapest: Műszaki kiadó.

Vámos, Á., and S. Lénárd eds. 2014. *Training Programme and Organisation in the Bologna Process of Hungarian Higher Education: The BaBe Project*. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös kiadó.

Hunyady, György, ed. 2010. *Pedagógusképzés „a magyar Bologna rendszerben"*. [Teacher Education in 'Hungarian Bologna-Process'] Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó.

INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION (ITE) IN CARE-LESS TIMES: CARING AS PROFESSIONAL ETHI-CAL PRAXIS AND IDENTITY

Maeve O'Brien
Human Development, St Patrick's College, Dublin, Ireland
maeve.obrien@spd.dcu.ie

ABSTRACT

Against the backdrop of radical institutional reorganisation and rationalisation in ITE in Ireland, and pressures from reductive conceptions of education and neoliberal ideologies, this paper argues for the inalienability of relational ethical praxis to the formation of caring teacher professional identities. Academic identity and caring identity may not always sit comfortably together, but drawing on feminist care theory and discourses of teacher educator identity, I argue that care ethics provides teacher educators with a frame for engaging in a humanising education, and to work with their students for a more just world. However, taking care and relationship seriously in ITE necessitates recognition for affective education, so that dispositions of care and care experiences can be fostered for the development of a caring professional identity. I conclude that it is through caring praxis that educators can attune to justice issues, and engage respectfully and actively with difference and with distant others.

KEYWORDS

ITE (Initial Teacher Education), Identity, Care Ethics, Praxis, Justice

Nell Noddings (1984, 176) "the student is infinitely more important than the subject matter."

INTRODUCTION

This is a time of unprecedented change in Higher Education and particularly in the field of Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in Ireland. Most recently, mergers and acquisitions have formed part of a shifting and blurred landscape within Higher Education, in which students and educators attempt to find value, create knowledge and develop as human beings. There is a growing body of scholarship which articulates new challenges to Higher Education, and to HE teachers' praxis and identities, under the ideologies of neo liberalism, postmodern capitalism, and a market metrics that shrinks our capacity to reimagine a more just world through higher education (Apple 2011, 2013; Ball 2012; Boni and

Walker 2013; Giroux 2011). Drawing on critical interdisciplinary scholarship, I consider current pressures on ITE praxis and on teacher educator identities. Through the lens of feminist care scholarship particularly (Fineman 2013; Gilligan 1995; Noddings 1984, 1992), I explore the significance of a caring praxis and an ethics of care for ITE in these careless times. Relationality, caring, and vulnerability are considered as inalienable conditions for ethical praxis, and I articulate some of the tensions that exist between careless institutional cultures and conditions for careful pedagogic relationality. The paper then takes up the issue of ethical framing and of caring educator identity and suggests that a feminist as opposed to feminine care ethics can embrace social justice approaches within ITE. By way of conclusion, I suggest that developing a caring teacher identity requires ample opportunities for practice (Noddings 2010) and for guidance by ITE role models who embrace an identity as 'homo curatus' alongside or indeed in tension with the traditional esteemed identification with 'homo academicus'. To foster a care/justice orientation in students, I conclude that the care frame needs to be more explicitly articulated as inalienable to all dimensions of ITE, and expressed and fostered through a critical affective education against the grain of current performativity pressures.

CARING IDENTITY AND ACADEMIC IDENTITY

The challenges to recognising the significance of the relational dimensions of professional life in ITE, and those human interdependencies that create meaning, development and opportunities for deep learning are greater today than ever. The affective, relational aspects of professional practice (Noddings 1999; O'Brien 2011a) come under severe pressure within a landscape which promotes paradigms of teaching and learning that are increasingly rational, technical and subject to commodification, promoting a depersonalised economy of teaching, and a rhetoric of competitive 'invulnerable' professionalism. Sumsion (2000) has commented that ITE as a sector within HE, has resisted shifts towards more technical paradigms of teaching, and that there has been a sustained concern for a relational ethical practice in the field of Teacher Education. She argues that this ethical concern has emerged in response to diversification of programmes within ITE, and because ITE educators have to serve both the demands of schools and the academy. This is a somewhat positive reading of changes that have taken place internationally. I suggest that the tensions and the costs of maintaining relational and humanising praxis are keenly felt by teacher educators within changing institutional cultures, and as a consequence of the broader shifts in HE policy. It is arguable that care, care ethics and relationality, the very 'glue' of the social world, and what care scholars suggest make life worth living (Collins 1991; Kittay 1999; Nussbaum 1995) have not been central to the discourses and traditional culture of the academy. Cultures of competitiveness, excellence and rigour do not sit seamlessly with cultures of relationality (which to varying extents have prevailed in ITE), and *homo academicus*[1] as a form of identity, has not traditionally been recognisable as *homo curatus*[2]. The dimensions of care associated with teaching and

1 Bourdieu's term homo academicus describes and critiques the habitus of the university teacher –as holder of high status knowledge and as part of state nobility in terms of cultural hierarchy.

2 I have adopted the term homo curatus-man as carer or caring man, in keeping with the traditional use of the male reference for 'man' as generic for both men and women, but also to illustrate how anomalous and strange it seems, for reasons of gender politics and culture; women are traditionally associated with care so to coin the term homo curatus illustrates a possibility for a category of professional identity,which includes men, as other oriented, sees both men and women as caring.

scholarship at this level have a longer association with rigour, accuracy and attention, all necessary to *caring* about the conduct of research and scholarship. This form of care and attention lies in contrast with more embodied forms of caring, 'taking care of' (Noddings 1984) which are an inalienable aspect of good teaching, student learning and engagement, and of particular significance to the field of teacher education.

As teacher education in Ireland moves from a college based system more fully into the universities, issues around time and recognition for embodied relational forms of professional care, particularly face-to-face care (Bubeck 1995) and pedagogy, have a greater urgency. In a time of such increased competitiveness where care for others takes time and energy away from more visible and professionally rated activities[3], it is perhaps too obvious to suggest that educators must hold onto teaching as a fundamentally relational and caring endeavour, as praxis, an engagement with human others. Beck, Cohen and Falkenberg (2007) have argued that an ethics of care in teacher education goes hand in glove with a *being* oriented rather than a *having* oriented, consumer approach to knowledge making. The being conception of knowledge embeds knowing into being so that knowing and being become parts of an integrated whole (ibid, 46), of an integrated identity. For academics and teachers, being and being caring, is a tenuous position to occupy currently, and as Thompson, Lingard and Wrigley (2012) point out there is a heavy ethical burden to be carried by teachers at a time when the public good of education is being reduced to a market good.

CARE PRAXIS AND GENDERED IDENTITY IN ITE

As pressure for reforms in the name of quality and transparency intensify, ITE educators are required to express pedagogical processes and teaching in terms of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) and outputs. The reductive language of outputs may not truthfully describe, or may merely distantly approximate the messiness and indeed richness of relational praxis, one which will produce unintended outcomes, unknowable affects and effects that we cannot ever hope to measure. I am not suggesting that we should not plan, and to some extent map and describe pedagogical praxis, or name what we hope will ensue from the pedagogical process and relationship. But I am suggesting that there is more to be realised in relational pedagogical processes than can be named or even realised within the time frame of a semester's engagement. Experiences of pedagogical relationships are core to the development of our identities and to teacher identity (Falkenberg 2009; O'Brien and Furlong forthcoming 2014). However, if the conditions become such, that ITE educators can no longer engage in, or model relational praxis within an increasingly technicised practice, there would seem to be a serious contradiction at work, between the rhetoric of what is expected of students as teachers, and what is practiced at pre-service levels. A culture of performativity and focus on specified outcomes lies in tension with one that is open, relational and process oriented.

3 For promotion in many Irish universities and colleges, criteria include publication, teaching and service but not care, as any explicit dimension of these activities, see Mc Farlane (2011) for a fuller discussion on shifting roles and responsibilities within hierarchies in HE more broadly.

In Ireland, teaching, especially at primary and second levels, has a long history of valuing certain kinds of caring relationships, as expressed in the Curriculum (1999), the codes of ethical practice (2012), and philosophies of childhood as articulated and taught in ITE, and indeed, expressed through the religious ethos of some ITE providers. Teaching has traditionally been a feminised profession in Ireland, particularly at primary level, which has meant that care dimensions of professional responsibility have often been taken for granted. Similarly in Britain, as discussed by Maguire and Weiner (1994, 126), the traditional 'ethos of caring and commitment' displayed by primary ITE educators was understood as part of a gendered professional practice. Indeed Murray (2002) argues that even with the sweep of institutional reforms in ITE in Britain in the late 90s, that there was evidence of a legacy of learner centred discourses and a commitment by ITE women educators to devoting greater amounts of time to their students. Murray (2006) subsequently points out how institutional reforms in ITE in Britain were the cause of anger among women ITE educators, who saw these reforms as instrumental, reductive and economically rather that pedagogically driven. In Murray's research, the reforms demanded that teaching be executed in larger groups which severely constrained the possibility for developing individualised professional and personal knowledge in relation to students' development, an aspect of practice that was significant for ITE educators, and that gave them a deep sense of satisfaction. Murray notes how these changes led to a profound sense of loss and mourning for past good relational practices. ITE educators had a sense of doing 'an impossible job', and an inability to reconcile their care scripts with the nature of institutional reforms.

ITE in Ireland has also become increasingly feminised, and yet there has been no major research into gender roles and practices within the profession. The work of Lynch, Grummell and Devine (2012) indicates that within the teaching profession more generally, women feel that they are tacitly assigned roles and responsibilities for care, and that this is often a reason why they do not go for promotion. The taken for grantedness around the caring dimensions of professional practice, and the low status ascribed to care may also be a reason why ITE educators do not always make explicit the caring dimensions of pedagogies and responsibilities (O'Brien and Furlong, forthcoming).

PROFESSIONAL VULNERABILITY, CARE AND ETHICAL PEDAGOGY IN ITE

In contrast to a public rhetoric around control, performativity, and measurable outcomes that has become dominant in education, and that now regulates the identities and praxis of educators (Ball 2012), Martha Fineman (2013) posits the concept of vulnerability as a significant one for institutions, for professional practice, and for how we relate as human beings, across what are understood as public as well as more private spaces. Fineman suggests that vulnerability is an attribute or condition of institutions, and a practice that is difficult to embrace because of its connotations of weakness and its association with dependency, a view that lies in tension with that of the human subject as an individualised,independent rational actor of late global capitalism. Kelchtermans (2011) writing on teachers' professional identities and moral responsibilities provides a welcome challenge to the discourse of measurability, performance and competitiveness, and like Fineman, he encourages us to think positively on the value of vulnerability and in its relation to teaching and teacher

education. Seeing teachers as committed professionals *in relationship with* their students, he distinguishes between emotional vulnerability and the conditions of professional vulnerability. He suggests that the latter is unavoidable, an inalienable aspect of educators' relationships with students, if they really care about their students' development and learning (Kelchtermans 2011). Vulnerability he suggests is a structural condition of educators' professional practice for two reasons. Firstly, because teachers do not have full control over the conditions of their work which are largely imposed, and secondly and importantly, in terms of relational pedagogy, nothing can be definitively guaranteed in the learning encounter; outcomes can be stated but cannot be assured.

Kelchtermans argues that the complexity of teaching as a relational activity requires educators to make many kinds of decisions in situ and without time for pause or deferral, and to simultaneously engage in an ongoing process of discernment and judgement for the good of their students, collectively and individually. The speed of these interactions and their ongoing nature make teachers vulnerable. He suggests that teachers can thus never justify their approach at a merely technical level, or state that certain performances will be assured. In his view, teachers can only account for, or be responsible for their praxis, from a position that can be thought of as ethical discernment or reflection:

> *[if] questioned on these judgements and decisions, one cannot account for them in a technical or economic way, but only answer, take a stance, argue, make explicit one's considerations, and by doing that, take up responsibility (ibid 2011, 120-121).*

The politics of performativity and extreme forms of accountability which have infiltrated the academy run counter to this ethical responsibility for one's daily praxis in education. We are driven towards a concern for goods and outcomes rather than the 'good' of our students.

For Kelthchermans, it is this very vulnerability and responsibility in teachers' professional practice that creates the ethical conditions of this practice. He suggests that responsibility and vulnerability are two sides of the same coin that preserve the relational and the felt, that require openness to what happens in the teacher-student interaction. It is this vulnerability in the teaching relationship that characterises it as an ethical relational practice that is of quite of another order to an exchange of technical knowledge.

Keltchermans' perspective on the relational aspects of teaching and on professional responsibility echoes relational themes in feminist scholarship on care and ethical praxis which blossomed in the latter part of the 20th Century. Among some of the seminal work on care, relationships and ethical responsibility is Carol Gilligan's, *In a different voice* (1981). This work has provided a serious challenge to traditional views around rationality and moral development within psychology and philosophy and has considerable implications for educators. In *Hearing the difference: Theorising connection* (1995) Gilligan elaborates a radical 'reframing' of ethical relationships and responsibility. The paradigm shift she argues for and to some extent facilitates, is for a femin*ist* ethic of relationality which takes account of and prioritises human interdependency and care issues such as vulnerability, other-centredness, responsiveness and attunement to another. Gilligan's (1995) thesis suggests that 'connection', the language and perspective of caring relationality is fundamental

to ethical behaviour. It implies that relational education in the broad sense (not merely programmatic teaching *on* relationships), is vital for our full human development and to the creation of a just world. She in no way underestimates the challenge of bringing an ethics of connection and relationship in from the periphery, and comments that even within her own discipline of psychology:

> *'the voice that set the dominant key in psychology, in political theory, in law and in ethics, was keyed to separation: the separate self, the individual acting alone, the possessor of natural rights, the autonomous moral agent. Because the paradigmatic human voice conveyed the sense of separation as foundational, it was difficult to hear connection without listening under the conversation (Gilligan 1995, 121).*

Taking Gilligan's call for a paradigmatic shift to care ethics as foundational to human development means that educators have a responsibility to challenge the legacy of the autonomous *rational* separate actor and to reform not just content or emphasis in their teaching, but to infuse their whole practice, so as to listen for the voice of relationship and relational interdependency. In ITE, all educators have a responsibility to foster ethical standards of professionalism in their students, while some may have responsibilities in specific areas of programmes to teach courses on and to engage with students on the moral, social, emotional and spiritual development of children. Still, others have responsibility for providing critique of concepts such as citizenship and development. Given the diverse and particular professional responsibilities within their field, a key challenge for ITE educators is how to focus on the significance of relationships and care, not only in terms of content, but also in modelling this in their own pedagogy and praxis.

Within the field of education, the influential work of Nell Noddings points us in that direction, and though her work is grounded in a perhaps more traditionally recognised femin*ine* ethic of care rather than Gilligan's feminist ethic, it is one that also offers valuable insights into the relational ethical responsibilities of teachers, and by extension what we need to make more explicit, the relational responsibility of ITE educators. Noddings makes a helpful and often- cited distinction in her work between two modes of caring-'caring for' and 'caring about'. These aspects of caring have been useful in order to elaborate an emphasis on face-to-face care, and on more distant, yet ethical orientations towards an object of care. This distinction also includes contexts of caring where there may be differing levels of dependency in the receiver of care. Differentiating between caring *about* and caring *for* assists us in seeing these distinctions in terms of different dimensions of professional responsibilities (caring about ideas, content knowledge and about persons) and priorities. Noddings elaborates how both these sets of relations necessitate listening, responding and discussing; all aspects of a domestic morality that can help develop care as a public value.

There does seem to be merit in Noddings' view that we should examine the intimate care practices of domestic life and those very bonds that make life worth living, and that set the scene for the human and development. However, there is a need for additional 'care' here, as the femin*ine* care approach can get us stuck in an ethical perspective that tends to reinforce essentialising and traditional forms of feminine identity, and the relegation of caring dimensions of work to those who are seen to be best and most attuned to it, women. In teacher education this is not just a remote possibility, especially as work may be allocated on the basis of what are seen as people's natural strengths. As Diemut Bubeck (1995)

has argued, women are possibly better at caring, not because they have an innate capacity that men do not have, but because they have had a great deal more experience in doing it, have been socialised to it, and indeed their very identity often rests upon their caring. This raises significant questions the division and distribution of caring labour in teacher education, and the necessity of thinking about justice issues in ITE at local institutional levels as well as the global.

TEACHER EDUCATION, CARE, JUSTICE AND AFFECT

Questions of justice and global citizenship are to the fore in educational discourses today, and so for teachers and teacher educators the ongoing debate around justice ethics and care ethics is not just an academic question, but one that has real consequences for framing pedagogy and practice. The literature on care ethics in education elaborates a strong view of education as fundamentally relational, which develops the whole person, not just for participation in a 'knowledge economy' but for the creation of a good, caring and just society. Beck warns educationalists however, that the word care itself has been devalued (everyone professes to care, it's easy to say we care) and has been appropriated by the market (care is packaged and commodified, thus the relational dimensions can be diminished and so care is something reduced and depersonalised).So caution is required in relation to the nature of the care ethics that are employed in specific contexts (Beck et al. 2007, 46). Carol Gilligan (1995) taking a broad view on the ethical and of moral decision making, suggests that *both* care ethics and justice ethics are important paradigms for human development that have greater or lesser applicability in respect of particular kinds of issues and contexts. While the nuances of the care and justice debate cannot be fully addressed here (and others have criticised Gilligan's either/or perspective), I tend to follow care scholars including Wendy Hollway (2006) whose work suggests that developmentally our care capacities, capacities that are nourished from our earliest relational experiences, foster orientations and dispositions for *just* thinking *and* action, even towards distant others. Nell Noddings, in a similar vein (although this approach is controversial) has suggested that it is familial type (primary) contexts and relationships that create the conditions for developing caring capacities and dispositions of empathy, connection, attunement and responsiveness that can then be practiced beyond the sphere of the familial and into the political and public space.

Many feminist care theorists see care as a global justice issue and have consistently questioned the traditional divide between so called private and public spaces of care as a false dichotomisation of relational space, and argue that relationality is universally important across social contexts. In relation to schooling, Lynch, Lyons and Cantillon (2007) have suggested that schools and educational institutions occupy and constitute a secondary sphere of affective relations, but that can resemble a primary context of affective familial care, in terms of human development and relationality. This assertion of the permeability of affective space has implications for how we conceive of the education of teachers and the development of a professional ethic of care. The formation of teachers care ethics cannot be divorced from their institutional, cultural and pedagogical experiences at pre-service levels. The ways that teacher educators and 'becoming teachers' relate, articulate, and develop the affective contents of their own and personal educational journeys speaks to the ethical dimensions of their work as teachers. Recently, affective approaches to education have been criticised as emotional manipulation or an indulgence in therapeutic education at the cost of academic learning (Ecclestone and Hayes

2009). The balance between affective and academic education is an important consideration and worthy of deliberation, but what is clear is that taking care ethics seriously as significant for human development, points to the need for affective education, because care ethics necessitates taking feelings and affect into account. This is a concern that has implications for the experiential, aesthetic and imaginative opportunities that are present in ITE programmes, particularly as a growing emphasis on technical forms of professional knowledge put 'being' oriented and relational education under pressure .[4] A further advantage of the feminist care ethics, relational approach in teacher education is its capacity to engage students with issues of diversity and distant others in a globalised world. In this vein care ethics embraces issues around justice. Noddings (2010) among others (Nussbaum 1995 for example has written extensively and influentially on the role of affect in rationality and 'just thinking'), has suggested that it is our affect which stimulates 'caring about' someone/thing, and is the motivational foundation for justice, feeling a connection to an issue or person, and what lays the conditions for *caring* for. Caring for in this sense is not a form of colonisation or patronising benevolence by a powerful carer, but a respectful engagement through dialogue, on values and meanings rather than any imposition on the other. At local and global levels, care ethics is characterised by a dialogue aimed at including the other in a meaningful way, and as Noddings points out, to persuade those who hold different views from us on the justice of certain practices, to pursue common values and shared projects with us (ibid, 394). Thus, an ethic of care within education is not about affective coercion, but rather creating conditions for expressing attitudes and dispositions that enable real dialogue and that open the door for changes in our understandings of values that are different to ours. What allows such an ethic to flourish, even when practices or values are deeply problematic to us, relies upon our developed sense of connection (through affect) and our experiences of human interdependency. It permits generosity and sensitivity of feeling for another's views and identity as different, and in so doing creates the conditions for education rather than indoctrination.

CARE, EMOTIONS AND CRITICAL LITERACY IN ITE

Having considered the significance of affect in caring above, in this section, I briefly discuss the relationship between caring, emotions and the development of teachers' critical literacy as foundational to social justice praxis. Paulo Freire's inspired thinking on the role of education in reproducing/overthrowing oppression has long articulated the significance of critical literacy for educational praxis, for self-transformation, and transformation of the world (Freire 1972). Feminist critiques of Freire's work have suggested that his justice ethics have been gender blind, and have not taken sufficient account of women's oppression, or of the role of caring and emotional relations in transforming the world through education (Weiler 1994; Brady 1994). In response, I have suggested elsewhere (O'Brien 2011b) that Freire's later work in particular, understands critical literacy, the capacity to read the world and name the world, as grounded in a more integrated and relational view of the human subject than feminist critiques often give credit for. Critical education and literacies need to take account of the intellectual *and* the emotional and the development of a critical transformative approach to educa-

4 In Ireland for example, in the new four year BEd programme of Teacher Education, various curricular or disciplinary areas are relegated as non- 'national priorities' while other forms of knowledge gain ascendancy relative to demands from the market and an increasingly technical view of the 'human'.

tion is motivated by a deep commitment and care for ourselves and the world. Freire recognised that a justice oriented pedagogy must take serious account of emotions and affect, but in a measured and considered fashion. In *Pedagogy of Freedom*, he states:

> *It is necessary to overcome the false separation between serious teaching and the expression of feeling…Affectivity is not necessarily an enemy of knowledge or the process of knowing (1998, 125).*

Today, Freire's social justice legacy finds continued expression in the work of critical educators/ intellectuals such as Giroux, McClaren, Torres and Apple, whose praxis and writing challenge educators towards pedagogies that unsettle and critique dominant modes of educational and knowledge production. From across radical feminist/egalitarian movements, care theorists and educationalists such as Gilligan, Noddings, Tronto, and more recently Lynch, argue for greater equality and a more just society through the realisation of a feminist care perspective that permeates the various spheres of human action, across the public as well as the traditional so called 'private domains of care', including education. It becomes apparent that the legacy of the justice ethics of the south, traditional feminist care ethics, and more recently, radical global care ethics (see Engster 2007 on global care and human rights) offer important perspectives for critical education and for the critical literacies of teachers; perspectives that are mutually beneficial for transformative educational praxis.

In approaching the problem of how to teach for critical literacy and social justice among student teachers today, in the context of market-led educational systems where the normative is marginalised, I argue that 'care framed' approaches to criticality and social justice have a real chance of engaging students in a meaningful justice dialogue (see Monchinski 2011). Research on teacher identities suggests that developing critical and reflective professional teacher identities involves breaking through the obstacles created through students' taken for granted 'lay theories' of teaching (Sugrue 1996) and 'well-worn and common-sense images of teachers' work that are strongly resistant to change' (Britzman 1986, 443). Indeed, traditional, unproblematised perspectives on caring and teaching can be part of the problem in developing a critical reflexivity, as 'taken for granted beliefs' around teaching and caring, according to Mayer (1999) can mask a lack of criticality, or reflection and engagement with more in-depth pedagogical content knowledge. Indeed it is not difficult to imagine how uncritical views on care in the classroom, which cast the teacher as an embodiment of the femin*ine* ethic of care, can be in tension with more equality focused and social justice approaches and pedagogies (see O'Brien 2011b). Student teachers often hold views that teachers are born and not made; a perspective which fits with traditional views of care as innately femin*ine* and which restricts possibilities for their own development in care, and for justice focused approaches. Femin*ist* care theory challenges this perspective arguing that all humans have the 'capacity to care', but that caring practice and caring identity are both socially *and* unconsciously constructed (see Bubeck 1995 on the psychological aspects of caring identity, Hollway 2008 on psycho social and psychoanalytic processes at work). This is a more radical transformative conception of care and one that can encompass an ethical commitment to justice for others despite the challenges involved in educating for care. Feeley's (2014) Irish ethnography of an absence of care in education, as experienced by survivors of state institutions, demonstrates the significance of emotional face-to-face 'learning care'. Lynch et al. (2007) suggest that what passes as education only becomes 'educare' if it is concerned with the full ethical development of human beings as caring citizens who are aware and concerned with the wider social justice challenges today.

In the current economic context that positions the teacher as part of a fine machinery of technical knowledge 'on' teaching, and as an agent in the production of human capital, the project of engaging the hearts and the minds of 'becoming teachers' in ITE so they can develop a critically caring consciousness and caring teacher identity is an urgent one. While changing cultures and practices in ITE shape identities that are sympathetic to neo-liberal teacher subjectivity (Ball 2012), there are still possibilities for resistance through a care ethic that facilitates reflection and problem posing and embodied pedagogies, so as to provide the foundations for deep learning and full development of students. Praxis based experiences that allow and encourage students to name their world but also to be challenged in that naming, to experience emotional frustrations and joys around teaching but in a supportive positive environment, can develop students' capacities to care, to care for themselves, for their students and about the conditions that shape their lives. It calls forth a responsibility for teacher educators to be in continuous dialogue and ongoing attunement with individual students. One cannot engage in a critical dialogue for transformation if one cannot call on the emotional and relational in the dialogue, in order to attend to, tune in, empathise and recognise the perspective, voice and understand the feelings of another (Noddings 2010; Tronto 2006). There is no point in engaging in what Freire (1972) calls 'mere verbalism', merely talking about or lecturing on various forms of injustice, without creating the dialogical and relational conditions for students to explore this meaningfully. As research on educational programmes concerned with social justice and well-being has found, there is little real change in perspectives and attitudes unless there is engaged wholistic praxis (Anderson and Ronson 2005; Nutbeam 2000). This praxis requires emotional, intellectual and political literacies and involvement. Indeed, I argue that the development of students 'critical literacy on issues of social justice' must be framed within a radical care perspective in order to foster and nourish the deep motivation, the orientation and movement towards a care for diverse and distant others in order to challenge a more traditional (cosy) ethic of feminine care. Grounding social justice and critical perspectives in care thinking and feeling also avoids the problem of an over emphasis on the rational, or of a vague engagement with an abstract principle of justice that cannot be realised, or even worse, and has been a feature of past approaches, to teaching programmes *on* justice without feeling and care that can lead to a violence upon the other in the name of justice. These are dangerous methods.

CONCLUSION

An ethics of care frame in ITE necessitates a focus on students' whole development as caring persons (see O'Shea 2013), so that care as a value becomes integrated into one's identity. It shifts the focus onto *being* a teacher at the ontological level and onto the nurturing of an 'ethics of care based teacher identity' (Falkenberg 2009, 50-59), rather than emphasising packaged knowledge and skills on how to teach subjects or methods. Undoubtedly, this is a real challenge today as developing a professional caring identity demands time which in turn puts pressure on other aspects of education. And it emphasises relational engagement and practice, also demanding of time and energy, in order for affective education, and intellectual critical education to take root. Many care theorists have made the point that women are considered best at caring, not because they have a natural capacity for care that men do not have, but rather because they have had a great deal of practice and so have learnt to care well over time. Similarly, student teachers will acquire a caring profes-

sional identity if they are allowed time to experience the doing of care and to develop dispositions/virtues associated with caring about, and not just the face-to-face others in the classroom but also distant and diverse others (Hollway 2006; Noddings 2010,). And on this journey they will need guides and role models, who model caring praxis through affective dispositions including attentiveness, empathy and attunement, and through caring for the 'other', and who demonstrate the capacity to accept different perspectives and values, and the capacity to stay in dialogue where values and practices need to be further educated. If we accept care ethics as an important framework for education in a global world, then the work of teacher educators should provide opportunities for modelling care in an inclusive and just way with their students, and for the development of caring identity- 'homo curatus'. In the current landscape this poses a challenge for academic professional identity, but one that should be taken seriously and articulated rather than rationalised away because of performative pressures, or dismissed as irrelevant to the development of teaching knowledge and teaching technologies of the 21st century. Openness to relational dialogue is a condition of vulnerability and an inalienable dimension of teachers' work (Kelchtermans 2011) and here we might include to teacher educators' professional praxis. As Beck (2007) has eloquently expressed in relation to issues of care and teacher identity, we cannot separate knowledge from the knower, and indeed care knowledge is not something that student teachers can discover objectively, but is rather an ethical way of knowing and being that is learnt through relationship with self and other, and that requires involvement, commitment and care by their educators in ITE. This is not to conclude that foregrounding care ethics and relational praxis suggest a passive, apolitical or traditional feminised care perspective on teacher educators' and teachers' identities. Rather, privileging a care perspective in ITE orients our relationships and pedagogies towards attunement and responsiveness to self *and* other, at deep levels that go beyond just the cognitive and towards the fostering of identity as 'homo curatus'. In these careless times, when humanities programmes are under threat from economic rationalisations, and dimensions of ITE education associated with the fully human, the affective and the conditions of vulnerability are increasingly marginalised under technical imperatives, we might do well to remember the words of that great educator Paulo Freire as he reflected upon teacher education and ethics. He says prophetically of teacher education in *Pedagogy of Freedom*:

> *This small book is permeated by and cut across with the total sense of ethics that is inherent in all forms of educational practice, especially as this practice pertains to the education of teachers. Teacher preparation should go beyond the technical preparation of teachers and be rooted in the ethical formation both of selves and of history. But it is important to be clear that I am not speaking about a restricted kind of ethics that shows obedience only to the law of profit. Namely the ethics of the market (Freire 1998, 23).*

REFERENCES

Anderson, A., and B. Ronson. 2005. Democracy-The first principle of health promoting schools. *The Electronic Journal of Health Education* 8: 24-35. http://www.iejhe.org

Apple, M. 2011. Paulo Freire and the tasks of the critical educator. In *Pedagogy, oppression and transformation in a post critical climate: The return of Freirean thinking*, ed. A. O'Shea, and M. O'Brien, 36-50. London: Continuum.

Apple, M. 2013. *Can education change society?* New York: Routledge.

Ball, S. 2012. Performativity, commodification and commitment: An I-spy guide to the neoliberal university. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 60, no. 1: 17-28.

Beck, K., A. Cohen, and T. Falkenberg. 2007. Bridging the divide between being and knowing: In quest of care-ethical agency. *Paideusis* 16, no. 2: 45-53.

Boni, A., and M. Walker, eds. 2013. Universities and human development. A new imaginary for the university of the XXI century. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. 1988. *Homo Academicus.* CA: Stanford University Press.

Brady, J. 1994. Critical literacy, feminism and a politics of liberation. In *Politics of Liberation: Paths from Freire*, ed. P. McLaren, and C. Lankshear, 142-143. London: Routledge.

Britzman, D. 1986. Cultural myths in the making of a teacher: Biography and social

structure in Teacher Education. *Harvard Educational Review* 56, no. 4: 442-456.

Bubeck, D. 1995. *Care, gender and justice.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Collins, P. H. 1991. Black women and motherhood. In *Justice and care*, ed. V. Held, 117-135. Colorado: Westview Press.

Department of Education. 1999. *The Primary Curriculum*. Dublin: Government Publications.

Ecclestone, K., and D. Hayes. 2009. *The dangerous rise of therapeutic education*. New York: Routledge.

Engster, D. 2007. *The heart of justice: Care ethics and political theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Falkenberg, T. 2009. Starting with the end in mind: Ethics-of-care-based teacher education. In *Engaging in conversation about ideas in teacher education*, ed. F.J. Benson and C. Riches, 50-59. New York: Peter Lang.

Feeley, M. 2014. *Learning care lessons: Literacy, love, care and solidarity*. London: Tunfell Press.

Fineman, M. 2013. *The vulnerable subject: Anchoring equality in the human condition*. Princeton: University Press.

Freire, P. 1972. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Trans. Myra Bergman Ramos. Middlesex UK: Penguin.

Freire, P. 1998. *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage*. Maryland, USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Gilligan, C. 1982. *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C. 1995. Hearing difference: Theorising connection. *Hypatia* 10, no. 2: 120-127.

Giroux, H., and L. Witowski. 2011. *Education and the public sphere: Ideas of radical pedagogy*. Cracow, Poland: Impuls.

Hollway, W. 2006. *The capacity to care: Gender and ethical intersubjectivity*. Sussex: Routledge.

Kelchtermans, G. 2011. Professional responsibility: Persistent commitment, perpetual vulnerability. In *Professional identity: New horizons of praxis,* ed. C. Sugrue and T. Solbreke, 113-126. London: Routledge.

Kittay, E. 1999. *Love's labor: Essays on women equality and dependency.* New York: Routledge.

Lynch, K., M. Lyons, and C. Cantillon. 2007. Breaking silence: educating citizens for love care and solidarity. *International Studies in Sociology of Education Journal* 17: 1-19.

Lynch, K., B. Grummell, and D. Devine. 2012. *New managerialism in education: Commercialization, carelessness and gender*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Maguire, M., and G. Weiner. 1994. The place of women in Teacher Education: Discourses of power. *Educational Review* 46, no. 2: 121-139.

Mayer, D. 1999. Building teaching identities: Implications for preservice teacher education. Paper presented at the Joint Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education and New Zealand Association for Research in Education, 29 November - 2 December 1999, Melbourne, Australia.

McLaren, P., and J. Kincheloe. 2007. *Critical pedagogy: Where are we now?* New York: Peter Lang.

Mc Farlane, B. 2011. Teaching, integrity and the development of professional responsibility: Why we need pedagogical phronesis. In *Professional responsibility: New horizons of praxis,* ed. C. Sugrue and T. Solbreke, 72-86. London: Routledge.

Monchinski, T. 2011. *Engaged pedagogy, enraged pedagogy: reconciling politics, emotions, religion and science for critical pedagogy*. Rotterdam, NL: Sense Publishers.

Murray, J. 2002. Between the chalkface and the ivory towers? A study of the professionalism of teacher educators working on primary Initial Teacher Education courses in the English education system. *Collected Original Resources in Education* (CORE) 26: 1-530.

Murray, J. 2006. Constructions of caring professionalism: A case study of teacher educators. *Gender and Education* 18, no. 4: 391-397.

Noddings, N. 1984, *Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and moral education*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Noddings, N. 1992. *The challenge to care in schools: An alternative approach to education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Noddings, N. 2010. Moral education in an age of globalization. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 42, no. 4: 390-396.

Noddings, N. 1999. Care, justice and equity. In *Justice and caring: The search for common ground in education,* ed. N. Noddings, M. Katz and K. Strike, 7-20. New York: Teachers College Press.

Nussbaum, M. 1995. *Women, culture and development: A study of human capabilities.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nutbeam, D. 2000. Health literacy as a public goal: A challenge for contemporary health education and strategies into the 21st century. *Health Promotion International* 15: 259-268.

O'Brien, M. 2011a. Professional responsibility and an ethic of care: teachers' care as moral praxis. In *Professional responsibility: New horizons of praxis*, ed. C. Sugrue and T. Solbreke 42-56. London: Routledge.

O'Brien, M. 2011b. Towards a pedagogy of care and well-being: Restoring the vocation of becoming human through care and relationality. In *Pedagogy, oppression and transformation in a ‚post-critical' climate: The return of Freirean thinking*, ed. A. O'Shea and M. O'Brien, 14-35. London: Continuum.

O'Brien, M., and C. Furlong. (forthcoming). An exploration of teacher educator identity within an Irish context of reform. In *Inside teacher education: international perspectives on policy and practice,* ed. J. Murray et al. (forthcoming).

O'Brien, M., and F. Furlong (forthcoming 2014). Student teachers' perceptions of their teacher educators. Paper to be presented at ECER, Porto, Portugal, Sept.2nd -5th.

Olmos, L., R. Van Heertum and C. Torres, eds. 2011. *In the shadows of neoliberal globalization: Educational reform in the last 25 years in comparative perspective.* Bentham e books.

O'Shea, A. 2013. Education for wholeness in an age of global citizenship: Staying with the problem of value(s). *Irish Educational Studies* 32, no. 3: 275-289.

Sugrue, C. 1997. Student teachers' lay theories and teaching identities: Their implications for professional development. *European Journal of Teacher Education* 20, no. 3: 213-225.

Sumsion, J. 2000. Caring and empowerment: A teacher educator's reflection on an ethical dilemma.*Teaching and Teacher Education* 20, no. 6: 621-635.

Teaching Council of Ireland. 2012. Code of professional conduct for teachers. http://www.teachingcouncil.ie/_fileupload/Professional%20Standards/code_of_conduct_2012_web%2019June2012.pdf.

Thomson, P., B. Lingard, and T. Wrigley. 2012. Reimagining school change. In *Changing Schools: Alternative ways to make a world of difference,* ed. T. Wrigley, P. Thomson and B. Lingard, 1-14. London: Routledge.

Tronto, J. 2006. Women and caring: What can feminists learn about morality from caring? In *Justice and care: Essential readings in feminist ethics,* ed. V. Held, 101-115. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Weiler, K. 1994. Freire and a feminist pedagogy of difference. In *Politics of Liberation: Paths from Freire*, ed. P. McLaren and C. Lankshear, 12-40. London: Routledge.

WHAT IS THE GOAL OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE IN TEACHER EDUCATION: SOCIAL JUSTICE OR PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT?

Petr Svojanovský
Department of Education, Faculty of Education at Masaryk University, Czech Republic
svojanovsky.p@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The paper deals with reflection in teacher education. Attention is paid to categorial frameworks through which the reflection content category can be problematised. The way that authors' goals of educational perspectives project into these frameworks is pointed out. It appears that, in terms of teacher education, authors emphasise either the external or the internal content dimension of reflective thinking according to their approach to education. Favouring external or internal content during reflection then constitutes the aim of reflective practice either as social justice or as personal development. The text works with the presumption that attention focused on both content dimensions can result in a greater improvement of the teacher's professional activities compared with focusing on dimension only. A concrete example illustrates how the use of coaching during a reflective seminar can connect the concept of educators' reflective practice focused on social justice as well as personal development.

KEYWORDS

Reflection, Self-Reflection, Social Justice, Personal Development, Coaching

INTRODUCTION

Today, it is a subject of no apparent criticism that reflection is essential to the quality of a teacher's professional activity. The importance of teacher reflection has been repeatedly emphasised in, for instance, professional standards. The necessity for systematic reflection of the practice of teaching for attaining the appropriate quality of teaching is stressed by e.g. OECD (in Švecová and Vašutová 1997) or the European Commission (2007). In the Czech Republic the first versions of professional standards started emerging after the year two thousand and the need for them grew stronger with the curricular reform. Today the Framework of Teacher Professional Qualities[1] can be considered the

1 Framework of Teacher Professional Qualities is currently still a mere proposal of a final professional standard in the Czech Republic, not a state approved standard.

most current summary of existing results of the effort to form a Czech professional standard, where reflection is likewise considered a key area (Tomková et al. 2012).
The importance of reflection in the practice of teaching is further emphasised in specific types of support of teacher professional development such as mentoring (Mullen 2012) and coaching (Fletcher 2012). Although in the Czech context these ways of working with teachers are practiced on a rather intuitive basis and do not have an extensive formal support (Lazarová 2010), worldwide, they are widely spread and established in a number of educational institutions.

The issue of reflection in the teaching profession receives most attention from theoreticians and researchers working in teacher training[2]. When searching for information about reflection related to teacher training, one often encounters statements such as: „few terms have been so widely and readily adopted in teacher education as reflective teaching" (Calderhead in Tsangaridou and Siedentop 1995, 232), „reflection is currently a key concept in teacher education" (Korthagen and Vasalos 2005, 47) or „the concept of Reflective Practice has become one of the most influential professional development theories within teacher education over the last 30 years" (Canning 2011, 609). Similar claims are also made by Seng (2004), who says that Schön's concept of reflective practice has become the most popular topic in teacher education; according to Bain, Ballantyne, Packer and Mills (1999), reflection is widely recognised as a fundamental element of teacher professional development.

Since mid-1980s, reflection has become the core of innovation implemented in a number of education policies, strategies and teacher education programmes worldwide. Gradually, however, reflection has become a mantra, an incantation of sorts, which served as an explanation and a safeguard for any measures leading to a supposed improvement of the quality of teacher education. The over-use of the word reflection has rendered it vague and empty. In effect, it is no longer clear specifically what and how reflection is meant to achieve (Rodgers 2002; Zeichner 2008). This fact is relevant even today and according to Lyons (2010) a paradox arises where on the one hand reflective practice in professional education is supported and becomes a part of the educational context of other professions, teacher education being no exception, on the other it is simultaneously being invalidated.

As opposed to other countries, Czech teacher education has the advantage of not yet being "contaminated" by reflection. We at the Faculty of Education in Brno are creating space for teacher educators to cooperate on a shared understanding of reflective practice in order to clearly define its goals and implement tools to achieve this strategy of professional development (definition of reflective practice later in the text). This paper is a part of the process of making effort to achieve this change.

2 In this text, the meaning of the word teacher education involves both education in practice and student teachers, i.e. prospective teachers. The text uses the word teacher for practising teachers as well as prospective teachers.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF REFLECTION

John Dewey and Donald Schön are representatives typically associated with the concept of teacher reflection. Dewey (1933) is considered a pioneer of the more complex thoughts on reflection; and many authors draw on his rich legacy. Schön (1983/2003, 1987) is most often quoted by academic sources in connection with the significance of reflection in education and developing teacher professionalism. He described the way to intentionally use reflection as an effective tool of (not only) teacher professional development. However, the importance of the concept of reflection is not understood consistently by theoreticians and researchers (LaBoskey 1993). Incongruities can be observed across various aspects of reflection. Calderhead (1989, 44) identified several variables through which some differences can be captured in minor approaches to the concept of reflection – *process, content, preconditions and product of reflection*. It is, however, possible to identify other categories where the way they are approached can have significant impact on the resulting content of Calderhead's categories – *goals, quality and definition of reflection*. At the same time, „different definitions of reflection are connected with different views of what is important in education; these differences stem from a difference of opinion of what constitutes quality education" (Korthagen et al. 2011, 70-71). Furthermore, different concepts of goals in education also have influence on the approach to desired goals and content of reflection (see further). This paper discusses mainly the content of reflection by means of analysis and comparison of selected reflective frameworks. It is through the content category that we can capture the way authors project their assumptions and premises of quality education (their own educational perspective) into the reflective framework.

Considering individual definitions of reflection which do not take into account some idea of quality in teaching, reflection can be defined as a way of thinking which is concerned with the explanation of complicated and unclear issues (Moon 2004, 82), while this mental process of structuring and restructuring (Korthagen et al. 2011, 71) gives rise to the formation of meaning out of experience (Rodgers 2002, 844). This specific way of thinking was differentiated from other ways of thinking by Dewey (1933). Sources then often mention the term reflective thinking, while the words reflection and reflective thinking can often be used with identical meaning (e.g. Rodgers 2002). This paper likewise uses both terms synonymically. To complete the picture, sources sometimes make use of the term reflective action which is set in contrast to routine action (Zeichner and Liston 1987, 24) or non-reflective action (Mezirow 1990, 7). The focus of this paper is on reflective thinking only, and on categorial frameworks which capture the nature of reflective thinking .[3]

REFLECTIVE THINKING FRAMEWORKS

Reflective thinking is usually structured into specific categorial frameworks where the intention is *theoretical* with the aim to conceptualise reflection, *evaluative* aiming to assess the effectiveness of strategies supporting reflection in student teachers, or *empirical* in order to find out about the way future or practising teachers reflect. In various ways, authors at-

3 There are also frameworks and models which try to capture the cohesion of reflective thinking as specific phases of experiential learning. (e.g. Jarvis 2004, 106; Kolb 1984, 21; Korthagen et al. 2011, 58).

tempt to capture especially two aspects of reflective thinking – content (what is reflected) and quality (how it is reflected). The text terms them as reflective thinking frameworks, or shorter, reflective frameworks, or indeed only frameworks. First, I underline some typical properties of selected frameworks and afterwards focus on their content dimension.

When constructing a reflective framework, authors either draw on academic sources (e.g. Korthagen and Vasalos 2005; Valli 1997) or they construct the framework based on an analysis of their own research (e.g. Genor 2005; Ross 1989; Sparks-Langer et al. 1990; Ward and McCotter 2004). Some frameworks capture both the quality and content of reflective thinking while these two aspects are either explicitly separated (e.g. Tsangaridou and O'Sullivan 1994; Valli 1997), or are interconnected within individual categories (e.g. Ross 1989; Sparks-Langer et al. 1990). There are also frameworks which only exhibit the quality of reflective thinking and do not take the content dimension into account (King and Kitchener 1994). Frameworks are hierarchical by nature and this hierarchy is such that the content and the qualities on the top levels are considered by the authors more appropriate than those on the lower levels. If we understand reflection as a tool to reach set (educational) goals, the desirable content and qualities are those which authors assume can be used to attain the set goals more effectively. Some authors emphasise that lower framework levels are not of lesser value than the higher ones but that the developmental tendency of the practitioner's reflective thinking is captured through the levels (Hatton and Smith 1995; King and Kitchener 1994). The hierarchy of content and quality categories does not take into account the issue of quantity, i.e. the assessment to what extent is reflection suitable for reaching a set goal on the given level.

CONTENT DIMENSIONS OF REFLECTIVE THINKING FRAMEWORKS

The desired content of reflective frameworks takes various shapes with regard to different perspectives of education which authors of these frameworks implicitly or explicitly hold. I demonstrate across selected reflective frameworks how two specific content dimensions enter them – *the internal content dimension of reflective thinking and the external content dimension of reflective thinking*. In other words, the reflection content which is in relation to the reflecting individual oriented in- or outwardly. The object of reflection are either topics whose content is immediately linked with the reflecting person (this text connects this content with the word self-reflection) or topics whose content is directed outside the reflecting person (here the word reflection will be used). In this approach reflection and self-reflection are a means for studying the external or internal world. However, these two content-differentiated forms of reflection cannot be ultimately understood separately but rather as two opposing ends of a continuum.

Support for this approach, i.e. understanding the internal and external content dimension of reflection as two continuum counterpoles, can be found in Dewey or Piaget. In his interpretation of Dewey, Hildebrand (2008, 15) characterises the relationship between an organism and environment as a *constant interaction*. In relation to human interaction, the social *dimension* of reality will always be reflected in a person's own particularity despite being a unique individual (ibid, 13). A person actively co-shapes reality while simultaneously being shaped by the environment through each of his or her actions. An organism cannot be detached from its environment; and their mutual interaction in its essence leads to equilibrium. A similar line of arguments can be observed with Piaget (1961/1999, 20) who describes the synergy of the organism and

environment as a reciprocal process of adaptation; a continuous dynamic process of renewal of equilibrium. What occurs is "inner" reorganisation of the organism as a reaction to the effect of the "outer" environment (*accommodation*), during which this "internal" adaptation is simultaneously a process of active formation of the "external" one (*assimilation*). Thus, a person does not exist in isolation; he or she is formed through interaction with the "external" world and his or her identity is therefore more inter-subjective rather than subjective (Benwell and Stokoe 2010, 83).

Reflection and self-reflection are interconnected and co-shape the quality of the teacher's professional activity. The resulting quality of the teacher's action can be in various contexts influenced to a considerable extent by where his or her attention is focused during reflection. As the paper later asserts, it is attention focused on both content dimensions which can result in an improvement in the quality of the teacher's professional activity to a greater degree compared to focusing on one dimension only.

"INTERNAL" AND "EXTERNAL" ACROSS REFLECTIVE FRAMEWORKS

As stated above, internal and external dimensions can be identified in the content category of reflective frameworks. Attention is now paid to such frameworks which represent the poles of the continuum of these dimensions. Thus it will be possible to clearly identify both dimensions. First, I focus on frameworks whose desired reflection categories are oriented mainly outside of the reflecting person. Afterwards will be given an example of a framework which favours the internal content dimension of reflective thinking.

Frameworks which emphasise the importance of critical reflection are focused especially on the external dimension of reflective thinking. Here, critical reflection is connected with Van Manen (1977) who denotes the top level of reflectivity this way in his own categorisation of reflection.[4] The content dimension is key in this concept of critical reflection where political, ethical and cultural aspects of education are taken into account. Reflection is to assist in fulfilling the ideal of a socially just society, which requires a high degree of social responsibility from the teacher. Critical reflection is presented as the top content level in a number of frameworks (Sparks-Langer et al. 1990, 27; Tsangaridou and O'Sullivan 1994, 20; Zeichner and Liston in Ballard 2006, 7). Comparing the content dimension of reflective thinking to a continuum, it is possible to observe authors, who prefer the external content dimension of reflection, refer to the tradition of social theories in education and to recognise how this connectedness constitutes one pole of the continuum. The main task of education is transformation of the society from the perspective of social theories[5] (Bertrand 1998, 152). Because the desired goals of reflective thinking are determined by the educational perspective being held, in terms of this approach the teacher is to focus on the external aspects and factors which shape the educational reality.

---

4 Mezirow (1990, 12) understands critical reflection as deconstructing the validity of premises upon which the teacher's own beliefs are founded. In this approach critical reflection means a category of reflection quality regardless of the object of reflection.

5 Bertrand's category of social theories also includes critical pedagogy.

Conversely, focusing mainly on the internal content dimension of reflective thinking frameworks, we can observe a similarity with humanist (or personalist) tradition in education which is founded in the belief that the main purpose of education is to help release human potential, to facilitate[6] personal growth or individual self-fulfilment (Bertrand 1998; Kaščák Kaščák and Pupala 2009). The desired aim (and consequently also content) of reflective thinking is, according to authors supporting this concept, teacher's autonomous self-fulfilment, personal development which results in quality professional activity. Content dimension oriented this way can be observed e.g. in the reflective framework by Korthagen and Vasalos (2005, 53-54). It is a six-layer onion model whose layers influence one another. The desired levels of reflective thinking are concentrated inside, at the core of the reflecting person, for which reason authors use the term core reflection. An exploration of one's own internal content focused on learning about oneself and on who one is (what constitutes a teacher's identity) and why (realising the meaning of one's own existence and role in life) is said to have significant influence on the resulting quality of the teacher's educational efforts.

The following chapter discusses how emphasis on the internal and external content dimension of reflective thinking projects into the concept of the goal of reflective practice.

THE GOAL OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE IN TEACHER EDUCATION

This paper understands reflective practice as a strategy of professional development (Osterman 1998, 4) by means of which teachers are able to cultivate their "reflective capacity" in order to be able to lead a constant critical dialogue with themselves about everything they think about and in the context of their actions. It is a concept of professional training where emphasis is put on the development of reflective thinking for which adequate space, means and support are provided (Barnett in Brockbank and McGill 2007, 85).

However, the goals of reflective practice in teacher education could be defined in a variety of ways because they are determined by different educational perspectives through which authors define the desired content of reflective thinking. Calderhead and Gates (1993) identify several goals which defend teacher education programmes based on the idea of reflective practice[7]. Nevertheless, they claim that these programmes typically follow one or more of the described goals which is indicative of differences between them even on the level of basic goals. For this reason I lean towards[8] Fei-

6 In Bertrand's words (1998, 48), „to change somebody is to allow them to change."

7 One of the goals is to e.g. enable the professional development of teachers through facilitating the reflection of their own practical experience.

8 Zeichner (in Valli 1992) differentiates between a number of approaches to teacher education and defines one of them as inquiry-oriented teacher education paradigm which he understands as a specific (therefore more or less homogenous) approach whose domain is the emphasis on reflection.

man-Nemser's (1990) approach who understands reflection as a general professional disposition developed by different educational programmes in different ways according to specific goals which they aim to meet.

I therefore understand reflective practice as a strategy of professional training and professional development whose general goal (i.e. regardless of specific goals of teacher training programmes) is to cultivate reflective thinking in student and practising teachers. This strategy is based on the presumption that supporting reflective thinking enables teachers to improve their teaching. Reflection can thus be understood as a tool aiding the teacher with performing desired changes in the reality of education, whether we imagine these changes from the point of view of any educational perspective (e.g. changes in favour of social justice or changes for better understanding the teacher's personal determinants).

A number of educators firmly link this general goal of reflective practice with general reflection content which they consider important (see above). Thus, some authors' point of view is for the goal of reflective practice to cultivate reflective thinking about the topics focused on the teacher's personality and it is thereby possible to fuse the goal of reflective practice with personal development (e.g. Korthagen et al. 2011). Other authors consider the goal of reflective practice to be the support of reflective thinking about topics dealing with social, ethical and political aspects of teaching, specifically e.g. the teacher's sensitivity to inequality in the classroom (e.g. Zeichner and Liston 1987). Thus, in relation to this it can be said that reflective practice is social justice.

SOCIAL JUSTICE OR PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT: INTEGRATING THE APPROACH TO TEACHER EDUCATION AS A PATH TO GREATER QUALITY OF TEACHER'S PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

Teacher education oriented at social justice can be classified among social/critical approaches where the „teacher is both an educator and a political activist. In the classroom, the teacher creates a learning community that promotes democratic values and practices" (Feiman-Nemser 1990, 35). It is a „broad approach to education that aims to have all students reach high levels of learning and to prepare them all for active and full participation in a democracy" (Villegas 2007, 372). Educators thus strive for teachers to be responsive to diversity in classroom while teaching; to be able to identify inequalities and their sources and react to them accordingly. This kind of teacher training in accordance with this approach to education leads to greater work quality. The teacher-training approach oriented at personal development also leads to quality educational activity as the teachers understand themselves, their own emotions, attitudes, beliefs, behavioural tendencies, etc. Knowing one's own personality through self-reflection leads to self-regulation and has a favourable effect on professional performance. „The teacher's own personal development is a central part of teacher preparation" (Feiman-Nemser 1990, 32).

Both these approaches to teacher education (much like some other approaches not subject of this text) derive their legitimacy from an internal logically structured, coherent system of arguments and reasonings and from certain philosophi-

cal presumptions. Favouring one particular approach thus results in favouring a certain point of view through which the educational reality is seen and through which educational goals are formed and implemented. This means that we focus attention on certain aspects of the educational reality and thus by definition simultaneously miss other educational determinants. Putting emphasis on social justice during teacher education facilitates the building of sensitivity and teach adequate reactions to e.g. the needs of socially disadvantaged pupils. Concentrating on personal characteristics during education allows e.g. the development of the teacher's ability of emotional self-regulation during difficult educational situations.

Linking both these approaches to teacher education broadens the field of intentional attention within the education reality where on the one hand their partial flaws are reduced and on the other their benefits are being added up. This argument is based on the above-discussed presumption, i.e. the internal and external content dimensions of topics the teacher confronts during his or her professional activities are closely connected and mutually determined. Metaphorically speaking – a weight (method of reflection) put on one pan of the scales (external content dimension) affects the other pan (internal content dimension) and a balanced position of both pans represents an ideal state. By integrating the internal and the external pole of the continuum of the content dimension of reflective thinking, i.e. through intentional effort for reflection and self-reflection, the teacher is able to contribute to attaining set goals in a more effective way.

I illustrate the advantages of integrating teacher education focused on personal development and social justice on an example where the teacher, thanks to reflection, can more effectively approach reaching his or her educational goal. This example is placed in the field of teacher's communication with the class in which there are pupils from the majority population as well as several Roma pupils living in a socially excluded location. These pupils have specific learning needs which stem from their language disadvantage, cultural difference etc. As opposed to most other children, some of them learn at slower pace which excludes them from the group in a certain way. The desired goal of the teacher's interaction with pupils will be to contribute through tactful comments during the lesson to building a tolerant classroom climate. Reflection (attention focused "out") enables the teacher to e.g. support the ability to empathise with the needs and expectations of a particular disadvantaged pupil as well as his or her classmates and search for and use appropriate communication devices which enable him or her to achieve the set goal. Self-reflection (attention focused "in") can help the teacher to e.g. effectively process his or her own negative emotions which can for various reasons[9] accompany his or her relationship with some Roma pupils. Here, concord of the internal and external reflection increases the chances of reaching the set goal, discord reduces them.

COACHING AS A METHOD OF REFLECTIVE PRACTICE

The following chapters introduce coaching as a method of reflective practice with the use of which it is possible to integrate the approach to education focused on social justice and on personal development, or use it to develop the goals of

9 These fictional pupils cannot e.g. disturb the progress of the class by their own lack of attention or interruptions.

both these perspectives simultaneously. Attention will be paid specifically to the context of professional preparation of student teachers during a so-called reflective seminar.

WHAT IS COACHING

Coaching has its roots in sports from where it spread first into management and afterwards into a number of other areas of human activity including education and teacher education. It is therefore advisable to adapt the original coaching terminology to the context of education. Coaching is a method of leading an interview where the coach asks questions in order for the trainee to „think aloud" (Gallwey 2010, 211) and facilitates the unlocking his or her own potential to maximise his or her performance (Fielden 2005). Performance means to carry out any human activity (thus also e.g. teaching) and potential represents the possibility of doing the given activity with certain quality. The degree of quality of the activity being performed is determined by our ability to remove "inner game" and "outer game" obstacles (Gallwey 2010, 36-37).

Inner game means an activity performed with the purpose of personal and professional development (e.g. the effort to change one's own attitude or to better understand the relationships between pupils of an inclusive class) and outer game are the demonstrated (applied) results of work on oneself which the individual perceives and which may (or may not) be observed by others (e.g. a change of the student's attitude towards a pupil is apparent in the manner of their communication). The integration of inner game and outer game can be understood as linkage between thinking (reflection) and action. In terms of reflective practice the educator as a coach „helps, provokes, encourages a teacher to reflect on her [his] practice" (Schön 1988, 22). Reflection and self-reflection is a tool through which the trainee teacher explores the inner and outer world to see a change resulting in quality improvement of his or her professional activities.

COACHING IN REFLECTIVE SEMINAR

A reflective seminar is one of the ways to induce reflective thinking in trainee teachers through coaching. It is a seminar whose aim is to help students to share and reflect on their own experience gained during teaching practice performed at primary or secondary schools during their university studies and thus to cultivate their reflective thinking as such. The seminar is therefore rooted in the principles of experiential learning (Kolb 1984). The educator is present in the seminar in order to help students understand the meaning of their experience „to help them see", not to „equip them with a general set of fundamentals" (Korthagen et al. 2011, 42). „Nobody else can see for him [her] and he [she] can't see just by being 'told'", i.e. how to effectively think and act during their teaching (Dewey in Schön 1987, 17). In context of reflective practice the teacher does not transfer correct methods of solving the student's problems (Whitmore 2005, 45); he or she is not the carrier of truth, instead, leads the students towards thinking (Jarvis 2014).

In the reflective seminar, the instructor assumes the role of a coach who guides the students through their own reflective process. The main *content* ("what" is reflected) carriers in the seminar are the students themselves and the instructor is then responsible mainly for the *process* (the "path" for reflection). The educator guides the students towards deeper reflection (Moon 2004) of those topics which the students themselves consider important in their practice. The students' choice of topic is a reflection of what bothers them, what they need to deal with, what seek an answer for. The educator respects the students' own experience network which means that only those topics which the students themselves have brought into the discussion are developed. Using questions, he or she leads them through their thought processes so that the students themselves attribute new meanings to their experience. Teacher educator helps "prospective teachers explore problems, events, themselves, and others" and it can therefore be said that the reflective seminar is framed in personalist approach to teacher education (Feiman-Nemser 1990, 33).

The described non-interventional dialogue method contributes to the fact that the seminar content does not exceed the students' zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978/1997). In traditional "one-to-one" coaching the discussion content and goals are entirely up to the trainee, the educator in the role of the coach only helps the student realise what he or she wants and how to achieve it (Whitmore 2005). When coaching a whole group of students in the reflective seminar, the goal is indeed declared – share and reflect one's own practice – however, each student's practice is different and thus also the needs and ways of meeting them. In this respect the traditional concept of coaching must be adapted to the character of the reflective seminar. Here, traditional coaching means conducting a discussion following the GROW method where the coach helps the client define his or her own goals, map the present state of immediate reality, uncover the options for making the required change and design specific steps and measures leading to attaining the set goal (see e.g. Zelingrová 2011). What is particular for a reflective seminar is that students enter it with a number of specific topics from their practice (e.g. undisciplined pupil in seventh grade Czech language lesson) but the goal of the seminar is defined on the general level (i.e. reflect practical experience). The goal of the seminar is therefore met the moment when students verbalise their experience with the coach's (teacher educator's) help they reflect on them, meaning that they problematise them using different perspectives .[10]

Given the amount of various experience the students thematise and reflect upon, the reflective seminar is largely non-structured. At the beginning the educator invites the students to share experience which they consider important for their practice. Students then start to speak about their practice, react to each other, interact. For instance, one student starts to speak about his or her success at explaining subject matter, a second student continues by another situation in which he or she was unsuccessful and another student reacts with a comment that success at teaching is determined by a number of factors. The educator assuming the role of the coach directs the discussion with the use of questions aimed at both the whole group as well as individuals. He or she is constantly aware of the fact that the seminar content is composed of topics which the students raise themselves. This means that he or she asks questions which are immediately connected with what the student is saying (in coaching it is called "backtracking"). Even at conditions set this way the educator nevertheless has space for focusing the students' reflective thinking process in a particular direction, specifically towards social justice.

10 See dialogical reflection (Hatton and Smith 1995).

COACHING AS A WAY TO PROBLEMATISE SOCIAL JUSTICE FROM WITHIN

Questions asked by the educator as the coach are not completely neutral by nature despite they elaborate upon what the student has said. Using an example of two fictional discussions I illustrate how his or her choice of questions, when coaching students in a reflective seminar, the educator can meet the goals of the approach to teacher education focused on personal development as well as the approach focused on social justice. In the first instance the educator *focuses* the students' attention on internal reflection and in the second instance on external reflection. They are two possible courses of discussion where the students' reflective process after the same initial statement develops in two different directions according to the type of questions the educator asks:

Example 1: Coaching student teachers in a reflective seminar towards **internal reflection:**

- S1 (student 1): In my last class pupils were very noisy and I was not able to calm them. So I identified the most problematic pupil and I wrote him bad note for his parents – but I had **bad feeling** about it later.
- E (educator): Well, where did this bad feeling come from?
- S1: I was not sure If I was being fair ... but I needed to deal with the situation somehow – that **seemed to me most important.**
- E: And how do you know what was **most important for you** in such a situation?

Example 2: Coaching student teachers in a reflective seminar towards **external reflection:**

- S1 (student 1): In my last class pupils were very noisy and I was not able to calm them. So I identified the most problematic pupil and I wrote him bad note for his parents – but I had bad feeling about it later.
- E: **how do you understand the term "problematic"** in this context? (question for the whole group)
- S2: When a pupil does something which is **contrary to the teacher's instruction.**
- E: And when does it happen, **what is the reason**?
- S3: There can be different reasons...
- S1: Yes, in this case the most problematic pupil was a Roma – Roma are used to behaving this way – I am not saying that they are bad people in general but it **is just a fact.**
- E: And **what does it mean, "it is a fact**"? (question for the whole group)
- S4: Well, there is nothing we can do about it.
- E: But eventually we as teacher need to do something – like you said. So **how do you understand the consequences of your choice** to act in some way?

The second example shows how the educator can use coaching to apply the approach focused on social justice in a reflective seminar framed by personalist approach. Without bringing his or her own beliefs or recommendations, the ed-

ucator provokes the student to reflect his or her own stereotypical thinking about the existence of "problem pupils". He or she helps the students to explore the "problematic" metaphor in order for them to be able to name the consequences which such "labelling" brings. The students are enabled to approach the issue of social justice "from within". This means that the educator as a coach on the one hand completely respects (preserves) the content which the students explicate during the reflective seminar (personal approach) and simultaneously uses questions to influence the choice topics where he or she identifies potential for critical reflection of social justice.

Studying the fictional student's opening statement (see Figure 1) carefully, we can simultaneously identify several potential topics which the educator can develop through questions. Figure 2 shows this statement divided into several meaning units, i.e. potential topics which the educator can identify prior to asking a question. The educator considers (interprets) which potential topics occur in the student's words. Based on such analysis he or she decides what question to ask; "which path" to guide the student through ("they stand at a crossroads").

"In my last class the pupils were very noisy and I was not able to calm them down. So I identified the most problematic pupil and I wrote him bad note for his parents – but I had a bad feeling about it later."

Figure 1: Student's statement

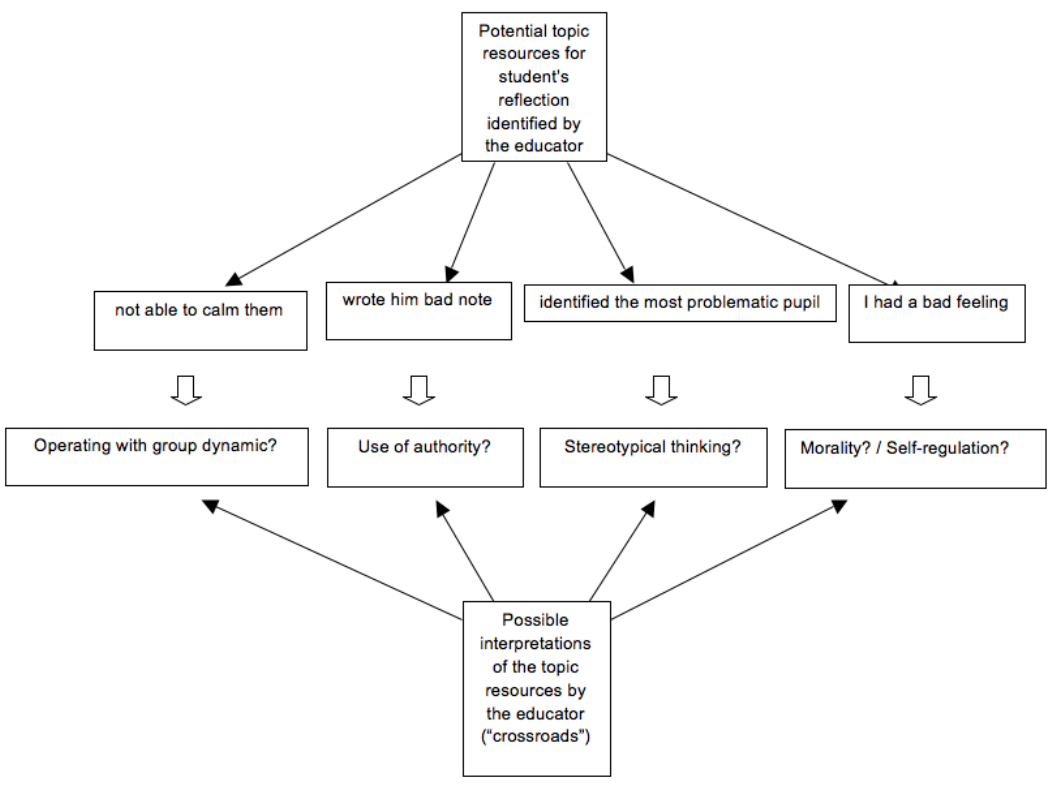


Figure 2: Educator's identification and interpretation of sources of potential topics for reflection

Through the use of coaching the educator creates conditions for the students to be able to construct meanings of their own practical experience. In the role of a coach he or she can develop the students' personal potential and simultaneously support their contemplation of events which are connected with the issue of social justice. The suggested way of using coaching can be included in a teacher education programme focused on social justice and appropriately support the study curriculum as a whole.

CONCLUSION

The text thematised reflection in teacher education. Attention was paid to a reflection content category from the perspective of reflective thinking. Two specific content dimensions were identified across selected frameworks – internal and external. It appeared that the shape of these dimensions is determined by foundations and goals of education which the authors of the frameworks uphold. The text emphasised the need for mutual interconnectedness of both dimensions in the teaching profession. This linkedness was considered a basic ground for a more effective use of reflection as a tool through which the quality of teacher's professional activity is increased.

The paper sought answer to the question whether the goal of reflective practice in teacher education is social justice or personal development. It was concluded that both these goals can be legitimate although the presumption which was further developed was that integrating both perspectives of reflective practice offers student teachers greater room for learning. The possibilities of linking both these educational approaches in practice were illustrated on a concrete example of leading a discussion using the method of coaching. It was demonstrated how the educator as a coach can help a student teacher reflect his or her own experience so as to view the issue of social justice "from within".

REFERENCES

Bain, J.D., R. Ballantyne, J. Packer, and C. Mills. 1999. Using Journal Writing to Enhance Student Teachers' Reflectivity During Field Experience Placements. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 5, no.1: 51-73.

Ballard, K.K. 2006. Using Van Menen´s Model to Assess Levels of Reflectivity among Preservice Physical Education Teachers. PhD diss., Texas A&M University.

Benwell, B., and E. Stokoe. 2010. Analysing Identity in Interaction: Contrasting Discourse, Genealogical, Narrative and Conversation Analysis. In *The SAGE Handbook of Identities*, ed. M. Wetherell and Ch. Mohanty, 82-103. London: SAGE Publications.

Bertrand, Yves. 1998. *Soudobé teorie vzdělávání*. Praha: Portál.

Brockbank, Anne, and Ian McGill. 2007. *Facilitating Reflective Learning in Higher Education*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.

Calderhead, J. 1989. Reflective Teaching and Teacher Education. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 5, no. 1: 43–51.

Calderhead, J., and P. Gates. 1993. Introduction. In *Conceptualizing Reflection in Teacher Development,* ed. J. Calderhead and P. Gates, 1-10. Oxon: Routledge Falmer.

Canning, R. 2011. Reflecting on the Reflective Practitioner: Vocational Initial Teacher Education in Scotland. *Journal of Vocational Education & Training* 63, no. 4: 609-617.

Dewey, John. 1933. *How We Think*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company.

European Commission. 2007. *Improving the Quality of Teacher Education*. 2007. Brussels: European Commission.

Feiman-Nemser, S. 1990. Conceptual Orientations in Teacher Education. Paper is based on a chapter called „Teacher Presentation: Structural and Conceptual Alternatives". In *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education,* ed. W. R. Houston. Macmillan: New York.

Fielden, Sandra. 2005. *Literature Review: Coaching Effectiveness – a summary*. London: NHS Leadership Centre.

Fletcher, S. 2012. Coaching: An Overview. In *SAGE Handbook of Mentoring and Coaching in Education,* ed. S. Fletcher and C. Mullen, 24-40. London: SAGE Publications.

Gallwey, Timothy. 2010. *Inner game pro manažery: tajemnství vysoké pracovní výkonnosti*. Praha: Management press.

Genor, M. 2005. A Social Reconstructionist Framework for Reflection: The "Problematizing" of Teaching. *Issues in Teacher Education* 14, no. 2: 45-62.

Hatton, N., and D. Smith. 1995. Reflection in Teacher Education: Towards Definition and Implementation. *Teaching & Teacher Education* 11, no. 1: 33-49.

Hildebrand, David. 2008. *Dewey: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

Jarvis, Peter. 2004. *The Adult Education and Lifelong Learning: Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge Farmer.

Jarvis, P. 2014. Není na mě, abych učil pravdu. In *Reflexe v procesu učení: desetkrát stejně a přece jinak*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Kaščák, Onřej, and Branislav Pupala. 2009. Výchova a vzdelávanie v základných diskurzoch. Prešov: Rokus.

King, Patricia, and Karen Kitchener. 1994. *Developing Reflective Judgment: Understanding and Promoting Intellectual Growth and Critical Thinking in Adolescents and Adults*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Kolb, David. 1984. *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Korthagen, F., and A. Vasalos. 2005. Levels in Reflection: Core Reflection as a Means to Enhance Professional Growth. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 11, no. 1: 47-71.

Korthagen, Fred. 2011. *Jak spojit praxi s teorií: Didaktika realistického vzdělávání učitelů*. Brno: Paido.

LaBoskey, V.K. 1993. A Cocneptual Framework for Reflection in Preservice Teacher Education. In *Conceptualizing Reflection in Teacher Development*, ed. J. Calderhead and P. Gates, 23-38. London: Falmer Press.

Lazarová, B. 2010. Mentoring jako forma podpory a strategie dobré školy. *Pedagogika: časopis pro vědy o vzdělávání a výchově* 60, no. 3-4: 59-69.

Lyons, N. 2010. Reflection and Reflective Inquiry: Critical Issues, Evolving Conceptualizations, Contemporary Claims and Future Possibilities. In *Handbook of Reflection and Reflective Inquiry: Mapping a Way of Knowing for Professional Reflective Inquiry*, ed. N. Lyons, 1-23. NY: Springer.

Mezirow, J. 1990. How Critical Reflection Triggers Transformative Learning. In *Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood: A Guide to Transformative and Emancipatory Learning,* ed. J. Mezirow, 1-20. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Moon, Jennifer. 2004. *A Handbook of Reflective and Experiential Learning: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Mullen, C. 2012. Mentoring: An Overview. In *SAGE Handbook of Mentoring and Coaching in Education*, ed. S. Fletcher and C. Mullen, 7-23. London: SAGE Publications.

Osterman, K.F. 1998. *Using Constructivism and Reflective Practice To Bridge the Theory/Practice Gap.* A paper presented at Annual Meeting for Educational Research Association, April 1998, in San Diego, California.

Piaget, Jean. 1999. *Psychologie inteligence*. Praha: Portál.

Rodgers, C. 2002. Defining Reflection: Another Look at John Dewey and Reflective Thinking. *Teachers College Record* 104, no. 4: 842-866.

Ross, D.D. 1989. First Steps in Developing A Reflective Approach. *Journal of Teacher Education* 40, no. 2: 22-30.

Seng, T.W. 2004. *Measuring Practicum Student Teachers' Reflectivity: The Reflective Pedagogical Thinking Scale*. Kuching: Batu Lintang Teachers College.

Schön, D. 1987. *Educating the Reflective Practitioner: Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schön, D. 1988. Coaching Reflective Teaching. In *Reflection in Teacher Education*, ed. P. Grimmett and G. Erickson, 19-29. New York: Teachers College Press.

Schön, Donald. 2003. *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Sparks-Langer, G.M., J.M. Simmons, M. Pasch, A. Colton, and A. Starko. 1990. Reflective Pedagogical Thinking: How Can We Promote It and Measure It? *Journal of Teacher Education* 41, no. 4: 23-32.

Švecová, Jana, and Jaroslava Vašutová. 1997. *Problémy učitelské profese ve světě*. Praha: Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání.

Tomková, A., V. Spilková, M. Píšová, N. Mazáčová, T. Krčmářová, K. Kostková, and J. Kargerová. 2012. *Rámec profesních kvalit učitele: Hodnotící a sebehodnotící arch*. Praha: Národní ústav pro vzdělávání.

Tsangaridou, N., and M. O'Sullivan. 1994. Using Pedagogical Reflective Strategies to Enhance Reflection Among Preservice Physical Education Teachers. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 14, no. 1: 13-33.

Tsangaridou, N., and D. Siedentop. 1995. Reflective Teaching: A Literature Review. *Quest* 47, no. 2: 212-237.

Valli, L. 1992. Introduction. In *Reflective Teacher Education: Cases and Critiques*, ed. N. Lyons. NY: Suny Press.

Valli, L. 1997. Listening to Other Voices: A Description of Teacher Reflection in the United States. *Peabody Journal of Education* 72, no. 1: 67-88.

Van Manen, M. 1977. Linking Ways of Knowing with Ways of Being Practical. *Curriculum Inquiry* 6, no. 3: 205-228. Blackwell Publishing.

Villegas, M.A. 2007. Dispositions in Teacher Education: A Look At Social Justice. *Journal of Teacher Education* 58, no. 5: 370-380.

Vygotsky, L.V. 1997. Interaction between learning and development. In *Readings on the development of children*, ed. M. Gauvain and M. Cole, 29-36. New York: W. H. Freeman and Company.

Ward, J., and S. McCotter. 2004. Reflection as a Visible Outcome for Preservice Teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 20, no. 3: 243–257.

Whitmore, John. 2005. *Koučování: rozvoj osobnosti a zvyšování výkonnosti.* Management press: Praha.

Zeichner, K.M., and D.P. Liston. 1987. Teaching Student Teachers to Reflect. *Harvard Educational Review* 57, no. 1: 23-48.

Zeichner, K.M. 2005. Research on Teacher Thinking and Different Views on Reflective Practice in Teaching and Teacher Education. In *Teachers' Minds And Actions: Research On Teachers' Thinking And Practice*, ed. G. Handal, S. Vaage and I. Carlgren, 9-28. London: Falmer press.

Zeichner, A. 2008. A Critical Analysis of Reflection as a Goal for Teacher Education. *Educação & Sociedade* 29, no. 103.

Zelingerová, L. 2011. *První byl Sokrates*. Koučink centrum. http://koucinkcentrum.cz/article/prvni-byl-sokrates

PETER MCLAREN'S COMRADE JESUS

COMRADE JESUS: AN ESPISTOLIC MANIFIESTO[1]

Peter McLaren
College of Educational Studies, Chapman University
peter.mclaren1@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Set against the backdrop of the contemporary crisis of capitalism and world-historical events, this article examines the advance of globalized imperialism from the perspective of a Marxist-humanist approach to pedagogy known as "revolutionary critical pedagogy" enriched by liberation theology. It is written as an epistolic manifesto to the transnational capitalist class, demanding that those who willingly serve its interests reconsider their allegiance and calling for a planetary revolution in the way that we both think about capitalism and how education and religion serves to reproduce it at the peril of both students and humanity as a whole.

KEYWORDS

Jesus; Marxist-Humanism; Capitalism; Revolutionary Critical Pedagogy; Christian Socialism

As critical educators we take pride in our search for meaning, and our metamorphosis of consciousness has taken us along many different paths, to different places, if not in a quest for truth, then at least to purchase a crisper and more perspicuous reality from which to inaugurate a radical reconstruction of society through educational, political and spiritual transformation. What forces are at work to disable our quest are neither apparent nor easily discerned and critical educators have managed to appropriate many different languages with which to navigate the terrain of current educational reform. This essay adopts the language of Marxist humanism, revolutionary critical pedagogy and Christian socialism.

What this essay recriminates in official education is not only its puerile understanding of the meaning and purpose of public knowledge but its hypocrisy in advocating critical thinking – as in the case of the recent educational panacea known as "common core" – while at the same time publically suturing the goals of education to the imperatives of the capitalist marketplace. The idea of the new global citizen – cobbled together from a production line of critically-minded consumers who have been educated to make good purchasing choices – is a squalid concept lost in the quagmire of

---

1 This chapter was previously published in: Knowledge Cultures; 2014, Vol. 2 Issue 6, 55-114. Reproduced with permission. Special thanks to Peter McLaren and Michael A. Peters. Peter McLaren's keynote address that outlined some of the issues explained in this article is attached to this book in video format in the next chapter.

bad infinity, and will only advance the notion that growth through the expansion of neoliberal capitalism automatically means progress for humanity. Critical pedagogy offers an alternative vision and set of goals for the education of humanity. Critical pedagogy is the lucubration of a whole philosophy of praxis that predates Marx and can be found in Biblical texts. If we wish to break from alienated labor then we must break completely with the logic of capitalist accumulation and profit, and this is something to which Marx and Jesus would agree. Consequently, we covenant our participation in the life history of the world through an endless struggle that constitutes the permanent revolution ahead.

It is no exaggeration to say that public education is under threat of extinction. The uneven but inexorable progress of neoliberal economic policies clearly provided the incubus for transferring the magisterium of education in its entirety to the business community. The world-producing power of the corporate media has not only helped to create a privatized, discount store version of democracy that is allied with the arrogance and greed of the ruling class, but it has turned the public against itself in its support of privatizing schools. The chiliasm of gloom surrounding public schooling that has been fostered by the corporate attack on teachers, teachers unions and those who see the privatization of education as a consolatory fantasy designed to line the pockets of corporate investors by selling hope to aggrieved communities, is not likely to abate anytime soon.

Erudite expositors on why the "what," "how" and "why" of effective teaching understand that it cannot be adequately demonstrated by sets of algorithms spawned in the ideological laboratories of scientific management at the behest of billionaire investors in instrumentalist approaches to test-based accountability. At a time in which exercises in "test prep" have now supplanted the Pledge of Allegiance as the most generic form of patriotism in our nation's schools, critical pedagogy serves as a sword of Damocles, hanging over the head of the nation's educational tribunals and their adsentatores, ingratiators and sycophants in the business community.

In an age of "advocacy philanthropy," where the business elite and other financial opportunists sit comfortably at the helm of educational policy-making, where advocates for programs supported by funds from the student loan business to increase access to college for students who must borrow heavily to attend are not judged to be enemies of democracy but rather held up as examples of good citizenship, and where the overall agenda of educational reform is to establish alternatives to public education at public expense, we shudder at just how retrograde public education has become in their hands.

Of we could play education like a fiddler, more specifically like a fiddler from the Appalachian highlands of Virginia, who uses the technique of double stopping (in which two strings are played by the bow at the same time with one string serving as the drone string) then education would represent this drone string that is never noted but always heard. The fiddler plays melodies on the other strings but the drone never changes. Mainstream reformers bedazzle the public with all kinds of melodies that do nothing to effect the drone strings, while revolutionaries want to change the way the instrument is played.

All of us indignantly reject social inequality as a major impediment to our goals of reforming the state through education, but many of us have chosen to follow a path that takes the struggle against inequality further than simply denouncing the peremptory mandates of austerity capitalism. My own goal has to use education to create critically-minded citizens willing and able to consider alternatives to capitalist value production. One of the major obstacles has been imputing to socialism false maxims that we socialists "hate America" and attributing to us irreformably demonic characteristics – contemporary spin-offs that we are "reds" hiding under America's "beds." One of the key problems here, of course, is the confusion of capitalism with market anarchy and socialism with planned production by a centralized state. The bulk of social wealth is consumed not by people but by capital itself. The answer is not to be found in exchange relations in the market but rather the domination of dead over living labor. The inability of capitalism to reproduce its only value-creating substance – labor power – means that capitalism can be defeated. We need a philosophically grounded alternative to capitalism (Hudis, 2012).

The inexorable reprobation to which socialists have been subjected and their execration by the public-at-large has less to do with a willful ignorance than with a terrifyingly motivated ignorance created through the decades by the corporate media, a learned ignorance that Chomsky famously coined as "manufacturing consent." This has led over time to an instinctive repugnance toward socialism and a knee-jerk anti-Marxism. The culpable absence of the public in looking beyond capitalism can be ascribed to many factors, but in particular to a willful amnesia about the history of class struggle in the United States, to an unscrupulous crusade against welfare and social programs carried out by both Republicans and Democrats, and to a celebratory adherence to official doctrinal propaganda that claims that capitalism might be flawed but it is the only viable alternative for economic prosperity and democracy. The idea of a socialist alternative to capitalism is not an idea that needs to be immediately amenable to scientific investigation. Suffice that for the purposes of this article, I view it as moral exhortation – a categorical imperative, if you will – that some other sustainable form of organization has to be adopted in order for the planet to survive and human and non-human life along with it.

Clearly, this is a pivotal moment for humanity, when the meanings, values and norms of everyday life are arching towards oblivion, following in the debris-strewn wake of Benjamin's Angel of History; when human beings are being distributed unevenly across the planet as little more than property relations, as "surplus populations;" when a culture of slave labor is increasingly defining the workaday world of American cities; when capital's structurally instantiated ability to supervise our labor, control our investments and purchase our labor power has reached new levels of opprobrium; when those who are habitually relegated to subordinate positions within capital's structured hierarchies live in constant fear of joblessness and hunger; and when the masses of humanity are in peril of being crushed by the hobnailed boots of Stormtrooper Capitalism. The winds of critical consciousness, enervated by outrage at the profligate use of lies and deceptions by the capitalist class – a class that gorgonizes the public through a winner-takes-all market fundamentalism and corporate-driven media spectacles – are stirring up the toxic debris from our austerity-gripped and broken humanity. Wearing the nationalist armor of settler-colonial societies, capitalism subordinates human beings to things, splitting human beings off from themselves, slicing them into pieces of the American Dream with the nonchalant dexterity of the Iron Chef wielding an eight-inch Honbazuka-processed knife.

Greg Palast has exposed what he calls the "End Game Memo" which signaled part of the plan created by the top US Treasury officials to conspire "with a small cabal of banker big-shots to rip apart financial regulation across the planet." In the late 1990s, the US Treasury Secretary, Robert Rubin, and Deputy Treasury Secretary, Larry Summers, were frenetically pushing to deregulate banks, and they joined forces with some of the most powerful CEOs on the planet to make sure that this was accomplished. The "end game" was tricky and seemed indomitable because it required the repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act to dismantle the barrier between commercial banks and investment banks. Palast describes it as "replacing bank vaults with roulette wheels." The banks wanted to venture into the high-risk game of "derivatives trading" which allowed banks to carry trillions of dollars of pseudo-securities on their books as "assets." But the transformation of US banks into "derivatives casinos" would be hampered if money fled US shores to nations with safer banking laws.

So this small cabal of banksters decided – and were successful – at eliminating controls on banks in every nation on the planet – in a single cunning stroke by using the Financial Services Agreement (or FSA). The FSA was an addendum to the international trade agreements policed by the World Trade Organization that was utilized by the banksters to force countries to deal with trade in "toxic" assets such as financial derivatives. Every nation was thus pushed to open their markets to Citibank, JP Morgan and their derivatives "products." All 156 nations in the World Trade Organization were pressured to remove their own Glass-Steagall divisions between commercial savings banks and the investment banks that gamble with derivatives. All nations were bribed or forced in other ways to comply and only Brazil refused to play the game. Of course, as Palast notes, the game destroyed countries like Greece, Ecuador and Argentina, just to name a few, and contributed catastrophically to the global financial crisis of 2008.

Capitalism turns living and breathing bodies into things, ensepulchuring humanity in a vault of silence, engulfing it in a bright darkness, and transforming it into the living dead through the occult process of commodity production. Capitalism is little more than valorized abstractions, a worldproducing monster adept at misplacing the abstract for the concrete, at reducing relational being to the form of appearance of socially average labor time, and destroying the concrete relationality of nature by misplacing the concreteness of all processive being (Pomeroy, 2004a). Capitalism therefore entails a loss of subjective and inter-subjective meaning (Hudis, 2014a). Correlative to a capitalist economy is an unconscious schema of rational calculation governing an erotically exuberant pursuit of knowledge, which involves a possessive mastery over commodities, a squandering of human nature, abstracting from the wholeness of human beings and thus turning them into fragments of each other, creating the impersonal, quantifying and utilitarian rationality and alienated consciousness of homo economicus.

We confront ourselves as people who have ownership of the means to purchase wealth (the ideologists and apologists of the bourgeoisie) against those who must sell their labor-power to those who do not possess such ownership (the working-class). We are trapped in the economic bowels of neoliberal capitalism whose closed and putrefied futures are visible in the pockmarked cultural skin of our consumer culture. Thousands of Miley Cyrus addicts whose lives turn on her accidentally on purpose wardrobe malfunctions and her high-cut leotards can still view themselves as cultural subversives after being declared redundant in their local Costco job and lining up for lunch in their neighborhood soup kitchen where they can share Miley's psychedelic instagrams.

Amidst the turmoil and conflagration of the current historical moment, capitalism keeps a steady hand with the flippant arrogance of the most famous smirking apologist of US imperialism, William F. Buckley, his Yaleeducated tongue wagging jauntily from the pillow-feathered clouds of his heavenly perch as he adroitly deploys his clipboard-prop gently upon his succulent lap, otherwise reserved for his King Charles spaniels. There seems to be nothing standing in the way of capitalism's continuation, save a few irritants in the alternative media that are flippantly swatted away from time to time, like flies on the arse of a barnyard goat. Today's unrelenting urgency of redeeming life from the belligerent forces of social reproduction – the internally differentiated expanding whole of value production, inside of which is coiled the incubus of misplaced concreteness – marks a watershed in the history of this planet.

The paradigmatic innovation of anti-colonial analysis in North America has been significantly impacted by what has been taking place since capital began responding to the crisis of the 1970s of Fordist-Keynesian capitalism – which William Robinson (1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011a, b) has characterized as capital's ferocious quest to break free of nation-state constraints to accumulation and twentieth-century regulated capital (labor relations based on some [at least a few] reciprocal commitments and rights) – a move which has seen the development of a new transnational model of accumulation in which transnational fractions of capital have become dominant. New mechanisms of accumulation, as Robinson notes, include a cheapening of labor and the growth of flexible, deregulated and de-unionized labor, where women always experience super-exploitation in relation to men; the dramatic expansion of capital itself; the creation of a global and regulatory structure to facilitate the emerging global circuits of accumulation; and, finally, neoliberal structural adjustment programs which seek to create the conditions for unfettered operations of emerging transnational capital across borders and between countries.

In my work with teachers, education scholars, political activists and revolutionaries worldwide, I've repeatedly visited mean and lonely streets that span numerous counties, countries and continents. Whether I've been visiting the Roma district of Budapest, the barrios on the outskirts of Medellin, the cartel-controlled neighborhoods of Morelia or Juarez, the favelas of Rio or Sao Paulo, the crowded alleys of Delhi, the alleyways of Harbin (near the Siberian border), or the streets of South Central Los Angeles, I've encountered pain and despair among the many as a result of the exploitation by the few. Whether I've been speaking to hitchhikers caught in a snowstorm, Vietnam vets in overflowing homeless shelters, elderly workers in emergency warming centers whose food stamps had just been cut by Republican legislation, jobless men and women resting on pillows of sewer steam wafting through the cast iron grates of litter-strewn streets, a group of teenagers hanging out in strip malls festooned with faded pockmarked signs offering discount malt liquor, or day laborers crowded around hole-in-the-walls offering cheap pizza, I hear the same voices of desperation and resignation. Even in such concrete situations that reek of economic catastrophism, I would like to stress the importance of philosophy. That is, class struggle as cultivating a philosophy of praxis. Without such a struggle we will remain blank-faced and sullen, immobilized for all eternity like the death's-heads carved on gravestones by Ebenezer Soule of Plympton Massachusetts in the 1750s.

On a recent visit to the Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas and the Escuela Normal Rural Mactumactzá in Tuxla, Chiapas, I passed through San Juan Chamula and Zinacantán and stopped for several days at San Cristóbal de las Casas to meet some environmental educators from the government. On a lonely street of San Cristóbal an old man with fire opal eyes, a straw hat, and a Zapatista bandana passed me and our shoulders almost touched. His eyes were fixed for a moment on the wall across the street. Emblazoned on the wall were the words, "nos falta 43" (we lack 43) in reference to the 43 escula normal students from the Raúl Isidro Burgos Rural Teachers' College of Ayotzinapa in Iguala, Guerrero, Mexico who were captured, tortured and executed and whose bodies have yet to be recovered. The old man's face was world-weary and I watched him walk haltingly into the distance while I paused for a few minutes to contemplate the words that had been hastily sprayed on the wall. How many people in the United States, even well-intentioned and caring people, would acknowledge in the face of hard evidence, that their comfortable lifestyle is, in part, at the expense of the exploitation not only of Mexico but America Latina.

While authors such as Thomas Piketty – especially his far-famed book, Capital in the Twenty-First Century – have brought international attention to the exponential and inglorious growth of inequality associated with global capitalism today – we need to be careful about making too much of the very popular and trenchant metaphor of the 1% (the elite capitalist class and its comprador affiliates) versus the 99% of the rest of us (the exploited class). For Piketty, today's "patrimonial capitalism" dominated by rentier wealth and a financial and political oligarchy of CEOs and financiers has ushered in a new gilded age whose upward concentration of wealth poses a grave threat to democracy (Krugman, 2014). While I agree with him on this, it is important to emphasize that Piketty understands capital more from the perspective of the conceits of bourgeois or neoclassical economics than from Marxist economics, that is, from the perspective of ownership and exchange such as assets tied to market prices that capture a return on output such as real estate, rents, profits, dividends, etc. (Andrews, 2014). His focus is on the capital/income ratio and the valuation placed on financial assets, and the distribution of financial resources in rich countries. Piketty admitted that he has never read Marx's Capital and he conflates material or personal wealth with capital. He therefore can't answer the question of where the additional money comes from that makes it possible to accumulate capital in Marx's general formula of capital as self-expanding value articulated by Marx as M-C-M. As Hudis (2014a) points out, Marx argued that

> *"money increases in value only if it is invested in commodities whose production entails the employment of labor power whose value is greater than the amount of value that goes to the worker."*

Money accrues in value only because of the exploitation of labor. In Hudis's (2014a) words, Marx is able to understand the "distorted and alienated character of human relations at the innermost recesses of society, at the point of production." Thus, it is no surprise that Piketty ignores Marx's labor theory of value where commodities function as capital. Labor (concrete and abstract) and surplus value are not examined as obtaining in relations of exploitation and accumulation (Andrews, 2014; see Harvey, 2014). He ignores the findings of Marxist economics (the impossibility of full employment, incessant class struggle, recurring crises or slumps, the inevitability of impoverishment and precarious employment as the victories following classbased political activism and government-provided benefits won through social struggles are inevitably rolled back) built on the authority given to the capitalists to extract surplus value from the worker (see Despain, 2014; Andrews, 2014; Tengely-Evans, 2014).

While Piketty importantly emphasizes economic reforms associated with the social state such as an increase in the minimum wage, reducing the age requirement for Medicare, greater taxes on the rich and support for unions, he clearly believes that democracy must be paired with capitalism, as do most social democrats. That poses a problem for those of us who are searching for a democratic alternative to capitalism. Piketty's book is important in drawing attention to the inexorable economic polarization occurring in countries worldwide and for its call for narrowing income differentials in countries such as the United States where the moneyed disproportionately live (the United States has become more unequal than many emerging countries such as China and India). But my worry is that an overweening concern over inequality can distract us from the misery experienced by masses of people at this particular historical juncture who, as the victims of structural forms of capitalist genocide, cannot find work or feed their families. We need to fight against rising inequality but we also need to first and foremost understand the causes of capitalist exploitation and immiseration. The notion of the 99% can be misleading too, since an unmarried person with an income of $366,622 in 2011 was part of the 99% (Kliman, 2013). There are great disparities in that group. And furthermore, the cause of the crisis of capitalism is more complicated than simply the upward redistribution of income. In fact, a downward redistribution of income that takes away the profit from capitalists will also help to destabilize the system (Kliman, 2013). Most critics of capitalism that manage to get into the mainstream debates refrain from an unqualified condemnation of free markets themselves and instead denounce the unmourned cupidity associated with a robber baron mentality that they believe has been resurrected by finance capitalism, winner-take-all markets, family dynasties and supersalaries and lies at the core of our present and persistent problems with economic inequality and disparity. I have no problem with emphasizing the social responsibility of governments and organizations that have become increasingly self-aggressive and ethically indolent in today's digital economy but I want to emphasize the structural violence of capitalist inequality and the necessity of creating a socialist alternative to capitalism's impending form of outlawry in our increasingly disjointed and dissolute world. We will arrive at a socialist alternative through class struggle. And I want to make the arguments, made by others in the international Marxist-humanist initiative, that class struggle needs to be incorporated into a philosophy of praxis, that is, a concretization of philosophy that confronts, rather than excludes, the dialectic. Dialectical philosophy can help us undress capitalist ideology, that is, it can help us unpack our uncritical acceptance of social forms that bind us to the social relations of capitalist exploitation in our anticipation of a liberated future. The founder of Marxist Humanism, Raya Dunayevskaya, maintained that the task of Marxists is not to "abolish" philosophy, but rather

> *"to abolish the conditions preventing the 'realization' of Marx's philosophy, i.e., the reunification of mental and manual abilities in the individual himself, the 'all-rounded' individual who is the body and soul of Marx's humanism" (p. 76).*

The ideological imperatives unleashed by organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Bilderberg Group, the Trilateral Commission, the National Program Office, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Security Organization, and their Faustian counterparts in the banking industry, help to establish the framework in which citizenship and patriotism are alloyed; these Stygian imperatives epitomize imperial power and the quest for world cultural domination, and are designed to root out apologists for socialism. Nearly three decades ago,

Robert Higgs (1987) cautioned that the USA was becoming a participatory fascist state. Today, Nafeez Ahmen (2013) ominously warns that the Pentagon is currently preparing for massive social unrest over climate change and energy shocks; Ahmen (2014) reports disturbing instances in which US military agencies are supervising and funding investigations by universities into "tipping points for large-scale civil unrest across the world" in order to supply these agencies with "warfighter-relevant insights." As one example, the US Department of Defense through its Minerva Research Initiative has partnered with Cornell University to study "social movement mobilizations and contagions." In this research scenario, non-violent activists are considered national security threats, equated with supporters of political violence and described as "social contagions." Social science is being militarized in the service of war, and social scientists are being conscripted into their patriotic duty of counteracting grassroots protest movements in the interest of the national security state. There is now a proliferation of domestic surveillance operations against political activists, particularly those linked to environmental and social justice protest groups, such as Greenpeace and anti-fracking activists, as strategic partnerships have been created between the FBI, the Department of Homeland Security, the private sector and the academy to create a "corporate security community" protecting the interests of Wall Street and corporate America.

A fresh new breed of postmodern rebels festooned with brand-name-theory knock-offs and thrift-shop identity politics now exercise their fashionable apostasy in the new techno-mediated social factories known as universities. They are very much present in our graduate education programs through their postmodern theorizing of identity, which hinges on the linkage of identity-formation and the creation of a discount store version of democracy as a mixture of meritocracy and the American Dream. Rather than challenging the marriage of the university and the capitalist class or fighting for the emancipation of the oppressed worldwide through pedagogies of liberation that have a transnational reach, class antagonisms are universally normalized through the performative pettifoggery, the aerosol spray sophistry, the pseudo-profundities, the convulsions and casuistries of political disengagement and the vertigo-inducing terminology that has distinguished these disquieting hellions of the lecture hall over the past few decades – not to mention their dismissal of class struggle in favor of questions of ethnicity, race, gender and sexuality. Furthermore, these knavish coffee house philosophers and suave prodigies of subversive criticality and analytic subterfuge equipped with air conditioned imperatives to discredit all enlightenment metanarratives such as Marxism and to demarcate critical introspection as a prison house of language games fail to identify as self-deception their own participation in language games. This domestication of the economic and divine activation of the cultural has led to the exfoliation of some of the most verdant contributions of socialist pedagogy during these decades. From this vantage point, postmodernism appears to be an ideology of the prosperous,

> *"which itself is a product of the type of capitalism that arose in the imperialist core of contemporary capitalism during the 'Golden Age of Capitalism' between 1945 and 1973" (Ahmad, 2011, p. 16).*

If, even during these years of prosperity, creating a democracy embracive of economic equality in the USA was about as realistic as Astroland's Burger Man seizing the controls on the rocket ship that sat atop Gregory and Paul's Hamburgers on Coney Island, and orbiting it around the Statue of Liberty, then economic equality through education today is about as realistic as the National Rifle Association calling for a ban on assault weapons, or McDonalds eliminating the Big Mac. Much of the self-styled brigandage exercised by these postmodern outlaws involves turning away from the cultural and

claiming to be materialists. But this so-called productive materialism grounded in immanence equates the material with the "thing-ness" of signs, symbols, discourses, values – part of the cultural "real" – rather than with how the mode of production of material life and social being determines consciousness. Teresa Ebert (2009) sees this move as a return to 18th century matterism that stipulates experience as the limit of what can be known.
Never part of the cloth-cap crowd of workers, these ex-radicals, keen for the latest theoretical divertissement, are adept at giving encouragement to their students and peers for "dissent" through terse but pregnant commentaries about the corporate assault on higher education but such impious outlawry on the part of the opposition is more bluster and blo-viation than substance. Aware of the ever-darkening menace consisting of industrial scale torture and brutality that has arrived on the doorsteps of the nation, these radicals stop short of examining how capitalism is implicated in such brutal-ity, preferring instead to offer courses on images of costermongers, high steel workers or Rembrandt's spectacle-pedlar.

We have always had liberal centrists and conservatives who believe that education should be politically neutral. We also have liberal and left-liberals who have given up on class struggle as an engine for social transformation. Motivated by a fear that their left-leaning views might scupper their careers should they go on to upset or challenge the propriety of the academy or the beneficed academic clergy or sacerdotal aristocracy who run the universities, many scholars and re-searchers in the academy choose to moot their personal opinions with the utmost discretion and circumspection while still trying to appear radical-chic. Hence, they are extremely cautious not to offend inadvertently those whose religious or political views have lain fallow and unchallenged for generations and who hold positions of power within the university establishment.

Erstwhile radicals once sympathetic to Marx but who became disillusioned and disgusted by revelations about the Gulag, and traumatized by the failure of "really existing socialism" worried that they would be condemned as dusty dilettantes still clinging to the paltry spirit of socialism (or worse, traduced as Stalinists). They decided instead to ride the new wave of postmodern social theory that embraced a linguistic turn and managed in turn to find comfortable abodes in literature and cultural studies departments. Positioning themselves thus enabled them both to smite the gross profligacy of the capitalist class and its command structure comprised of greedy corporatists and bankers with self-aggrandizing tirades and at the same time put paid to their academic critics by adopting a more digestible "deconstruction." This was a deft academic move that allowed them to assume a political agenda through a stringent labyrinth of explanations yet without dragging research and scholarship away from the compromise of incremental reformism. Here, the institutional framework informed by neoliberal assumptions is already pre-judged as the only rational framework for a society bent on justice, and unwittingly supported by a postmodern embrace of playfulness and the undecidability of the sign.

Reveling in the sagacity of cultural criticism and eager to keep their gladiatorial attitude in tact without suffering an unset-tling cost for their radicalism, these prodigies of cosmopolitan learning embraced an unutterably reactionary "anti-foun-dationalism" that condemns all "master narratives" of progress. Marx would occasionally find a polemical way into some of the debates but was mostly banished from serious consideration. And while the work of Marx is a bit more fashionable these days, with the current crisis of neoliberal capitalism, the postmodernists have to a large extent fallen into tacit

agreement with their modernist adversaries and pushed themselves into self-limiting alliances with liberals. By leaving the challenge to capitalism untouched their politics eventually and unwittingly colludes with those whom they despise.

In the arena of educational reform, these defanged revolutionaries abraid the cause of their more militant colleagues often with self-serving maunderings and sententious commentary about educational reform that are mere coinages of the general currency used in mainstream educational debates, never challenging the primacy of capital. Here we need to recall the storied comment by Benjamin (1936) that those who call for a purely cultural or spiritual revolution without changing asymmetrical relations of power and privilege linked to class antagonisms can only be served by the logic of fascism and authoritarian political movements.

And then there are the Marxists who attempt to descry the positivity ensepulchered within the negativity of Hegel's absolutes but who are shunned for their embrace of a dialectics of transcendence (transcendence could lead to the Gulag again, it is much safer to remain in a politics of immanence). This Marxist-humanist position that emphasizes transcendence holds that we are the flesh-and-blood idea of capital, waxed fat from our complicity in advancing class society and in doing so enabling millions to be exiled into Marx's reserve army of workers (the unemployed). Thus we need to break out of the social universe of value production by creating a democratic alternative.

My agnostic relationship to liberal modernity with its emphasis on the apolitical drama of personal development while crucifying class struggle on the altar of culture such that the politics of "representation" is substituted for a politics of "revolution," does not mean that I rely on some ghostly psychopomp for advice; rather, I ascribe to the concept of praxis (an ordered chaos or irrational regularity) without retreating into the hinterlands of metaphysics and in doing so express critical pedagogy in germinal form as a philosophy of praxis, steering a path between the Scylla of an intractable rationalism and the Charybdis of metaphysical ravings.

The aggrieved, the oppressed and the immiserated, who have subordinated themselves to existing social systems practicing a developmental terrorism, are awakening fitfully from their social amnesia and reminding those who choose to delay their hypnopompic state that, in standing idle, they risk being suffocated by their own past. The window of opportunity is growing smaller for protecting the world against the ghastly panorama of increasing mega-droughts, global warming, ozone depletion, marine and tropical forest habitat destruction, the ongoing and methodological destruction of the biosphere, pandemics, mass extinctions (including the possibility of human extinction), and a possible 1000-year period of unchecked warming, which has been referred to as the "Venus effect," where all possibilities for life on earth will be utterly destroyed. Thus, the clarion call of First Nations peoples worldwide: "Idle No More!"

The annihilation of humanity that capitalism prosecutes with such an illustrious savagery is not some ramped-up bit of catastrophism, but the foundation of civilization's unfinished obelisk, against which we can only smash our heads in horror and disbelief. The chilling realization is that ecoapocalypse is not just some fodder for science fiction movie fans who revel in dystopian plots, but the future anterior of world history that is upon us. Under the guise of responsible job-producing growth ("jobs for the jobless"), we have an infestation of eco-fascisms, whose distracting sheen belies the horrors lurking underneath the surface. Preoccupied with the beautiful translucent hues of a soap bubble catching the

noonday sun as it floats aimlessly down a seaside boardwalk, courtesy of a bulbous-nosed local clown, we fail to notice the fish floating upside down amidst the rank and stink of the nearby ocean sewage. As our biosphere goes, so goes the public sphere, including public schooling, with its mania for high-stakes testing, accountability, total quality management and a blind passion for privatization (which usually begins with private–public partnerships), effectively dismantling a public education system that it took 200 years to build.

The enthronement of the bourgeois political order has seen the transnational capitalist class power elite become fully ensconced in what Gramsci called the "integral state" (see Mayo, 1999, 2005; Thomas, 2009). While functionally entombed in their propertarian and liberal democratic values, the bourgeoisie are becoming historically deformed. Samir Amin (2010) warns us about changes in the structures of the governing classes ("bourgeoisies"), political practice, ideology and political culture. He argues that the "historical bourgeoisie is disappearing from the scene and is now being replaced by the plutocracy of the 'bosses' of oligopolies" (Amin, 2010).

Capitalism is more than the sheet anchor of institutionalized avarice and greed, more than excrement splattered on the coat-tails of perfumed bankers and well-heeled speculators – it is a "world-eater" with an insatiable appetite. Capital has strapped us to the slaughter bench of history, from which we must pry ourselves free to continue our work of class and cultural struggle, creating working-class solidarity, an integral value system and internal class logic capable of countering the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time increasing class consensus and popular support. Inherent in capitalist societies marked by perpetual class warfare and the capitalist mode of production is structural violence of a scale so staggering that it can only be conceived as structural genocide. Garry Leech (2012) has argued convincingly and with a savage aplomb that capitalist-induced violence is structural in nature and, indeed, constitutes genocide.

Some critics dismissively opine that liberal capitalist regimes such as the USA cannot become truly fascist. I disagree. Economics is now the dominant science of human behavior and is providing the rationale for merging together sections of government, the military–industrial complex and corporations, creating zealots whose main prerogative is to bolster unrestricted and unilateral authority for the USA on the world stage and to command obedience and loyalty to the US imperium. We have arrived benightedly at the twilight of democracy, the end of freedom's long and slippery road. Yet our leaders instruct our balaclava-clad protesters to decamp from the streets and make their case for economic reform with appeals to politicians and policy works for reason and good faith. However, appealing to the humanity of transnational corporate oligarchs will be about as successful in ending the crisis of inequality faced by the majority of human beings on the planet as trying to put out all the fires in hell with a bucket of lustral water from the aspersorium of the local Catholic church.

In my adoptive homeland today, we have the greatest amount of consumer debt in the world, staggeringly high rates of both child and adult poverty, skyrocketing unemployment, and with the exception of North Korea, more people in prison than anywhere in the world in proportion to our population size, and have all but sacrificed our civic sovereignty. The chief executive officer of our Wal-Mart stores, Michael Duke, makes US$16,826.92 an hour whereas new employees making $8.75 an hour gross $13,650 a year (Gomstyn, 2010). Our infrastructure is crumbling and we continue to fight undeclared wars. Wages for workers in the USA are at their lowest level since the 1930s. Even so, massive cuts are being

implemented at every level of government, justified by the claim that "there is no money" for health care, education or other basic social needs. The wealth of the ruling class at this crisis-ridden historical juncture is almost entirely divorced from productive activity in the real economy through a process of financialization, in which the productive forces of the economy are steadily undermined. As I wrote several years ago:

> *We know now that the financial crisis created the great recession, which then resulted in the fiscal crisis. Massive layoffs and unemployment followed the financial crisis … [A]s inflated profits on fictitious capital dry up after the implosion of a speculative bubble, capitalism must reduce the amount of variable capital relative to constant capital to restore profitability. Costs associated with providing public services go up as workers get laid off and tax revenues decline. The government uses taxpayer dollars to bail out those financial institutions that helped to create the financial crisis while those workers suffering most from the crisis are told that they are consuming too much and must be punished even further through austerity programs. The relative amount of value that goes to workers must be cut so that the succulent capitalist class can once again retool its digestive tract for devouring the profits of speculative capital. Voters are told that debt levels threaten their economic well-being, so out of fear they agree to cutbacks in government spending and this is how capital manages to redistribute value from labor to capital – forcing the poor to pay for the rising debt levels afflicting global capital. Demanding that the rich or the financial institutions pay for the crisis is not the real answer, either, because, as [Peter] Hudis (2010) notes, the relative proportion of value going to capital as against labor must be increased to guarantee that capital accumulation is sustained, and this is true even though 80% of the economic growth in the United States over the past 20 years has ended up in the hands of the wealthiest 5% of the population. Hudis (2010) warns us not to be misled by conceiving of social wealth as reducible to the revenue paid out to workers on one hand and capitalists on the other. This is because most of the value produced in capitalism is not consumed by the capitalists or the workers, but by capital itself. When the left demands that wealth be distributed to the poor, this only intensifies the crisis of capital, so long as the capitalist law of value is not challenged … We need to uproot the very law of value itself. But to do that, we must create a viable conception of social organization that can replace capitalist value production. The left has failed to do this and it is up to us now to take up the challenge. (McLaren, 2011, pp. 373–374)*

The hyperbolic rhetoric of the fascist imaginary spawned by the recent 2008 recession is likely to be especially acute in the churches and communities affiliated with conservative groups who want a return to the economic practices that were responsible for the very crisis they are now railing against, but who are now, of course, blaming it on bank bailouts, immigration and the deficit. Fascist ideology is not something that burrows its way deep inside the structural unconscious of the USA from the outside, past the gatekeepers of our everyday psyche; it is a constitutive outgrowth of the logic of capital in crisis that can be symptomatically read through a neo-liberal individualism enabled by a normative, value-free absolutism and a neo-feudal/authoritarian pattern of social interaction. The USA has managed to conjure for itself – mainly through its military might and the broad spectacle of human slaughter made possible by powerful media apparatuses whose stock-in-trade includes portraying the USA as a democracy under siege by evil forces that are "jealous"

of its freedoms – a way to justify and sanctify their frustrations and hatreds, and reconstitute American exceptionalism amidst the rampant violence, prolonged social instability, drug abuse and breakdown of the US family. Of course, all of this works in concert with the thunderous call of Christian evangelicals to repent and heed God's prophets, and to welcome the fact that the USA has been anointed as the apotheosis of divine violence. Plain-spoken declarations abound, dripping with apocalyptic grandiosity, for dismantling the barriers of church and state, and creating a global Christian empire. This should not sound unusual for a country in which rule by violence was the inaugurating law, and which has, through the century, marked its citizenry indelibly in their interactions with others.

The conditions of inequality – stubbornly rationalized by the ruling class through the ideological state apparatus of schooling, religion and the media – beguile the people with everyday distractions and falsehoods, mystifying them with respect to their aspirations, loyalties and purposes. As new forms of development of the productive forces arise, existing economic relationships become a burden to the new economic system of production and, as a result of capital's internal conflict, society reorganizes itself to accommodate these new relationships as the ruling class increases their legal and political demands (Pozo, 2003; McLaren, 2005). These central commissars of knowledge production, these sentinels of common sense, cannot abjure the powers of the working class to resist their immiseration by simply wishing them away (Hill, 2012). They need to control ideological production through discourses that obtain canonical value by assigning high rank to capitalist intellectuals and through constant repetition by means of mind-numbing cultural productions designed to distract the people from their woes and to disqualify the claims of the oppressed as unreasonable, impractical and unpatriotic (Best et al, 2011).

John Bellamy Foster (2013a) argues that we are living in an "epochal crisis" – a term borrowed from Jason Moore – a tremulous period in which dire economic and ecological crises emerge inextricably entangled in each other. He cites systems ecologist Howard Odum's revelation that Latin Americans, in particular, are being systematically robbed of their environmental resources through an unequal exchange in trade and production, in which "embodied energy" is being withdrawn from the global South to the benefit of the global North – a situation which García Linera refers to as "extraterritorial surplus value" (cited in Foster, 2013b). We are facing what Foster (2013a) describes as the unlimited expansion of a capitalist system geared to a process of abstract wealth creation. We are witnessing the displacement of natural-material use value by specifically capitalist use value, which does little more than enhance exchange value for the capitalist, so that the production of use value ceases and money creates money without producing any naturematerial use value (Foster, 2013a).

The "real economy" is being hijacked by the irrational logic of monopolyfinance capitalism organized around financial-asset appreciation, which is dependent on an endless series of financial bubbles. Big corporations and wealthy investors, according to Foster (2013a), have "increasingly poured their surplus capital into the financial sphere in order to secure high speculative returns." The response to this additional demand for their products by financial institutions was to supply "an endless array of new, exotic speculative opportunities (junk bonds, derivatives, options, hedge funds, etc.)" (Foster, 2013a), which invariably leads to massive credit/debt. And all of this is occurring in the midst of human suffering, the magnitude of which is scarcely imaginable. According to Foster:

> *Behind the worldwide veil of capitalist value relations, hundreds of millions, even billions, of people are poor and destitute, often lacking the most basic prerequisites of material existence – adequate food, water, clothing, housing, employment, healthcare, and a nontoxic environment – due to the failures and contradictions of accumulation. Meanwhile, what ecologists call 'real wealth,' i.e., the product of nature itself, is being extracted from the environment on an ever-increasing scale devoid of any concern for either the rationality of production or the sustainability of natural systems, thereby robbing both present and future generations. Since unequal exchange relations with respect to both nature and labor prevail within the international economy this robbery falls disproportionately on poorer nations, a portion of whose natural use values (and economic surplus) is systematically siphoned off to enrich nations at the apex of the global imperialist pyramid. (Foster, 2013a)*

Samir Amin (2010) captures the general trends in the important evolution of capitalism by describing them in terms of generalized and financialized oligopolies run by plutocrats. According to Amin, since

> *[c]apitalism has reached a stage of centralization and concentration of capital out of all comparison with the situation only 50 years ago, [it is best described] as one of generalized oligopolies. 'Monopolies' (or, better, oligopolies) are in no way new inventions in modern history. What is new, however, is the limited number of registered oligopolies ('groups') which stands at about 500, if only the colossal ones are counted, and 3,000 to 5,000 in an almost comprehensive list. They now determine, through their decisions, the whole of economic life on the planet, and more besides. This capitalism of generalized oligopolies is thus a qualitative leap forward in the general evolution of capitalism. (Amin, 2010)*

Paraphrasing Amin (2010), all types of production of goods and services – small, medium and large – are now subordinated to the oligopolies, which determine the conditions of their survival. The real reason for this is the search for maximum profits, which benefits the powerful groups who have priority access to capital markets. Such concentration – which has historically been the response of capital to the long, deep crises that have marked its history – is at the origin of the "financialization" of the system. Amin remarks that:

> *"this is how the oligopolies siphon off the global surplus value produced by the production system, a 'rent monopoly' that enables oligopolistic groups to increase their rate of profit considerably. This levy is made possible because of 'the oligopolies' exclusive access to the monetary and financial markets which thus become the dominant markets."*

Amin tells us not to confuse financialization with "a regrettable drift linked to the 'deregulation' of financial markets, even less of 'accidents' (like subprimes) on which vulgar economics and its accompanying political discourse concentrate people's attention." On the contrary, financialization "is a necessary requirement for the reproduction of the system of generalized oligopolies." The capitalism of generalized and financialized oligopolies is also globalized, producing a

growing gulf between the "developed" centers of the system and its dominated peripheries, and is associated with the emergence of the "collective imperialism of the Triad" (the USA and its external provinces of Canada and Australia, western and central Europe, and Japan). According to Amin:

> *The new globalization is itself inseparable from the exclusive control of access to the natural resources of the planet exercised by collective imperialism. Hence the center-peripheries contradiction – the North-South conflict in current parlance – is central to any possible transformation of the actually existing capitalism of our time. And more markedly than in the past, this, in turn, requires the 'military control of the planet' on the part of the collective imperialist center.*
>
> *The different 'systemic crises' that have been studied and analyzed – the energy-guzzling nature of production systems, the agricultural and food crisis, and so on – are inseparable from the exigencies of the reproduction of the capitalism of generalized, financialized, and globalized oligopolies. If the status of these oligopolies is not brought into question, any policies to solve these 'systemic crises' – 'sustainable development' formulae – will just remain idle chitchat. (Amin, 2010)*

The grave threat of a capitalism of generalized, financialized and globalized oligopolies is enhanced as a result of its private status, since its continuation is bound to result in the destruction of the societies on the peripheries – those in the so-called 'emerging' countries as well as in "marginalized" countries – and could very well mean the destruction of the entire planet. According to Amin:

> *Not only do the oligopolies dominate the economic life of the countries of the Triad. They monopolize political power for their own advantage, the electoral political parties (right and left) having become their debtors. This situation will be, for the foreseeable future, accepted as 'legitimate,' in spite of the degradation of democracy that it entails. It will not be threatened until, sometime in the future perhaps, 'anti-plutocratic fronts' are able to include on their agenda the abolition of the private management of oligopolies and their socialization, in complex and open-endedly evolving forms. (Amin, 2010)*

Yet things are not going so well in some parts of the Triad. In Los Angeles County, in the most dominant country of Amin's Triad, close to where I am composing this article, an estimated 254,000 men, women and children experience homelessness during some part of the year. On any given night, approximately 82,000 people are homeless, and between 4,800 and 10,000 of them are young people. One-third of the homeless population in South and Metro Los Angeles holds a Bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 25% of the population as a whole (Wells, 2013). A fifth of the homeless are veterans and another fifth are disabled while a quarter are mentally ill and half are African American (Wells, 2013). Throughout the USA, 80% of the population face poverty or near poverty (Yen & Naziri, 2013). Gun violence is astronomical in the USA. According to Sean McElwee:

> *The U.S. leads the developed world in firearm-related murders, and the difference isn't a slight gap – more like a chasm. According to United Nations data, the U.S. has 20 times more murders than the developed world av-*

> *erage. Our murder rate also dwarfs many developing nations, like Iraq, which has a murder rate less than half ours. More than half of the most deadly mass shootings documented in the past 50 years around the world occurred in the United States, and 73 percent of the killers in the U.S. obtained their weapons legally. Another study finds that the U.S. has one of the highest proportion of suicides committed with a gun. Gun violence varies across the U.S., but some cities like New Orleans and Detroit rival the most violent Latin American countries, where gun violence is highest in the world. (McElwee, 2014)*

A striking and largely unremarked-upon characteristic of the USA is that, in many American counties, and in the Deep South especially, "life expectancy is lower than in Algeria, Nicaragua or Bangladesh," and that the USA "is the only developed country that does not guarantee health care to its citizens" (McElwee, 2014). This remains the case even after the Affordable Care Act. McElwee notes that:

> *America is unique among developed countries in that tens of thousands of poor Americans die because they lack health insurance, even while we spend more than twice as much of our GDP [gross domestic product] on healthcare than the average for the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), a collection of rich world countries. (McElwee, 2014)*

The USA has a frightening infant mortality rate, "as well as the highest teenage-pregnancy rate in the developed world, largely because of the politicallymotivated unavailability of contraception in many areas" (McElwee, 2014).

As far as raising children goes, McElwee (2014) notes that the USA "is among only three nations in the world that does not guarantee paid maternal leave (the other two are Papua New Guinea and Swaziland)." Poor American mothers must face the choice between raising their children and keeping their jobs. McElwee offers the following sweeping condemnation of the US education system:

> *The U.S. education system is plagued with structural racial biases, like the fact that schools are funded at the local, rather than national level. That means that schools attended by poor black people get far less funding than the schools attended by wealthier students. The Department of Education has confirmed that schools with high concentrations of poor students have lower levels of funding. It's no wonder America has one of the highest achievement gaps between high income and low income students, as measured by the OECD. Schools today are actually more racially segregated than they were in the 1970s. Our higher education system is unique among developed nations in that [it] is funded almost entirely privately, by debt. Students in the average OECD country can expect about 70 percent of their college tuition to be publicly funded; in the United States, only about 40 percent of the cost of education is publiclyfunded. That's one reason the U.S. has the highest tuition costs of any OECD country. (McElwee, 2014)*

Of course, there is a racial dimension to inequities within the US public school system, especially when examining the statistical facts of gaps between the outcomes of students disaggregated by race and affluence and comparing them

with the statistical facts of disproportionate numbers of teachers among races. And, of course, when you compare these to the realities of the school-to-prison pipeline, and the re-segregation of schools, we can see a national trend.

We know that in nearly every indicator, the USA has the largest income inequality in the OECD countries. Its infrastructure is crumbling and, in places such as South Dakota, Alaska and Pennsylvania, century-old wooden pipes are used to transport water (McElwee, 2014). Sewer lines and wastewater capacity date back to the mid nineteenth century in large portions of the USA. One in nine bridges is considered to be structurally deficient.
In the midst of the current epochal crisis, the US Department of Education and its spokespersons in the corporate media are diverting us away from the central issues of the crisis of capitalism and the ecological crisis by turning our attention to the failure of public schools (McLaren, 2006, 2012). They propose, as a solution, to smash public schools and the commons by unleashing the hurricane of privatization (the term hurricane is metaphorically appropriate here in a double sense, since New Orleans went from a public school system to a charter school city after Hurricane Katrina (see Democracy Now, 2007), causing unionized teachers to drop from 4700 to 500. Of course, this is not symptomatic only of the USA. We are facing the imperatives of the transnational capitalist class and so the challenge to public education is occurring on a transnational scale.

Yet violence is not simply linked to financial indexes, as frightening as those have been of late. Violence is more than a series of contingencies unleashed by the labor/capital antagonism that drives the engines of capitalism. It is more than a series of historical accidents transformed into a necessity. In fact, it is the very founding act of US civilization. While violence can be traced to worldwide social polarization linked to the phenomenon of capitalist overaccumulation and attempts by the transnational capitalist class to sustain profit-making by means of militarized accumulation, financial speculation and the plundering of public finance (Robinson, 2008), it can also be traced historically to epistemologies of violence and linked to the genocides brought about by the invasion and colonization of the Americas (Grosfoguel, 2013). Here, violence can be viewed as foundational to the Cartesian logic of Western epistemology, as the universal truth upon which all our understandings of the world must rely. Such violence can be seen across a host of institutional structures, including education, and in particular through "banking" approaches to teaching that preclude dialogue and thus privilege Western epistemology, omitting and systematically erasing other world views. Indeed, Paulo Freire would maintain that dialogue necessarily brings forth the epistemologies grounded in particular social positions. Not surprisingly, the historical conditions that have brought us to a place of Western domination are linked to "undialogic" social relations (Grosfoguel, 2013).

Ramón Grosfoguel, Enrique Dussel, Anibal Quijano and other decolonial thinkers have argued convincingly that the ego cogito ("I think, therefore I am") which underwrites Descartes's concept of modernity replaced the prior Christian dominant perspective with a secular, but God-like, unsituated and monolithic politics of knowledge, attributed mainly to white European men. The presumed separation and superiorization of mind over body of the ego cogito establishes a knowledge system dissociated from the body's positioning in time and space, and achieves a certitude of knowledge – as if inhabiting a solipsistic universe – by means of an internal monologue, isolated from social relations with other human beings (Grosfoguel, 2013). This ego cogito did not suddenly drop from the sky; it arose out of the historical and epistemic

conditions of possibility developed through the ego conquiro ("I conquer, therefore I am"), and the link between the two is the ego extermino ("I exterminate you, therefore I am").

Grosfoguel and Dussel maintain that the ego conquiro is the foundation of the "Imperial Being," which began with European colonial expansion in 1492, when white men began to think of themselves as the center of the world because they had conquered the world. The ego extermino is the logic of genocide/epistemicide that mediates the "I conquer" with the epistemic racism/sexism of the "I think" as the new foundation of knowledge in the modern/colonial world. More specifically, the ego extermino can be situated in the four genocides/epistemicides of the sixteenth century, which were carried out

> *1) against Muslims and Jews in the conquest of Al-Andalus in the name of 'purity of blood'; 2) against indigenous peoples first in the Americas and then in Asia; 3) against African people with the captive trade and their enslavement in the Americas; 4) against women who practiced and transmitted Indo-European knowledge in Europe burned alive accused of being witches. (Grosfoguel, 2013, p. 77)*

According to Grosfoguel (2013), these four genocides are interlinked and "constitutive of the modern/colonial world's epistemic structures" and Western male epistemic privilege, and we can certainly see these genocides reflected in the founding of the USA, in particular the massacre of indigenous peoples, the transatlantic slave trade and the Salem witch trials.

This genocidal history has been repressed in the structural unconscious of the nation (the term "structural unconscious" is taken from Lichtman, 1982). The assertion here is that the contradiction between the claims of ideology and the actual structure of social power, and the need to defend oneself against socially constructed antagonisms, is the primary challenge that faces the ego. The function of the structural unconscious is therefore to reconcile reality and ideology at the level of the nation state, and this requires conceptual structures to help citizens adjust to its genocidal history (McLaren, 1999; Monzó & McLaren, 2014). These structures comprise the foundations for coping strategies and are provided by the myths of democracy, rugged individualism and white supremacy that lie at the heart of US capitalist society. Racialized violence is the domestic expression of the American structural unconscious, whose function is to provide psychic power to the myth of America's providential history – that as a country it has been ordained by providence to democratize and civilize the heathen world. The structural unconscious is the lifeblood of the national religion of genocide (Monzó & McLaren, 2014). It continues to legitimize genocide, ecocide and epistemicide (the obliteration of indigenous ecosystems of the mind).

Today, we see this totalizing effect on America's structural unconscious as we live out our lives through the whims of the market, seeking happiness in an ever increasing consumption of things we feel we need and justifying our superficial existence as the "successful" outcome of our "hard work." We have stopped questioning, and perhaps even caring as a society, why some people are more deserving than others of the basic necessities of life – food, health and dignity – and simply accepted the myth that some people do not work hard enough to get ahead, and that individual social ascendance

based on presumed merits and motivation is just and right – that our existence alone is not sufficient to deserve basic human needs and that these must be "earned." Likewise, we have stopped questioning who benefits from the chaos that exists in particular communities, and have accepted that the natural world has been antiseptically cleaved and cordoned off into binary oppositions – wealthy/poor, white/of color – and that it is the providential role of the USA to "democratize" by means of our mighty arsenal of weapons those populations who threaten our economic interests and geopolitical advantage. We operate, of course, by the divine mandate that mere mortals must simply accept – that accepting our role as the global policeman is "God's will" and is as "good" for us as it is for the rest of the world.

Anyone who spends time travelling throughout the USA would be hard-pressed to disagree that our cities and our countryside lie in ruins. Riven by greed, ignorance and a belief in the imperishability of the market, our civilization is collapsing as we tunnel underneath it with the hope of escaping the worst of its hubris. Transnational capitalism, which remains unhindered and sufficiently versatile despite its intemperate balance between retroactive and anticipatory forces, has shown itself to be a self-sustaining edifice chillingly untouched by the cataclysm which it has provoked. Wary of resorting to protectionism, statism, nationalism, militarism and possibly war, the elites of the world are pleased that the USA is maintaining its role as the world's policeman, keeping social order on a world scale in order to create the most fecund conditions for capital accumulation and to destroy any popular challenges to the existing structures of class relations.

The wrecking ball of capitalism has torn through the very earth itself, as if it were affixed to the highest rung of Jacob's ladder by an angel gone astray, perhaps the result of a drinking spree in one of those taverns hidden away in the catacombs running underneath the Tower of Babel. Despite the deeply pitted sense of fear and existential terror that has accompanied immiseration capitalism since the crisis of 2008, this all-pervading and all-propelling unholy scourge appears to be indefinitely self-replenishing.

I wish to make a few comments about critical pedagogy as a lodestone through which we can consider how to organize the social division of labor and the realm of necessity, so as to enable humans to satisfy their social and individual needs. This is a daunting challenge, given that public education today is all but dead yet refuses to acknowledge its own demise, and its once proud luminaries fail to see how capitalism is one of the key factors that bears much of the responsibility. The terms of the debate over what to do with education's rotting carcass are selectively adduced by blue-chip brokers in the flora-stuffed, starched-linen breakfast rooms of expensive hotels to remind the public in opulently elusive ways that the importance of education today revolves around increasing the range of educational choices available to communities by privatizing education. Consequently, the debate today – which could only be described as death-haunted and excremental – has an uncompromisingly narrow and understocked conceptual vocabulary, consisting of pithy yet comparatively slippery terms such as "free choice", "common core", "competency-based education" and "accountability" all bound up in a supererogatory embrace of democracy. Competencies, which clearly define what students will accomplish to demonstrate learning for a workforce-related need, are an improvement in some ways – i.e. students can better pace themselves – but ultimately these competencies must be rendered measurable. All of these terms, of course, are endlessly retranscribable depending on what educational crisis happens to be the public's flavor of the month.

The emergence of Massive Open Online Courses, adaptive learning environments, peer-to-peer learning platforms, third-party service providers, and new online learning technology, and increased emphasis on learning outcomes and assessment, obscures the question of why we are educating students in the first place. Standardized testing occupies a world where the humanity of students is enslaved to a particular analytic structure, combining instrumental reason, positivism and one-dimensional objectivity. Its heteronomous dogma is all about increasing control of our external and internal nature, creating a reified consciousness in which the wounds of our youth are hidden behind the armor of instrumentality. Reason has become irrational as the animate is confused with the inanimate; students are turned into objects where the imprint of unbeing is left upon being.

Higher education pundits are propitious for saying that university education creates democratic citizens who are ready to take the hefty helm of government and steer it to glory. Yet the hysterical nucleus of capitalism – in which systems of higher education are inextricably embedded – is one in which the labor of the working class is alienated and in which the surplus value created by workers in the normal functioning of the economic process is appropriated by the capitalist. The workers are paid wages that are less than the price of the force of labor expended in their work. This value beyond the price of labor is surplus labor and is made possible only because the workers themselves do not possess the means of production. All the good works made possible by higher education are calamitously wasted in the pursuit of profit. While cautiously adjusting its role to the fluctuating needs of capital, and vigorously safeguarding its connections to corporate power, higher education has become unknowingly imprinted with an astonishing variety of reactionary social practices as it unsuccessfully tries to hide that it is in cahoots with the repressive state apparatuses and the military-industrial complex, and works to create the hive known as the national security state. Impecunious students are taught to be dedicated to the hive (as indentured servants as a result of soaring tuition fees), which is conditioned by the pathogenic pressures of profit-making. Within the hive, the capitalist unconscious turns murderously upon what is left of the Enlightenment as the irresolutely corporate conditions under which knowledge is produced reduce the products of the intellect to inert commodities. Higher education offers mainly on-the-cheap analyses of how capitalism impacts the production of knowledge and fails, in the main, to survey ways of creating an alternative social universe unburdened by value formation, and, in the end, offers us little more than a vision of a discount-store democracy. In making capitalism aprioristic to civilized societies, corporate education has replaced stakeholders with shareholders and has become the unthinkable extremity towards which education is propelled under the auspices of the cash nexus – propelled by a hunger for profit as unfillable as a black hole that would extinguish use value if allowed to run its course.

Under earlier dispensations, education had many names – it was paidea, it was critical citizenship, it was counter-hegemonic, it was transformational, it was a lot of things. Over time, its descriptions changed as its objects changed, and now it is distinguished by a special nomenclature most often drawn from the world of management and business. While critical educators have striven to formulate their work clearly, and have defended their arguments with formidable weapons of dialectical reasoning, there is a new call by some Marxists and eco-pedagogues to expand the struggle as anti-capitalist agitation. This is to be welcomed, of course, but education as a revolutionary process will likely not seem time-honored enough for most readers to take seriously, with the exception perhaps of the work of Paulo Freire, whose storied corpus of texts exerts a continuous subterranean pressure on the critical tradition, and amply and brilliantly demonstrates its best features.

Some, however, would argue that Freire's work is as much about what education should be like after the revolution as it is about forging the revolution through a pedagogy of praxis. But if one considers revolutionaries such as Amílcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara and Hugo Chávez, Subcomandante Marcos, Martin Luther King and Malcolm X as educators, then socialist education will have some gold-standard forebears and less likely be banished into the outer darkness. If we consider the above list of educators as ancestors, we can begin to see ourselves as part of a distinguished tradition of warriors fighting for the conditions of possibility for a socially and economically just society. A further long-term task awaits the critical educator who combines competence as a political historian with skills in dialectical theory, with an eye to sustainability studies. But creating a subalternist historiography of critical education, and developing educational initiatives that foreground democratic national rights and the collective welfare of all peoples, assumes that the planet will survive the unipolar world of US hegemony.

The USA enacts its "civilizing" mission in a hail of macabre counter-terrorism methods employed by President Obama. There are those who are protesting in the universities and the workplace, but they pay a price. Inhumanity and exploitation are rife, and many natural and unnatural anti-authoritarians are now psychopathologized and medicated – or thrown out of the institutions of higher learning – before they achieve political consciousness of society's most oppressive strategies and tactics. Those who do achieve political consciousness and try to redress the injustices that are so acutely widespread throughout the USA might find themselves on a National Security Agency surveillance list.

One person with the vision and fortitude to consider a liberatory alternative to Obama's foreign and domestic policy is Cornel West. In the beginning of the Obama presidency, it was easy to see how Cornel West, who did 65 campaign events for Obama, was drawn to Obama's progressive-sounding politics, since Obama clearly displayed at that time some very impressive populist attributes, even though Obama had been mentored by the vulpine milquetoast and political quisling par extraordinaire, Joe Lieberman. But early on, with the assembling of Obama's economic team, it became clearer to West that Obama had a Machiavellian side and was pandering to the Wall Street oligarchs. In time, his centrist neoliberal position became unwavering. West laments the lack of backbone in Obama, especially at this particular historical juncture that West, cited in Hedges (2014), describes as

> *Maybe America's last chance to fight back against the greed of the Wall Street oligarchs and corporate plutocrats, to generate some serious discussion about public interest and common good that sustains any democratic experiment....we are squeezing out all of the democratic juices that we have. The escalation of the class war against the poor and the working class is intense. More and more working people are beaten down. They are world-weary. They are into self-medication. They are turning on each other. They are scapegoating the most vulnerable rather than confronting the most powerful. It is a profoundly human response to panic and catastrophe. I thought Barack Obama could have provided some way out. But he lacks backbone. (West, cited in Hedges, 2014)*

In April, 2009, during a meeting of the 5th Summit of the Americas in Trinidad, President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela, one of the great world leaders and courageous defender of the poor and powerless, gifted President Obama with a copy of The Open Veins of Latin America, a brilliant book by Eduardo Galeano of Uruguay, who happens to be one of my favorite writers. The book, which was banned during periods of military dictatorship in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, documents the plundering of Latin America by Europe and the United States.

The book given to Obama was in Spanish but an English translation has been available from Monthly Review Press since 1971. Somebody needs to send Obama the English translation. But even if he did decide to flip through it one night, would his imagination be able to focus enough so that his eyes could see?
In Cypherpunks: freedom and the future of the Internet, Julian Assange puts forward an unambiguous – and I dare say poetic – indictment of government and corporate surveillance, anti-file-sharing legislation and the social media phenomenon that has seen users willingly collaborate with sites such as Google, Facebook and Twitter, which wish to collect their personal data. Assange famously describes the Internet as similar to "having a tank in your bedroom," and writes that a mobile phone serves merely as a "tracking device that also makes calls" (Assange et al, 2012, pp. 33, 49). Assange continues with the ominous prediction that "the universality of the internet will merge global humanity into one giant grid of mass surveillance and mass control" (Assange et al., 2012, p. 6). Resistance must therefore include encrypting your online activity, so that it will be possible to create an information network which the state will not be able to decipher.

We are moving very quickly towards a transnational dystopia – in particular, a postmodern surveillance dystopia. Assange is clear about the violence brewing just below the surface of the state. He notes:

> *Most of the time we are not even aware of how close to violence we are, because we all grant concessions to avoid it. Like sailors smelling the breeze, we rarely contemplate how our surface world is propped up from below by darkness. (Assange et al., 2012, p. 3)*

Assange juxtaposes the Platonic realm of the Internet with the fascist designs of the state – designs given force by the seizure of the physical infrastructure that makes the global Internet culture possible – fiberoptic cables, satellites and their ground stations, computer servers. We are no longer safe within Plato's cave. Everything produced inside the cave has been hijacked, stored in secret warehouses the size of small cities, creating a frightening imbalance of power between computer users and those who have the power to sort through and control the information generated in the networld. The only force that Assange sees capable of saving democracy is the creation of a "cryptographic veil" to hide the location of our cybernetic Platonic caves and to continue to use our knowledge to redefine the state.

You do not have to inhabit the dank bowels of a cybernetic Platonic cave to recognize that Obama's crimes are more slippery than those of Bush, but no less egregious. When it was Bush ordering the slaughter of innocents in Iraq, or Cheney profiting from the spoils of war through his company Halliburton, it was easy to feel chilled by Bush's fraternity prankster face and Cheney's slanted mouth. When Cheney tried to smile, his permanent sneer would lift and a Jack-o'-lantern rictus would suddenly appear on what was formerly his stern countenance. But Obama has a handsomely compelling

face and personality, and it is more difficult to see him in terms of a mass murderer. One could hypothetically ask: What really differentiates these mass murderers from Vasili Blohkin, Cheka member and Stalin's favorite executioner, who once personally dispatched 250 captured Poles each night over 28 consecutive nights (for which he holds the Guinness World Record of "most prolific executioner")? We can only imagine how execution-style chic Blohkin looked, all decked out in his leather butcher's apron, his jaunty leather cap and shoulder-length leather gloves, which he wore during his "irreproachable service" for Stalin during the Yezhovshchina purge, even blowing out the base of Nikolai Yezhov's skull (Stalin's infamous apparatchik, for whom the terror was named) in the very execution chamber designed by Yezhov, with a sloping cement floor, drain and hose, and a loglined wall. This is a far more hideous image than Obama with his feet up on his desk in the Oval Office. Of course there is a remarkably big difference between the crimes of Bush, Obama and Stalin. But the fact that there are more heinous killers in the rogue's gallery of political leaders than Bush Jr and Obama should not cause us to downplay the seriousness of their crimes.

Obama's soaring rhetoric is now his downfall, as his words are now seen as harvested from a manufacturing plant miles away from his own brainpan. A president who publicly laments gun violence but deifies "the troops" and relishes the lethal effectiveness of drone strikes offers us a contradiction so stark as to leave us speechless. Obama's words and convictions are as far apart as the poles of a refrigerator magnet you purchased on your last visit to Martha's Vineyeard, and the latest General Electric French Door Refrigerator your neighbor splurged on to make you envious, as reflected in a description by Cornel West in an interview with journalist Chris Hedges:

> *He is a shell of a man ... There is no deep conviction. There is no connection to something bigger than him. It is a sad spectacle, sad if he were not the head of an empire that is in such decline and so dangerous ...*
>
> *The most pernicious development is the incorporation of the black prophetic tradition into the Obama imperial project ... Obama used [Martin Luther] King's Bible during his inauguration, but under the National Defense Authorization Act King would be detained without due process. He would be under surveillance every day because of his association with Nelson Mandela, who was the head of a "terrorist" organization, the African National Congress. We see the richest prophetic tradition in America desecrated in the name of a neoliberal worldview, a worldview King would be in direct opposition to. Martin would be against Obama because of his neglect of the poor and the working class and because of the [aerial] drones, because he is a war president, because he draws up kill lists. And Martin King would have nothing to do with that. (Hedges, 2013)*

Hedges summarizes his own opinion of Obama as follows:

> *The wide swath of destruction Obama has overseen on behalf of the corporate state includes the eradication of most of our civil liberties and our privacy, the expansion of imperial war, the use of kill lists, abject subservience to Wall Street's criminal class and the military-industrial complex, the relentless persecution of whistle-blowers, mass incarceration of poor people of color and the failure to ameliorate the increasing distress of the poor and the working class. His message to the black underclass in the midst of the corporate rape of the nation is drawn verbatim from the Booker T. Washington playbook. He tells them to work harder – as if anyone works harder than the working poor in this country – and obey the law. (Hedges, 2013)*

I find little to disagree with in the above descriptions by West and Hedges, partly because my own formation – Bildung – as an educator was through the African American prophetic tradition, which deeply impacted the civil rights movement, as well as the Marxist humanist movement pioneered by Raya Dunayevskaya. What punishment is due to war criminals such as Obama? Dipping his Aesopian tongue in kerosene and igniting it with a smoldering lump of coal from the fire around which Afghan tribal leaders sit to mourn the death of family members, whose families have lost relatives in Obama's drone attacks? Will there ever be any justice in this regard for two US presidents who, after September 11, 2001, launched two wars that have killed more than a million people and contributed to ongoing instability and violence that continue to this day? If we can put aside for a moment the sentimental inducements that accompany discussions of 9/11 in the public square, there is another 9/11 that we need to take into consideration: September 11, 1973, when Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger helped to orchestrate a coup of Salvador Allende's government in Chile. Mark Weisbrot quotes Richard Nixon on why he wanted the Allende socialist government to be overthrown:

President Richard Nixon was clear, at least in private conversations, about why he wanted the coup that destroyed one [of] the hemisphere's longest-running democracies, from his point of view:

> *The main concern in Chile is that [President Salvador Allende] can consolidate himself, and the picture projected to the world will be his success ... If we let the potential leaders in South America think they can move like Chile and have it both ways, we will be in trouble.(Weisbrot, 2013)*

Nixon and Kissinger led the way in Chile for a rule of terror by coup leader Augusto Pinochet, to whom they gave the green light to assassinate Allende and strategic assistance from the US military:

> *The U.S. government was one of the main organisers and perpetrators of the September 11, 1973 military coup in Chile, and these perpetrators also changed the world – of course much for the worse. The coup snuffed out an experiment in Latin American social democracy, established a military dictatorship that killed, tortured, and disappeared tens of thousands of people, and for a quarter-century mostly prevented Latin Americans from improving their living standards and leadership through the ballot box. (Weisbrot, 2013)*

The rule of terror in Chile, courtesy of the US government, is nothing new. The Vietnam War is closer to home for most Americans. Listening to the transcripts of White House tape recordings between President Nixon and his advisors on April 25, 1972, and May, 1972 leads us to believe that the outcome could have been much worse for the North Vietnamese:

> *President Nixon: How many did we kill in Laos?*
> *National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger: In the Laotian thing, we killed about ten, fifteen [thousand] ...*
> *Nixon: See, the attack in the North [Vietnam] that we have in mind... power plants, whatever's left – POL [petroleum], the docks ... And, I still think we ought to take the dikes out now. Will that drown people?*
> *Kissinger: About two hundred thousand people.*

> *Nixon: No, no, no … I'd rather use the nuclear bomb. Have you got that, Henry?*
> *Kissinger: That, I think, would just be too much.*
> *Nixon: The nuclear bomb, does that bother you? … I just want you to think big, Henry, for Christsakes.*
> *May 2, 1972:*
> *Nixon: America is not defeated. We must not lose in Vietnam. … The surgical operation theory is all right, but I want that place bombed to smithereens. If we draw the sword, we're gonna bomb those bastards all over the place. Let it fly, let it fly. (Blum, 2014).*

I have advocated for a critical patriotism (McLaren, 2013) in my work in critical pedagogy, a pedagogy that would identify and condemn crimes against humanity perpetrated by the USA, as a way of avoiding future tragedies. As a way of countering the attitude of government advisors such as Michael Ledeen, former Defense Department consultant and holder of the Freedom Chair at the American Enterprise Institute, who opines sardonically: "Every ten years or so, the United States needs to pick up some small crappy little country and throw it against the wall, just to show the world we mean business" (Blum, 2014). In high school history classes, we do not hear much about the US atrocities during the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), the coup in Chile or about Pinochet's feared Caribellos; or the assassinations of Catholic priests organizing cooperatives in the Guatemalan towns of Quetzaltenango, Huehuetenango, San Marcos and Sololá; or the failed coup against the Venezuelan government of Hugo Chávez in 2002; or the role of the CIA in destabilizing Latin American and Middle Eastern regimes throughout the centuries; or the history of the USA as the supreme master of focused and unidirectional aggression, whose intransigent martial will has made it the most feared country in history. Nor do we learn about the Zapatista uprising which occurred as a result of government oppression in the towns of the Selva, Altos, Norte and Costa regions of Chiapas, and took place in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Las Margaritas, Altamirano, Oxchuc, Huixtán, Chanal and Ocosingo, and involved Tzotzils, Tzeltals, Tojolabals, Chols, Mams and Zoques.

What is of most concern in teacher education programs is not the impact that neo-liberal capitalism has had on the way the USA deals with questions of public and foreign policy, and the implications of this for developing a critical approach to citizenship. What occupies the curricula in teacher education is the question of race and gender and sexual identity formations. And while, in itself, this is an important emphasis, identity formation is rarely problematized against the backdrop of social class and poverty, and the history of US imperialism. I do not want to downplay the importance of the struggles over race and class or gender or sexuality, and the history of the civil rights struggle. But I believe that it is necessary to see such antagonisms both in relationship to a geopolitics of knowledge and in terms of the ways in which capitalism has reconstituted itself over the years.

When I introduce the topic of finance capitalism to my classes and stress the importance of class struggle in my work with teachers, students prefer to use the term "classism" or "socio-economic status," as if these terms were equivalent to racism and sexism and heterosexism, for instance. They see no reason to prioritize class in what they refer to as their "intersectionality" grid. I have found a quotation by Joel Kovel that helps my students understand why class is a very special category. I will use this quotation in full:

This discussion may help clarify a vexing issue on the left, namely, as to the priority of different categories of what might be called 'dominative splitting' – chiefly, those of gender, class, race, ethnic and national exclusion, and, with the ecological crisis, species. Here we must ask, priority in relation to what? If we intend prior in time, then gender holds the laurel – and, considering how history always adds to the past rather than replacing it, would appear as at least a trace in all further dominations. If we intend prior in existential significance, then that would apply to whichever of the categories was put forward by immediate historical forces as these are lived by masses of people: thus to a Jew living in Germany in the 1930s, anti-semitism would have been searingly prior, just as anti-Arab racism would be to a Palestinian living under Israeli domination today, or a ruthless, aggravated sexism would be to women living in, say, Afghanistan. As to which is politically prior, in the sense of being that which whose transformation is practically more urgent, that depends upon the preceding, but also upon the deployment of all the forces active in a concrete situation...

If, however, we ask the question of efficacy, that is, which split sets the others into motion, then priority would have to be given to class, for the plain reason that class relations entail the state as an instrument of enforcement and control, and it is the state that shapes and organizes the splits that appear in human ecosystems. Thus class is both logically and historically distinct from other forms of exclusion (hence we should not talk of 'classism' to go along with 'sexism' and 'racism,' and 'speciesism'). This is, first of all, because class is an essentially man-made category, without root in even a mystified biology. We cannot, in other words, imagine a human world without gender distinctions – although we can imagine a world without domination by gender. But a world without class is eminently imaginable – indeed, such was the human world for the great majority of our species' time on earth, during all of which considerable fuss was made over gender. Historically, the difference arises because 'class' signifies one side of a larger figure that includes a state apparatus whose conquests and regulations create races and shape gender relations. Thus there will be no true resolution of racism so long as class society stands, inasmuch as a racially oppressed society implies the activities of a class-defending state. Nor can gender inequality be legislated away so long as class society, with its state, demands the super-exploitation of woman's labor.

Class society continually generates gender, racial, ethnic oppressions, and the like, which take on a life of their own, as well as profoundly affecting the concrete relations of class itself. It follows that class politics must be fought out in terms of all the active forms of social splitting. It is the management of these divisions that keeps state society functional. Thus though each person in a class society is reduced from what s/he can become, the varied reductions can be combined into the great stratified regimes of history – this one becoming a fierce warrior, that one a routineloving clerk, another a submissive seamstress, and so on, until we reach today's personifications of capital and captains of industry. Yet no matter how functional a class society, the profundity of its ecological violence ensures a basic antagonism which drives history onward. History is the history of class society – because no matter how modified, so powerful a schism is bound to work itself through to the surface, provoke resistance (i.e. 'class struggle'), and lead to the succession of powers. (Kovel, 2002, pp. 123–124)

While class retains a strategic priority, we need to understand that race cannot be reduced to class. Frantz Fanon's work can help to inform a Marxist analysis of race by recognizing it as a profound moment of dialectical philosophy. When

Fanon discusses the dialectic of Self-Consciousness in Black Skin, White Masks (in the five page section on "The Black and Man and Hegel") Fanon recognizes that when this master/slave dialectic is viewed in terms of race it becomes impossible to accept Hegel's classic argument (which we don't have space to repeat here but should be sufficiently well-known by readers). Fanon recognizes "that the historic context of Hegel's master/slave dialectic – more correctly translated as "lordship and bondage" – is the ancient and medieval world, in which slavery was not based on race" (Hudis, 2014). Hegel cannot help us to comprehend the lived experience of Black people because when you add the context of race to the master/slave relation Fanon reveals that the master is not interested in receiving recognition from the slave. In fact, the master denies the very humanity of the slave. Fanon argues that the master wants not recognition from the slave but labor. It is important to note, according to Hudis (2014), that the Hegelian slave did not actually achieve an independent mind of his own since he becomes aware of the gap between his subjectivity and the objective world, and this mutual recognition requires, according to Hegel, reaching absolute knowledge itself. Both Hegel and Fanon recognize that the struggle for recognition is not resolved from the provisional slave of the master/slave dialectic.

Since racism so debases the human personality as to render mutual recognition between white people and black people impossible, the black subject, according to Fanon, can only inhabit "a zone of non-being," an unbearable insularity. Since blackness is a construction of white racism, there is no pre-existing essence for the black to marshal on its behalf in resisting the racist gaze of the other. Nothingness therefore resists in the very heart of its being. This is the basis of the inferiority complex and the effort by the victim of racism to affirm itself by desperately trying to appear to be like the other. (Hudis, 2014)

Fanon's answer was to make himself known, by shouting forth his blackness. Yet even potential allies such as Sartre considered black consciousness and pride as a minor term. Hudis notes that race is the particular and class (in particular, proletarian class struggle) is the universal for Sartre. Unfortunately, Sartre here is closer to Hegel than Fanon. Fanon was sharply critical of Sartre's position, recognizing that "[T]his born Hegelian, had forgotten that consciousness needs to get lost in the night of the absolute, the only condition for attaining self-consciousness" (Fanon, 2004, p. 112). Sartre had forgotten that the absolute is immanent in each phase of the battle for recognition and that the subject must posit its own subjectivity as an absolute. Otherwise what you are left with, according to Hudis, is an abstract revolutionism – an empty disembodied absolute. Fanon was well aware of this. The black subject can only lose himself/herself in the particular – in shouting forth her blackness – in the long road to the universal. Fanon notes that "this negativity [of the black subject] draws its value from a virtually substantial absoluity" (2004, p. 113, cited in Hudis). You cannot skip over the particular in reaching the absolute and, as Hudis rightly notes, only a struggle that leads to a new humanism is one that can help us disalienate ourselves from the evergrowing tendrils of capitalism. This requires absolute negativity, an open-ended dialectic that rejects a closed ontology, and that can be put in the service of emancipatory ends, in this case, the struggle against racism, sexism, patriarchy, colonialism and capitalist exploitation. Absolute negativity rejects the old and can become the basis of a new positivity, a new movement forward towards human freedom by continually negating the conditions of unfreedom.

While critical revolutionary pedagogy has made unwonted inroads into some tributaries of mainstream educational studies, it largely remains underappreciated, not so much for the pamphleteering exuberance that marks its tone, but for the fact that it has not been able to make successful inroads into public education. Yet such a failure is not due to the fact that critical pedagogy has chosen to remain in the stance of the "outsider," refusing to collaborate with those adjacent conceptual and pedagogical systems that are its most eligible neighbors in the social sciences and humanities, but rather because it cannot exist in situ within the public education system and still remain true to its principles. This is because it is fundamentally a pedagogy of class struggle, carried out through multiple modalities – anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-homophobic education, critical disability studies, etc. And the fact that each instantiation of critical pedagogy is traversed by the personal predilections of its exponents has given it an eclectic rather than systematic feel. In its current phase of theoretical gestation, there is a lack of univocal, reliable terminology. For now, it remains a pedagogy of hope, which does not mean that it must remain at a fierce remove from the everyday struggle for school reform. Critical pedagogy is still in its early birth pangs, and that it grows stronger the more its deficiencies are named only demonstrates that it is destined for longevity, and that such longevity is not fated to dissipate its native strength.

We do more than embrace the geist of solidarity; we work towards its world-historical attainment in the pursuit of truth. A commitment to truth is never unproductive because no transformative act can be accomplished without commitment. No true act of commitment is an exit from the truth, but tramps down a path along which truth is won (Fischman & McLaren, 2005). I do not want to use my political imagination to create something new out of the debris of the old, because that leads us to adapt our revolutionary work to that which already exists. My concern is to struggle to change the conditions of what already exists and to liberate agency for its own conditions of possibility in order to create what was thought to be impossible.

Acknowledging fully the asymmetrical relations of power encapsulated in the uneven and combined development pervading the global South in relationship to the global North – a relation of extreme violence so necessary for us, as Western consumers, to enjoy our relatively middle-class lifestyles – we nevertheless struggle for something that is akin to Agamben's "non-state" or humanity, through a Gramscian attempt at a war of position, a Freirean praxis of conscientization or the permanent revolution found in Raya Dunayevskaya's philosophy of praxis grounded in "absolute negativity," and an ecological general strike of which the environmental caucus of the Industrial Workers of the World now speaks.

We look at the potential of the communal councils of the Bolivarian Revolution, which serve as public pedagogical sites for socialism and endogenous development, and to what Michael Lebowitz (2013) describes as "a vehicle for changing both circumstances and the protagonists themselves," and deepening the struggle for socialism for the twenty-first century. Such a struggle is founded on revolutionary practice, famously described by Lebowitz (2013) as "the simultaneous changing of circumstances and self-change." The new socialist society stresses that the control of production is vested in the producing individuals themselves. Productive relations are social as a result of conscious choice and not after the fact. They are social because, as Lebowitz (2013) perceptively notes, as a people we deliberately choose to produce for people who need what we can produce.

I do not want to diabolize reformists in the name of revolutionary socialism or give oxygen to any crude sectarianism, for that would be akin to echoing the sentiments of Martin Luther, who argued that, for the man who does not believe in Christ, not only are all sins mortal, but even his good works are sins.

A NEW EPISTEMOLOGICAL ALTERNATIVE

To look mainly to the European social tradition for guidance in the belief that the struggle for a socialist alternative to capitalism is the monopoly of the West would be to succumb to the most crude provinciality and a truncated ethnocentrism. Thomas Fatheuer (2011) has examined recent innovative aspects in the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia. In Ecuador, for instance, the right to a "good life" – buen vivir – becomes a central objective, a bread-and-butter concern that cannot be relinquished. One of the subsections of the constitution deals with the rights to nutrition, health, education and water, for example. The concept of the good life here is more than economic, social and cultural rights. It is a basic principle that "forms the foundation of a new development model (régimen de desarrollo)" (Fatheuer, 2011, p. 16). Article 275 states: "Buen Vivir requires that individuals, communities, peoples and nations are in actual possession of their rights and exercise their responsibilities in the context of interculturalism, respect for diversity and of harmonious coexistence with nature" (cited in Fatheuer, 2011, p. 16). Fatheuer distinguishes the concept of buen vivir from the Western idea of prosperity as follows:

> *Buen Vivir is not geared toward 'having more' and does not see accumulation and growth, but rather a state of equilibrium as its goal. Its reference to the indigenous world view is also central: its starting point is not progress or growth as a linear model of thinking, but the attainment and reproduction of the equilibrium state of Sumak Kausay. (Fatheuer, 2011, p. 16)*

Both Bolivia and Ecuador have utilized their constitutions to re-establish their states in a post-colonial context and are committed to the concept of plurinationalism and the preservation of nature. Here, the state promotes the ethical and moral principles of pluralistic society:

> *Amaqhilla, ama llulla, ama suwa (do not be lazy, do not lie, do not steal), suma qamaña (vive bien), ñandereko (vida armoniosa – harmonious life), teko kavi (vida buena), ivi maraei (tierra sin mal – Earth without evil, also translated as 'intact environment'), and qhapaj ñan (Camino o vida noble – the path of wisdom). (Fatheuer, 2011, pp. 17–18)*

The concept of Pachamama ("Mother Earth") and the rights of nature play a special role, designed to put human beings and nature on a foundation of originality, mutuality and dialogue, and the Defensoría de la Madre Tierra statute is designed to "monitor the validity, promotion, dissemination and implementation of the rights of Madre Tierra," and forbid the marketing of Mother Earth (Fatheuer, 2011, p. 18). Here it is stipulated that the earth has a right to regenerate itself. It is important to point out that buen vivir is not a return to ancestral, traditional thinking, but is a type of ch'ixi, or a concept where something can exist and not exist at the same time – in other words, a third state where modernity is not conceived as homogeneous, but as cuidadania, or "difference;" a biocentric world view that permits the simultaneous existence

of contradictory states without the need for resolution towards a given pole, and that conceives of life in a way which is not informed by the opposition of nature and humans (Fatheuer, 2011). New indigenous discourses in Bolivia and those articulated by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador advocate for an integral philosophy and a new plurinational, communitarian, collective, egalitarian, multilingual, intercultural and biosocialist vision of sustainable development. They fight against a capitalism that militates against harmony inside and between society and nature (Altmann, 2013). Interculturality is seen as a relational and a structural transformation and an instrument of decolonization. It is something that must be created and it refers not only to groups but also to structures based on respect, cultural heterogeneity, participative self-representation, communitarian forms of authority, mutual legitimacy, equity, symmetry and equality; furthermore, it is applicable to monoethnic and multiethnic territories. Here, interculturality in combination with plurinationality is linked to a postcolonial re-foundation of the modern state (Altmann, 2012).

John P. Clark (2013), in his magnificent work The Impossible Community, has offered an array of possible approaches to take from the perspective of communitarian anarchism. These include a revised version of the libertarian municipalism of the late Murray Bookchin, the Gandhian Sarvodaya movement in India, and the related movement in Sri Lanka called Sarvodaya Shramadana – the Gandhian approach to self-rule and voluntary redistribution of land as collective property to be managed by means of the gram sabha ("village assembly") and the panchayat ("village committee"). Sarvodaya Shramadana offers four basic virtues: upekkha ("mental balance"), metta ("goodwill towards all beings"), karma ("compassion for all beings who suffer") and mundita ("sympathetic joy for all those liberated from suffering"). Clark's work focuses on the tragedies and contradictions of development and his discussion of India is particularly insightful (see especially pp. 217–245 and the eloquently informative review of Clark's book by Sethness, 2013). More familiar to teachers are perhaps the examples of the Zapatistas and the Landless Peasants' Movement in Brazil. Clark mentions, as well, the indigenous Adivasi struggles and those by Dalits, fighting the paramilitaries of the transnational mining communities in India.

Instead of reducing citizens and non-citizens alike to their racialized and gendered labor productivity, as is the case with the neo-liberal state apparatus, we wish to introduce the term buen vivir as an opposing logic to the way we approach our formation as citizen-subjects. We would advise the guardians of the neo-liberal state – especially those who are now in the "business" of education – to look towards Las Américas for new conceptions of democratic life that could serve as a means of breaking free from the disabling logic of neo-liberalism that now engulfs the planet – a new epistemology of living that has so far not been a casualty of the epistemicide of the conquistadores past and present. We still adhere to the proposition that the human mind lives in a largely self-created world of illusion and error, a defective system of false reality from whence we can be rescued only by the development of a critical self-reflexive subjectivity and protagonistic agency. But we would add that such self-creation occurs under conditions not of our own making. Many of those conditions have been created by social relations of production and the way in which neo-liberal capitalism has produced nature/human relations as a total world ecology linked to a racialized social division of labor and hyper-nationalism. Critical consciousness here becomes the inverse equivalent of the ignorance of our false consciousness under capitalist social relations of exploitation and alienation. Hence, we seek a social universe outside of the commodification of human labor, a universe deepened by direct and participatory democracy and a quest for buen vivir. Samir Amin pitches the challenges thusly:

> *"Whatever you like to call it, historical capitalism is anything but sustainable. It is only a brief parenthesis in history. Challenging it fundamentally – which our contemporary thinkers cannot imagine is 'possible' or even*

> *'desirable' – is however the essential condition for the emancipation of dominated workers and peoples (those of the periphery, 80 percent of humanity). And the two dimensions of the challenge are indissoluble. It is not possible to put an end to capitalism unless and until these two dimensions of the same challenge are taken up together. It is not 'certain' that this will happen, in which case capitalism will be 'overtaken' by the destruction of civilization (beyond the discontents of civilization, to use Freud's phrase) and perhaps of all life on this earth. The scenario of a possible 'remake' of the 20th century thus remains but falls far short of the need of humanity embarking on the long transition towards world socialism. The liberal disaster makes it necessary to renew a radical critique of capitalism. The challenge is how to construct, or reconstruct, the internationalism of workers and peoples confronted by the cosmopolitism of oligarchic capital. (Amin, 2010)*

Clearly, while we need a new epistemology of buen vivir and of Sarvodaya Shramadana to help stave off the epistemicide of indigenous knowledges by means of violent Eurocentric practices, we also need a class struggle of transnational reach.

The learning curve of our politicized youth appears mercifully short, a condition created by necessity more than choice. Few of them doubt the seriousness of the situation that we are facing as inhabitants of our planet.

They know too much already, and the question remains as to whether they will use their knowledge to join the fight for socialism, in which they risk life and limb, or decide to give in to the distractions of our electronically wired world of info-tainment. As I have written elsewhere:

> *"Global warming and nature–society relations, imperialism, racism, speciesism, sexism, homophobia, genocide and epistemicide are not independent of the capitalist accumulation process, but mutually inform one another. The youth of today comprehend these myths for what they are – diversions designed to enfeeble the struggle for social justice – and they will never have the same force that they once had. During an unprecedented time when capital permeates lines of demarcation and casts its oppressive force through institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organisation and the US empire, the young activists of today recognise that they cannot pluck wholeness out of the atomised continent of capitalist culture. They must start anew. The genie of transnational contestation and revolt is now out of the lamp, has identified as an ecological proletariat, and has the potential to alter the course of human history – a history that begins with the overthrow of capitalist regimes of accumulation. Although there is no guarantee that from the conflagration that is capital today socialism will find its redeeming application, there is a fervent willingness among our youth to explore new terrains of contestation and struggle. In the midst of increased surveillance, heightened policing, stop-and-frisk policies on the streets, overbroad gang injunctions, and spiraling rates of juvenile incarceration we see determined efforts by youth who are participating in the US Civil Rights Movement, the transnational lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) movement, in various incarnations of feminist struggle, environmentalism and environmental justice movements, and in the labour, antiwar, and immigrant rights movements; we also see these determined efforts in struggles among youth movements worldwide, who are bearing witness to and participating in the production of various countersummits, Zapatista Encuentros; social*

> *practices that produce use values beyond economic calculation and the competitive relation with the other, and are inspired by practices of social and mutual solidarity, by horizontally-linked clusters outside vertical networks in which the market is protected and enforced; by social cooperation through grassroots democracy, consensus, dialogue and the recognition of the other, by authority and social cooperation developed in fluid relations and self-constituted through interaction; and by a new engagement with the other that transcends locality, job, social condition, gender, age, race, culture, sexual orientation, language, religion and beliefs. In short, they support a global communalidad. (McLaren, 2014a, p. 159)*

If the new generation is to help throw off the chains forged by the centuries-old dogma of the capitalist class, then we cannot leave this challenge only to our youth. We need to offer them hope, but hope at the expense of truth can turn optimism into feelings of omnipotence and can lead to a fatal outbreak of hubris. We need to conjugate our hope with seeking new pathways to justice, despite the grim reality that the odds are not in our favor, and perhaps never will be.

Critical revolutionary pedagogy is non-sectarian and emphasizes ecumenical approaches, attempting to incorporate a Marxist humanist critique of alienation under capitalism into the doxa of critical pedagogy – a move that recognizes consciousness and external reality as mutually constitutive, and asserts that there must be an ethical dimension which gives priority to the oppressed, thereby rejecting many of the "diamat" tendencies that held sway in the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries. Such tendencies maintained that they could uncover a transparent reflection of reality and that a focus on human consciousness, self-management and agency within popularly based social movements was unscientific, and that the central focus should be on social relations of production. By contrast, human agency and human needs are not conceptualized by Marxist humanists as secondary or epiphenomenal to objective social forces. Consequently, reform and revolution are not mutually antagonistic relationships, but must be understood in a dialectical relationship to each other. Dialectics does not juxtapose reform and revolution, but mediates them as a "both–and" relationship rather than an 'either–or' relationship. The same is true with ecology and the grounding antagonism between capital and labor, such that class struggle is at one and the same time an ecological struggle, taking to heart the Earth First slogan that there can be "no jobs on a dead planet."

Given the post-humanities attack on dialectics by Antonio Negri and others, it might seem antiquated to look to dialectics as a means of creating what Fischman and McLaren (2005) have called the "committed intellectual" as part of the larger development of a philosophy of praxis. However, critics such as Antonio Negri have abandoned dialectics in favor of substituting singular, unresolvable and non-dialectical "antagonisms" for dialectical "contradictions." Asserting that dialectics imposes internal balances in capitalist society, serving as a mechanism for both establishing and maintaining equilibrium, such critics reject the primacy of the forces of production and the shaping of the social relations of production in accordance to its needs (i.e. the correspondence between the forces and relations of production). As Teresa Ebert (2009) and Ebert and Mas'ud Zavarzadeh (2007) have illustrated, Negri believes that the trans-historical power of the subjectivity of the living labor of the multitude gives labor autonomy from capital through acts of self-valorization and affirmation of singularities. He therefore replaces the proletariat as the agent of class struggle with the multitude, while insisting that capital is merely reactive to the self-valorization of the workers, that labor is in effect a subjective power,

and that value is not about economic relations but about power relations. It is easy to see how, under Negri's unfocused eye, class struggle evaporates into a series of unresolvable paradoxes in a world reduced to unknowable, and basically unreadable, linguistic self-referentiality.

The problem with Negri and the other anti-dialecticians is that they reject all forms of transcendence in favor of remaining on the plane of immanence, taking the given social reality as a point of departure (Anderson, 2010). However, Anderson rightly notes that we do not have to choose between immanence and transcendence:

> *But we do not have to choose between such one-sided alternatives. Consider Hegel's standpoint, as summed up by the Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurt School: 'To insist on the choice between immanence and transcendence is to revert to the traditional logic criticized in Hegel's polemic against Kant' (Adorno, Prisms, p. 31). In fact, Hardt and Negri regularly attack Hegel and the Enlightenment philosophers as conservative and authoritarian, while extolling pre-Enlightenment republican traditions rooted in Machiavelli and Spinoza. What they thereby cut themselves off from is the dialectical notion that a liberated future can emerge from within the present, if the various forces and tendencies that oppose the system can link up in turn with an [sic] theory of liberation that sketches out philosophically that emancipatory future for which they yearn.*
>
> *Marx certainly overcame the pre-Hegelian split between immanence and transcendence. The working class did not exist before capitalism and was a product of the new capitalist order, and was therefore immanent or internal to capitalism. At the same time, however, the alienated and exploited working class fought against capital, not only for a bigger piece of the pie, but also engaged in a struggle to overcome capitalism itself, and was in this sense a force for transcendence (the future in the present). (Anderson 2010)*

Even the illustrious Marcuse in his Great Refusal (his analysis of the predatory capitalist system and neoconservatism or what he referred to as "counter-revolution") displaces the dialectical quality of classical Hegelian and Marxist philosophy, betraying an incapacity to overcome contradiction in his lurching towards a metaphysical or antinomial (neo-Kantian) posture in which he vacillates between two poles of a contradiction, poles of which he regards as antiseptically independent rather than interpenetrating; at times he seemed tragically resigned to the perennial permanence of contradiction and paradox (Reitz 2000). Here we can benefit from Marx's focus on Hegel's concept of self-movement through second negativity, which leads him to posit a vision of a new society that involves the transcendence of value production as determined by socially necessary labor time. Unlike the popular misconception about Marx's critique of Hegel – that Hegel's idealism was opposed to Marx's materialism – Marx did not criticize Hegel for his failure to deal with material reality. When Marx noted that Hegel knows only abstractly spiritual labor, he was referring to the structure of Hegel's Phenomenology and philosophy as a whole, which was based on a dialectic of self-consciousness, in which thought returns to itself by knowing itself (Hudis, 2012). Marx's concept of transcendence, on the contrary, was grounded in human sensuousness, in the self-transcendence of the totality of human powers. Dialectics deals with the transformative contradictions that power the material historicity of capitalist life.

Hegel presented the entire movement of history in terms of the unfolding of the disembodied idea; in other words, he presented human actuality as a product of thought instead of presenting thought as the product of human actuality. Marx, therefore, inverts the relations of Hegel's subject and predicate. Marx criticized Hegel for failing to distinguish between labor as a transhistorical, creative expression of humanity's "species being" and labor as the reduction of such activity to value production. We need to understand the dialectic, the description of the means by which reality unfolds, the nature of self-activity, self-development and self-transcendence, and the way that human activity subjectively and temporally mediates the objective world.

The presence of the idea – as negation – in human consciousness has the power to alter the natural world. Marx was not interested in the returning of thought to itself in Hegel's philosophy, but the return of humanity to itself by overcoming the alienation of the objective world brought about by capitalist social relations. In other words, the human being is the agent of the Idea; the Idea is not its own agent. The human being is the medium of the Idea's self-movement. Self-movement is made possible through the act of negation by negating the barriers to self-development. But negation, as Peter Hudis (2012, pp. 72–73) tells us, is always dependent on the object of its critique. Whatever you negate still bears the stamp of what has been negated – that is, it still bears the imprint of the object of negation. We have seen, for instance, in the past, that oppressive forms which one has attempted to negate still impact the ideas we have of liberation. That is why Hegel argued that we need a self-referential negation – a negation of the negation. By means of a negation of the negation, negation establishes a relation with itself, freeing itself from the external object it is attempting to negate. Because it exists without a relationship to another outside of itself, it is considered to be absolute – it is freed from dependency on the other. It negates its dependency through a self-referential act of negation. For example, the abolition of private property and its replacement with collective property does not ensure liberation; it is only an abstract negation which must be negated in order to reach liberation. It is still infected with its opposite, which focuses exclusively on property. It simply replaces private property with collective property and is still impacted by the idea of ownership or having (Hudis, 2012, pp. 71–73). Hudis writes:

> *"[Marx] appropriates the concept of the 'negation of the negation' to explain the path to a new society. Communism, the abolition of private property, is the negation of capitalism. But this negation, Marx tells us, is dependent on the object of its critique insofar as it replaces private property with collective property. Communism is not free from the alienated notion that ownership or having is the most important part of being human; it simply affirms it on a different level. Of course, Marx thinks that it is necessary to negate private property. But this negation, he insists, must itself be negated. Only then can the truly positive – a totally new society – emerge. As Dunayevskaya writes in P&R [Philosophy and Revolution], 'The overcoming of this 'transcendence,' called absolute negativity by Hegel, is what Marx considered the only way to create a truly human world, 'positive Humanism, beginning from itself.'' (Hudis, 2005)*

However, in order to abolish capital, the negation of private property must itself be negated, which would be the achievement of a positivity – a positive humanism – beginning with itself. While it is necessary to negate private property, that negation must itself be negated. If you stop before this second negation then you are presupposing that having is more

important than being (Hudis, 2012). Saying "no" to capital, for instance, constitutes a first negation. When the subject becomes self-conscious regarding this negation – that is, when the subject understanding the meaning of this negation recognizes the positive content of this negation – then she has arrived at the negation of the negation. In other words, when a subject comes to recognize that she is the source of the negative, this becomes a second negation, a reaching of class consciousness. When a subject recognizes the positivity of the act of negation itself as negativity, then she knows herself as a source of the movement of the real. This occurs when human beings, as agents of self-determination, hear themselves speak, and are able both to denounce oppression and the evils of the world and to announce, in Freire's terms, a liberating alternative. I fully agree with Reitz (2000, p. 263) that critical knowledge "is knowledge that enables the social negation of the social negation of human life's core activities, the most central of which are neither being-toward-death [as Heidegger would maintain], nor subservience [as Kant would argue], but creative labor." When subjects create critical knowledge, they then are able to appropriate freedom itself for the sake of the liberation of humanity (Pomeroy, 2004) Searching for an alternative to capitalism means mining the dynamic potentiality that is latent, but unrealized, in everyday life and, in this regard, it is redolent of a spiritual quest in the manner suggested by Robert M. Torrance (1994). It requires a deliberate and urgent effort by teachers and teacher educators to transcend, through self-transformation, the limits of everyday reality and the human condition under capitalism, and a willingness to marshal this unbounded potentiality in the direction of social justice. It means realizing the enlarging and transformative potential of the given through a pursuit of the liberation of our collective humanity, a humanity that transcends the individual self not by seeking refuge in an immutable past or inertial present, but by advancing from subjective knowledge to the independently and objectively real that is always oriented to the determinable, living future – a knowledge that is the product of the human mind yet transcends the mind; a knowledge gleaned from the particular through its relationship to the universal; a knowledge that can never be fully apprehended; a knowledge engendered by the seeker yet at the same time transcending the seeker.

We must open our lexicon of critique and transformation to a changing world. As Marx pointed out, any viable exercise of protagonistic agency among the oppressed requires the dialectical self-negation of the working class as a class in itself into a class for itself, a class in which it is imperative to become self-conscious of how its membership is embedded in relations of exploitation and how they have become alienated from their own "species being" or their own life activity. Of course, the overall purpose of this critical transformation is to become emancipated from labor's value form.

We cannot know what the alternative to capitalist value production will look like until the struggle moves forward and we are able to claim some decisive victories. Only then can we know how we will proceed in forging a new alternative to capitalist commodity production. What is clear is that we must dissemble the self-referential closure of the capitalist trance state in which we find ourselves hopelessly enthralled. Through our passive exposure to electronic media, we willfully submit ourselves to the rituals of everyday capitalist commodity production, to their formulaic and habituated repetitiveness and invariance, to their inert sufferance and wearisome recurrence of stasis – all of which ineluctably and fatally disciplines us to assent uncritically to our own acedia and torpor. The only way out of this impasse is to seek an alternative social universe to that of value production.

This involves a pursuit, despite the fact that the goal can never be fully foreknown or finally attained. There is room for all at the banquet of liberation: trade unionists, civil libertarians, anarchists, students, anti-war activists, Marxists, black and Latino activists, teachers, eco-socialists, fast-food workers, factory workers and animal rights activists. We seek to replace instrumental reason with critical rationality, fostering popular dissent and creating workers' and communal councils and community decision-making structures.

We continue to struggle in our educational projects to eliminate rent-seeking and for-profit financial industries; we seek to distribute incomes without reference to individual productivity, but rather according to need; and we seek to substantially reduce hours of labor and make possible, through socialist general education, a well-rounded and scientific and intercultural development of the young (Reitz, 2013). This involves a larger epistemological fight against neo-liberal and imperial common sense, and a grounding of our critical pedagogy in a concrete universal that can welcome diverse and particular social formations (San Juan, 2007) joined in class struggle. It is a struggle that has come down to us not from the distant past, but from thoughts that have ricocheted back to us from the future.

Life does not unfold as some old sheet strewn across a brass bed in the dusky attic of history; our destinies as children, parents, and teachers do not flow unilaterally toward a single vertigo-inducing epiphany, some pyrotechnic explosion of iridescent and refulgent splendor where we lay becalmed, rocking on a silent sea of pure bliss, or where we are held speechless in some wind-washed grove of cedars, happily in the thrall of an unbridled, unsullied and undiluted love of incandescent intensity. Our lives are not overseen by a handsome God who blithely sits atop a terra cotta pedestal and with guileless simplicity, quiet paternalism and unsmiling earnestness rules over his eager and fumbling brood, ever so often rumpling the curly heads of the rosy-cheeked cherubim and engaging the saints in blissful conversation about quantum theory. Were there such a God, wrapped in the mantle of an otherworldly Platonism and possessing neither moral obliquity nor guilt, who brings forth the world through supernatural volition alone, the world would be nothing but an echo of the divine mind. Hunger could be ended by merely thinking of a full belly and sickness eliminated by a picture of perfect health.

Most of us, however, sling ourselves nervously back and forth across the great Manichean divide of the drab of everyday existence, where, in our elemental contact with the world, our human desires, for better or for worse, tug at us like some glow-in-the-dark hustler in a carnival midway. We go hungry, we suffer, and we live in torment and witness most of the world's population crumpled up in pain. We don't have to witness a final miracle of eschatological significance to reclaim the world. What we do have to accomplish at this very moment is organizing our world to meet the basic needs of humanity.

CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM REBORN?

But the same message of meeting the needs of humanity was prevalent in the Bible, and occupied the message of Jesus. I do not suddenly mention this out of some otherworldly penchant, but for a concern for the here and the now.

The majority of American citizens are Christians of some denomination or other and it is important to point out as an incontrovertible fact that the message of Jesus in the Gospels is focused on the liberation of the poor from captivity and

oppression, thus in Luke 4:18–19: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." Jesus was very much opposed to oppression and bondage and it was no secret that he excluded the wealthy from the kingdom of God, noted in this very clear passage from Matthew 19: 16–24 (this authentic logion of Jesus is also described in Mark 10:17–25 and Luke 18: 18–25):

> *And, behold, one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? And he said unto him, Why do you ask me about what is good? there is none good but one, that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honor thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet? Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.*

Many of us – either openly or secretly – harbor a religious faith that often remains hidden between the lines of our manifestos and treatises. I have often maintained the position that the official church of Jesus has been implicated in the indefensible falsification of the gospel in order to protect the hierarchies of the church. But here I wish to amplify this idea by briefly summarizing the important work of Jose Porfirio Miranda. Miranda's work skillfully corroborates his own analysis of the Bible with those of ecclesiastically sanctioned studies by recognized and prominent Catholic exegetes. According to Miranda (1977, p. 203), Christian faith is supposed to "transform humankind and the world." Miranda (1980; 2004) claims the persecution of Christians for the first three centuries constrained Christians to present a version of Christianity that would no longer provoke repression. After the fourth century, the church acquired a dominant status in class society, and this was what then motivated the continuing falsification of the gospel.

The official teachings of the church falsify the gospel, since it is clear from reading the texts of the Bible that Jesus maintains an intransigent condemnation of the rich. Even liberation theology gets this wrong when it asserts that there should be a "preferential option for the poor" – it is not an option, but, as Miranda notes, it is an obligation. We cannot shirk from this obligation without imputation of culpability and still remain Christians. There is no abstention from this struggle. The condition of the poor obliges a restitution since such a struggle is injustice write large (Miranda, 1974). Jesus died for participating in political transgression aimed at liberating Judea from the Romans. According to Miranda, Jesus clearly was a communist, and this can convincingly be seen throughout the New Testament but particularly in passages such as John 12:6, 13:29 and Luke 8:1–3. Jesus went so far as to make the renunciation of property a condition for entering the kingdom of God. When Luke says, "Happy the poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God" (Luke 6:20) and adds, "Woe to you the rich, because you have received your comfort" (Luke 6: 24), Luke is repeating Mark 10:25 when Jesus warns that the

rich cannot enter the kingdom. The Bible makes clear through Jesus' own sayings that the kingdom is not the state of being after death; rather, the kingdom is now, here on earth. Essentially Jesus is saying that "in the kingdom there cannot be social differences – that the kingdom, whether or not it pleases the conservatives, is a classless society" (Miranda, 2004, p. 20). Consider what Luke says in Acts:

> *All the believers together had everything in common; they sold their possessions and their goods, and distributed among all in accordance with each one's need [Acts 2: 44–45].*
> *The hear of the multitude of believers was one and their soul was one, and not a single one said anything of what he had was his, but all things were in common....There was no poor person among them, since whoever possessed fields or houses sold them, bore the proceeds of the sale and placed them at the feet of the apostles; and a distribution was made to each in accordance with his need [Acts 4:32, 34–35]*

Jesus did not say that the poor will always be with us, he said that the poor are with us all the time. Miranda (2004, pp. 58–60) cites numerous translation sources attesting that this statement should be translated as "The poor you have with you at all moments [or continuously]. And you can do them good when you wish; on the other hand, you do not have me at all moments [Mark 14:7]. According to Miranda (2004, p. 65), Jesus didn't say "my kingdom is not of this world" he said "my kingdom does not come forth from this world" or "my kingdom is not from this world" since we can retain the original meaning only if we consider the preposition "ek" in the original Greek as meaning "from," signifying place of origin or provenance. But didn't Jesus advocate paying taxes? Rendering unto Cesar what is due Cesar? Jesus' remark about giving Cesar what is due Cesar is decidedly ironic, and not a capitulation to Roman authority (Miranda, pp. 61–65). Consider the following quotation cited by Miranda (2004, p. 53) concerning economic transactions found in the Bible:

> *For the sake of profit, many have sinned; the one who tries to grow rich, turns away his gaze. Stuck tight between two stones, between sale and purchase, sin is wedged [Ecclus. 27: 1–2]*

Miranda (2004, p. 54) notes that Biblical scripture condemns the term "interest" (the Hebrew word is "neshet") numerous times: Exodus 22:24; Leviticus 25:36, 37; Deuteronomy 23:19 (three times); Ezekiel 18:8, 13, 17, 22:12; Palms, 15:5; Proverbs 28:8. And numerous times profit-making through commerce, loans at interest, and productive activity itself (the process of production) is condemned (production likely here referring to agriculture). Does not James condemn the acquisition of wealth by agricultural entrepreneurs (see James 5:1–6)? And does he not, in fact, attack all the rich (James 1:10–11)? In James 2:6 does he not say: "Is it not the rich who oppress you and who hail you before the tribunals?" Does he not also say: "See, what you have whittled away from the pay of the workers who reap your fields cries out, and the anguish of the harvesters has come to the ears of the Lord of Armies" (James 5:4)? Does it now surprise us that Jesus would call money, "money of iniquity" (Luke 16:9,11)? On this issue Miranda (2004, p. 55) writes:

> *What this verse is doing is explaining the origin of wealth. Its intention is not to refer to some particularly perverse rich people who have committed knaveries which other rich people do not commit. The letter's attack is against all the rich.*

This is the biblical reprobation of differentiating wealth as Luke vituperates those who have defrauded workers and impugns all the rich. According to Miranda (2004, p. 53), profit "is considered to be the source of (differentiating) wealth." Miranda continues:

> *For James, differentiating wealth can be acquired only by means of expropriation of the produce of the workers' labor. Therefore, following Jesus Christ and the Old Testament, James condemns differentiating wealth without vacillation or compromise. Profit made in the very process of production is thus specifically imprecated. (2004, p. 55)*

Miranda (2004, p. 73) explains further what this implies: "Where there is no differentiating wealth, where economic activity is directly for the purpose of the satisfaction of needs and not for trade or the operations of buying and selling for profit, government becomes unnecessary." The Bible attacks not only acquired wealth but the means by which such wealth is accumulated, which is the taking of profit or what could be considered a form of systemic or legalized exploitation. Even the prophets such as Micha and Amos understood that "no differentiating wealth can be acquired without spoliation and fraud" (Miranda, p. 40). Miranda notes: "If we want to know "Why communism?" the response is unequivocal: because any other system consists in the exploitation of some persons over others" (2004, p. 55). Miranda sees Jesus as the true God grounded in himself, meaning grounded in the establishment of justice and life now, at this very moment, since "the hour is coming and it is now." Miranda is uncompromising when he notes:

> *A god who intervenes in history to elicit religious adoration of himself and not to undo the hell of cruelty and death that human history has become is an immoral god in the deepest sense of the word. A god who is reconciled or merely indifferent to the pain of human beings is a merciless god, a monster, not the ethnical God whom the Bible knows. We would be morally obliged to rebel against such a god, even if our defeat were inevitable. Equally immoral is the god for whom the end of injustice and innocent suffering is a secondary or subordinate imperative. (1977, p. 187)*

The key point in Miranda's theological argument is that the eschaton has already arrived, the eschaton of justice and life for all, in the example of Jesus Christ. If Christians don't believe that the eschaton has already come, then they are likely to relegate Jesus to a nontemporal and eternal or Platonic realm. But the eschaton cannot be indefinitely held captive in some mythic future; the historical moment of salvation is not repeatable since Jesus is the divine singularity – the definitive "now" of history. If this were not the case, "then the imperative of love of neighbor becomes an intro-self concept. It does not speak as a real otherness, because anodyne time, even if it is present, truly has no reason to command me more than any other time" (Miranda, 1977, p. 192). Christians can't postpone the commandment to love their neighbor in the fathomless future, because this would make of God an unassimilable otherness, a perpetual language game in which postmodernists would love to participate without a commitment to any political imperative except narcissistic self-cultivation. And thus we could never be contemporaneous with God. Eternal life is not life after death but the defeat of death, that is, the defeat of suffering and injustice in the here and now. Of course, what should be condemned are the totalitarian

police states that claimed to be communist (such as the Soviet Union) but which were, in the final instance, formations of state capitalism (see Dunayevskaya, 1992). William Herzog's various attempts at developing an historical-critical approach to investigate adequately the historical Jesus began with examining the eschatological-existential and theological-ethical meanings of the parables of Jesus. Herzog considered these approaches insufficient and it finally led him to reject such approaches in favor of a Freirean "problem-posing" approach that involved a dialectical understanding of the parables of Jesus, i.e., reading them as microscenes within the macroscenerio in which they were told. Finally, Herzog (1994) attempted to understand these parables in relation to the social and economic world of agrarian societies and the political world of aristocratic empires. The major findings of Herzog's experiment revealed that the parables of Jesus were created to problematize systems of oppression and that the center of Jesus's spirituality was the call to social justice. Such a call to justice reminded me of the struggle of Mexico's indigenous populations.

On a recent visit to Chiapas, some comrades and I drove from San Cristóbal de las Casas, to the town of San Juan Chamula. As we approached the town, we passed rambling fields of corn separated by clusters of mud-and-straw and cinderblock houses and found a place to park our van across the street from a building that hosted several large Coca-Cola advertisements. As we exited the van we could see in the distance the 17th century structure of the town's church that may have extended as far back as 1562. Founded by the Dominicans and named after John the Baptist, this religious meeting place was storied among anthropologists as a unique syncretic mixture of Mesoamerican beliefs and Spanish Catholicism. We entered the church, transfixed by the candlelight mixed with giant shafts of sunlight descending from the side windows like laser beams. We walked gingerly across an emerald carpet made of dazzling pine boughs strewn across the entire stone floor of the church. Amidst the giant cloth hangings, the crosses dressed in colorful fabric, the burning copal resin engulfing our lungs still adjusting to the altitude, the statues of saints covered in mirrors and pineapple ornaments and the Tzotzil chants of the worshippers interspersed with regular volleys from homemade firecrackers exploding outside the walls, we tried to make sense of what we were experiencing. Worshippers prayed fervently and drank Posh, an artisanal sugar-cane-based liquor. They also sipped Coca-Cola, to help them release malevolent spirits by belching them out. Whether the green Maya crosses represented to the Maya the crucified Jesus or resurrected Christ was not our concern; we were not interested in whether the crosses were representations of the prickly Ceiba tree or the Mayan Tree of Life whose roots reached into the underworld. Or whether Jesus was worshipped as a sun god. Or whether the four points of the cross represented the sun, moon, earth and human beings. We were there not for ethnohistorical references, but to respect a people whose ancestors survived the brutal conquest of Bernal Diaz del Castillo (an officer who served under Hernán Cortés,) who received an encomiendo for Chamula that gave him unlimited power to demand free labor from the indigenous peoples in return for "Christianizing" them. Today, the people of Chamula support the Zapatistas who, since 1994, have continued to fight life-and-death policies and practices of neoliberalism, the privatization of land and other natural resources and to create autonomous systems of governance, independent schools and gender equality. What interested us most was not an academic exercise in comparative symbology but building a domain of social justice; for where justice lives, love can flourish through many portals of spirituality, cosmovisions, and ecosystems of the mind.

Jesus was likely no quietist who publicly repudiated his Messianic role, avoided political involvement and rejected the idea of leading a nationalist movement against the Romans. What is clear is that he was executed for sedition at the hands of the Romans and if he were not a Zealot, then is likely he was sympathetic to many of their principles (Brandon, 1967). For

those Christians – especially the prosperity evangelicals who are so popular in the United States – who promote capitalism and equate faith with wealth, it would serve them well to reconsider their interpretation the gospels and to consider the fact that communist predated Karl Marx through the teaching of the Bible (Miranda, 1974, 2004).

Speaking of the here and now, at the time of this writing residents of Detroit who have not paid their water bills have had their water supply shut off by the city, affecting more than 40% of the customers of the Detroit Water and Sewage Department, and posing a serious health hazard for 200 to 300 thousand residents. Detroit is not Cochabamba, Bolivia, in 2000, when protests broke out after a new firm, Aguas del Tunari (involving Bechtel corporation) invested in the construction of a dam and tried to pay for this by dramatically raising water rates of the local people. A community coalition, Coordinadora in Defense of Water and Life, organized a massive protest movement which finally reversed the privatization. Protests by the people of Detroit have not yet forced the city to keep the water flowing to those who cannot afford their water bills. Is this so surprising? The United States has a history of ignoring the basic needs of its population. William Blum (2014) writes:

> *On December 14, 1981 a resolution was proposed in the United Nations General Assembly which declared that 'education, work, health care, proper nourishment, national development are human rights.' Notice the 'proper nourishment.' The resolution was approved by a vote of 135–1. The United States cast the only 'No' vote.*
>
> *A year later, December 18, 1982, an identical resolution was proposed in the General Assembly. It was approved by a vote of 131–1. The United States cast the only 'No' vote.*
>
> *The following year, December 16, 1983, the resolution was again put forth, a common practice at the United Nations. This time it was approved by a vote of 132–1. There's no need to tell you who cast the sole 'No' vote. These votes took place under the Reagan administration.*
>
> *Under the Clinton administration, in 1996, a United Nations-sponsored World Food Summit affirmed the 'right of everyone to have access to safe and nutritious food.' The United States took issue with this, insisting that it does not recognize a 'right to food.' Washington instead championed free trade as the key to ending the poverty at the root of hunger, and expressed fears that recognition of a 'right to food' could lead to lawsuits from poor nations seeking aid and special trade provisions.*
>
> *The situation of course did not improve under the administration of George W. Bush. In 2002, in Rome, world leaders at another UN-sponsored World Food Summit again approved a declaration that everyone had the right to 'safe and nutritious food.' The United States continued to oppose the clause, again fearing it would leave them open to future legal claims by famine-stricken countries.*
>
> *I'm waiting for a UN resolution affirming the right to oxygen.*

No matter how strained we may become in fathoming the calamity of capitalist globalization and its attending antagonisms, we cannot banish these harrowing realities or thrust them out of mind by taking refuge in our books, our theories, our seminar rooms, or in the salons of our organizing committees. We do not possess everything necessary to be truly human by understanding ourselves as part of nature. We are, after all, also spirit. To be fully human we need to be attentive to moral criteria and the moral imperatives we set for ourselves as human beings, categorical as opposed to conditioned imperatives, that is, moral imperatives which do not make the precept's obliging force depend on any need of the person

obliged (Miranda, 2007). Our imperatives are not conditioned by our own self-interest. They follow from our obligation to treat others as ends and not means (Miranda, 2007). Our moral imperatives oblige us to duty, to action! We are obliged to treat people of the future as having infinite dignity and we appeal to rationality to negate the distinction between what is just and what is superogatory. Here we are not guided by procedural ethics imposed by democracy but by our criteria and content when we affirm that all people are to be treated with infinite dignity, which entails some degree of reciprocal respect (the real meaning of Rousseau's general will, in contrast to his will of all; Miranda, 2007). We have, after all, a new era to proclaim. Here educators committed to social transformation through incremental means can take heed from the words of Miranda:

> *The true revolutionary abjures reformist palliatives, because these divert the efforts of the people most capable of fomenting rebellion against the bourgeois system into rejuvenating and refurbishing it; such palliatives thus constitute the system's best defense. By the same token, the revolutionary must find any change in the socio-economic system to be a priori inadequate, if that change does not involve a radical revolution in people's attitudes towards each other.*
>
> *If exchange-value (that 'imaginary entity') and the desire for personal gain continue to exist, they will inevitably create other oppressive and exploitative economic systems. (1977, pp. 21–22)*

The revolution is now, it's the dialectic regained, it's the people unchained, it's the eschaton made immanent. The teachings of Jesus enfold the world in a new community of justice-seeking revolutionaries. While some might dismiss Jesus as an amalgam of myths spawned in the depths of the Mediterranean imagination, the teachings of Jesus inspire us to turn towards the world and create a society of freely associated producers related in profound mutuality and overflowing love. We find our praxis of universal solidarity in suffering and hope and in our collective recognition that we are not alone but exist in the world with others. We recognize the presence of Jesus in the poor and the oppressed and our response to the call of the other is not an option but an obligation. Early followers of Jesus lived communally, shared their resources, held all property in common, and engaged in a communist lifestyle and held onto communist ideals where goods were distributed "from each according to ability to each according to need" (Rivage-Seul, 2014). Miranda is correct when he writes that truth and imperative are identical; that to abide in the truth means to fight for justice and equality and by making the eschaton immanent. In this way we judge the authenticity of our lives by the criterion of meeting the needs of others, in the historical (and not simply existential) imperative of loving our neighbor. Our task is to understand how to organize ourselves the day after we rid ourselves of the birthmarks of capitalism, of a world in which every social gain must be sacrificed at the altar of profit. Will we be able to project a viable alternative to the dominance of capital? How can we avoid the horrors of existing capitalist society in our attempt to replace it with a socialist alternative? How can we avoid the terror of societies that existed in places such as the former Soviet Union that destroyed the soviets (workers councils) and replaced them with a totalitarian dictatorship that suppressed communism and replaced it with state capitalism? How can we prevent ourselves from descending into a narrow nationalism? How can we fully reclaim the biblical roots of communism that can be found in the Acts of the Apostles? How can we reclaim Jesus as a fellow communist? After all, it was not Marx who established the final criterion for judging the authenticity of one's life as a concern for all peoples in need. It was comrade Jesus. How do we move beyond a new left narrative of redistribution and defence of

public services? How do we get up and running an antagonistic social and political paradigm to neoliberalism? How can forms of popular power from below be transferred into a new historical bloc? How do we recompose ourselves into an anti-capitalist united front? We need a leadership from below that can help us build political programs, articulate new non-commodified collective practices including new forms of self-management and new forms of public ownership and networks of redistribution – in short, a credible alternative to capitalism that begins with an engagement in the struggles of and for our times. These are the questions that need to be exercised by critical educators everywhere. For these are the questions asked of us by the future of history.

NOTE

This essay is a modified version of a recent article called "Education Agonistes" that was published in Policy Futures in Education. See: "Education Agonistes: An Epistle to the Transnational Capitalist Class," Policy Futures in Education 12(4), 2014, pp. 583–610. I have borrowed some sections of my own work from the following sources: McLaren, Peter, "Foreword" (in press). Inclusive Practices and Social Justice Leadership for Special Populations in Urban Settings: A Moral Imperative. Edited by Kate Esposito and Anthony Normore. New York: Peter Lang; McLaren, Peter, "Foreword." Teaching Communication Activism: Communication Education for Social Justice. Edited by Lawrence R. Frey and David L. Palmer. (New York: Hampton Press, 2014); and McLaren, Peter (2013), A promotional blurb for the book, The Mismeasure of Education by Jim Horn and Denise Wilburn. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishers. A shortened version of this essay will appear as "On Dialectics and Human Decency: Education in the Dock," Open Review of Educational Research, 2014.

REFERENCES

Ahmad, A. 2011. On Post Modernism. *The Marxist* 18, January/March: 4–38.

Ahmen, N. 2013. "Pentagon Bracing for Public Dissent over Climate and Energy Shocks," Guardian, 14 June. http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth- insight/2013/jun/14/climate-change-energy-shocks-nsa-prism

Ahmen, N. 2014. "Pentagon Preparing for Mass Civil Breakdown," The Guardian June 12. http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/jun/12/pentagon-mass-civil-breakdown

Altmann, P. 2013. Good Life As a Social Movement Proposal for Natural Re- source Use: The Indigenous Movement in Ecuador. *Consilience: The Journal of Sustainable Development* 10, no. 1: 59–71.

Altmann, P. 2012. *The Concept of Interculturality in Ecuador – Development and Importance for its Agents*. Center for Area Studies Working Paper Series No. 1, Center for Area Studies, Freie Universitat Berlin.

Amin, S. 2010. "The Battlefields Chosen by Contemporary Imperialism: Conditions for an Effective Response from the South," MRZine, 7 February. http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2010/amin070210.html

Anderson, K. 2010. "Overcoming Some Current Challenges to Dialectical Thought," International Marxist-Humanist, 18 August. http://www.internationalmarxisthumanist.org/articles/overcoming-some-current-challenges-to-dialectical-thought

Andrews, Ch. 2014. "Thomas Piketty's Capital in the Twenty-First Century: Its Uses and Limits," MRZine, March 22. http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2014/andrews220314.html

Assange, J., J. Appelbaum, A. Müller -Maguhn, and J. Zimmermann. 2012. *Cypherpunks: Freedom and the Future of the Internet*. New York: OR Books.

Benjamin, W. 1936. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." Retrieved from: http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm

Blum, W. 2014. "Cold War 2. Anti-Empire Report," #131. As retrieved from: http://williamblum.org/aer/read/131

Best, S., R. Kahn, A. Nocella, and P. McLaren. 2011. *The Global Industrial Com- plex: Systems of Domination*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Blum, W. 2014. Edward Snowden, The Anti-Empire Report, 129, June 6. http://williamblum.org/aer/read/129

Blumenthal, M. 2014. "Is the US Backing Neo-Nazis in Ukraine?" AlterNet, 24 February. http://www.alternet.org/tea-party-and-right/us-backing-neo-nazis-ukraine

Brandon, S.G.F. 1967. *Jesus and the Zealots*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Charles-Huerta, L., and M. Pruyn. eds. 2013. *This Fist Called My Heart: The Peter McLaren Reader.* Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

Clark, J.P. 2013. *The Impossible Community: Realizing Communitarian Anarchism*. New York: Bloomsbury, 217–245.

Democracy Now. 2007. "The Privatization of Education: How New Orleans Went from a Public School System to a Charter School City," Thursday, August 30. http://www.democracynow.org/2007/8/30/the_privatization_of_education_how_ new#

Despain, H.G. 2014. "Piketty: A Marxist Review," Shiraz Socialist, May 8. https://shirazsocialist.wordpress.com/2014/05/08/piketty-a-marxist-review/

Dunayevskaya, R. 1965. Marx's Humanism Today. In *Socialist Humanism*, ed. Erich Fromm, 63-76. New York: Doubleday.

Dunayevskaya, R. 1992. *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State Capitalism*. Chicago, IL: The News & Letters Committee.

Ebert, T. 2009. *The Task of Cultural Critique*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. Ebert, T., and M. Zavarzadeh. 2007. *Class in Culture.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Fanon, F. 2004. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press.

Fatheuer, T. 2011. *Buen Vivir: A Brief Introduction to Latin America's New Concepts for the Good Life and the Rights of Nature*. Heinrich Böll Foundation Publication Series on Ecology, Vol. 17. Berlin.

Fischman, G.E., and P. McLaren. 2005. Rethinking Critical Pedagogy and the Gramscian and Freirean Legacies: From Organic to Committed Intellectuals or Critical Pedagogy, Commitment, and Praxis. *Cultural Studies □ Critical Meth- odologies* 5, no. 4: 425–446. https://amadlandawonye.wikispaces.com/2005,+McLaren+and+Fischman,+Gramsci,+Freire,+Organic+Intellectuals

Ford, G. 2014. "Hillary and Other Assorted Barbarians at Russia's Gate," Black Agenda Report, 5 March. http://blackagendareport.com/content/hillary-and-other- assorted-barbarians-russia%E2%80%99s-gate

Foster, J.B. 2013a. *The Epochal Crisis*. Monthly Review 65, no. 5. http://monthly review.org/2013/10/01/epochal-crisis

Foster, J.B. 2013b. "The Epochal Crisis, Unequal Ecological Exchange, and Exit Strategies," MRZine, 14 November. http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2013/foster141113.html

Gomstyn, A. 2010. "Walmart CEO Pay: More in an Hour Than Workers Get All Year?," ABC News, July 2. http://abcnews.go.com/Business/walmart-ceo-pay- hour-workers-year/story?id=11067470#.T1TpP4cgcsd

Greeman, R. 2014. "Ukraine, Coup or Revolution?" International Marxist-Humanist, 26 February. http://www.internationalmarxisthumanist.org/articles/discussion- article-ukraine-coup-revolution-richard-greeman

Grosfoguel, R. 2013. The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities: Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century. *Human Architecture* 11, no. 1: 73–90.

Harvey, D. 2014. "Taking on 'Capital without Marx: What Thomas Piketty Misses in His Critique of Capitalism," In These Times, May 20. http://inthesetimes.com/ article/16722/taking_on_capital_without_marx

Hedges, C. 2013. "Cornel West and the Fight to Save the Black Prophetic Tra- dition," Truthdig, 9 September. http://www.truthdig.com/report/item/cornel_west_and_the_fight_to_save_the_black_prophetic_tradition_20130909/

Hedges, C. 2011. "The Obama Deception: Why Cornel West Went Ballistic," Truthdig. May 16, 2011. As retrieved from: http://www.truthdig.com/report/ item/the_obama_deception_why_cornel_west_went_ballistic_20110516

Herzog, W.R. 1994. *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed.* Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press.

Higgs, R. 1987. *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, D. 2012. Immiseration Capitalism, Activism and Education: Resistance, Revolt and Revenge. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 10, no. 2. http://www.jceps.com/?pageID=article&articleID=259

Hudis, P. 2005. "Marx's Critical Appropriation and Transcendence of Hegel's Theory of Alienation." Presentation to Brecht Forum, New York City, November.

Hudis, P. 2012. *Marx's Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004229860

Hudis, P. 2014. "Frantz Fanon's Contribution to Hegelian-Marxism," paper presented to Historical Materialism Conference, London, November.

Hudis, P. 2014a. "From Philosophy to Organization and Back: Marxist-Humanist Tasks and Perspectives," September. As retrieved from: http://www.internationalmarxisthumanist.org/articles/philosophy-organization-back-marxist-humanist- tasks-perspectives-peter-hudis

Kliman, A. 2013. "The 99%' and 'the 1%' ... of What? With Sober Senses," February 13. http://www.marxisthumanistinitiative.org/economic-crisis/'the-99'- and-'the-1'-...-of-what.html

Kovel, J. 2002. *The Enemy of Nature: The End of capitalism or the End of the World?* London: Zed Books.

Krugman, P. 2014. "Why We're in a New Gilded Age," New York Review of Books, May 8. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2014/may/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/

Lebowitz, M. 2013. "Socialism for the 21st Century: Re-inventing and Renewing the Struggle," Links, 9 January. http://links.org.au/node/3178

Leech, G. 2012. *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide*. London: Zed Books.

Lichtman, R. 1982. *The Production of Desire: The Integration of Psychoanalysis into Marxist Theory.* New York: Free Press.

Mayo, P. 1999. *Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Education.* London: Zed Books.

Mayo, P. 2005. In and against the State: Gramsci, War of Position and Adult Education. *Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies* 3, no. 2. http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=49 (accessed 28 January 2013).

McElwee, S. 2014. "Six Ways America Is Like a Third-World Country," Reader Supported News, 8 March. http://readersupportednews.org/opinion2/277-75/22453-six-ways-america-is-like-a-third-world-country

McLaren, P. 1999. Schooling as a Ritual Performance: Toward a Political Economy of Educational Symbols and Gestures. Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield.

McLaren, P. 2005. Critical Pedagogy and Class Struggle in the Age of Neoliberal Globalization: Notes from History's Underside. *International Journal of Inclusive Democracy* 2, no. 1. http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/pdf%20files/pdf%20vol2/Critical%20Pedagogy%20and%20Class%20Struggle.pdf

McLaren, P. 2006. *Rage and Hope: Interviews with Peter McLaren on War, Imperialism, and Critical Pedagogy*. New York: Peter Lang.

McLaren, P. 2011. The Death Rattle of the American Mind. *Cultural Studies - Critical Methodologies* 11, no. 4: 373–385. http://www.academia.edu/958870/Death_Rattle_of_the_American_Mind

McLaren, P. 2012. Objection Sustained: Revolutionary Pedagogical Praxis as an Occupying Force. *Policy Futures in Education* 10, no. 4: 487–495. http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2012.10.4.487

McLaren, P. 2013. A Critical Patriotism for Urban Schooling: A Call for a Pedagogy against Fear and Denial and for Democracy. *Texas Education Review* 1: 234–253. http://txedrev.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/McLaren_A-Critical- Patriotism-for-Urban-Schooling_TxEdRev.pdf

McLaren, P. 2014a. Contemporary Youth Resistance Culture and the Class Struggle. *Critical Arts* 28, no. 1: 152–160. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2014.883701

McLaren, P. 2014b. *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy and the Foundations of Education*. 6th edn. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Miranda, Joe Porfirio 2007. *Rationality and Democracy*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

Miranda, J.P. 2004. *Communism in the Bible*. Translated by Robert R. Barr. Eugene, OR: Wipf&Stock.

Miranda, J.P. 1980. *Marx Against The Marxists: The Christian Humanism of Karl Marx*. London: SCM Press.

Miranda J.P. 1977. *Being and the Messiah: The Message of St. John. Maryknoll*. NY: Orbis Books.

Miranda, J.P. 1974. *Marx and the Bible: A Critique of the Philosophy of Oppression.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Monzó, L.D., and P. McLaren. 2014. Critical Pedagogy and the Decolonial Option: Challenges to the Inevitability of Capitalism. *Policy Futures in Education* 12, no. 4: 513–525. http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2014.12.4.513

Naureckas, J. 2014. "Denying the Far-Right Role in the Ukrainian Revolution," Fair, 7 March. http://www.fair.org/blog/2014/03/07/denying-the-far-right-role-in-the-ukrainian-revolution/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign= denying-the-far-right-role-in-the-ukrainian-revolution

Palast, G. 2013. "Confidential Memo at the Heart of the Global Financial Crisis," Vice Magazine, 24 August. http://reader-supportednews.org/opinion2/279-82/19053-confidential-memo-at-the-heart-of-the-global-financial-crisis

Piketty, T. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pomeroy, A.F. 2004. Why Marx, Why Now? A Recollection of Dunayevsskaya's Power of Negativity. *Cultural Logic* 7. http://clogic.eserver.org/2004/pomeroy.html

Pomeroy, A.F. 2004a. *Marx and Whitehead: Process, Dialectics, and the Critique of Capitalism.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Pozo, M. 2003. Towards a Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy: An Interview with Peter McLaren. *St. John's University Humanities Review* 2, no. 1. http://facpub.stjohns.edu/~ganterg/sjureview/vol2-1/mclaren.html

Reitz, Ch. 2000. *Art, Alienation and the Humanities: A Critical Engagement with Herbert Marcuse*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.

Reitz, C. 2013. Conclusion: the Commonwealth Counter-offensive. In *Crisis and Commonwealth: Marcuse, Marx, McLaren*, ed. Charles Reitz, 269-286. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Rivage-Seul, M. 2014. "(Sunday Homily) Christianity Is Communism! Jesus Was a Communist!" OpEdNews Op Eds 4/26. As retrieved from: http://www.opednews.com/articles/Sunday-Homily-Christiani-by-Mike-Rivage-Seul-Christianity_Communism_Economic_Jesus-140426-205.html

Robinson, W.I. 1996. Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511559129

Robinson, W.I. 2000. "Social Theory and Globalization: The Rise of a Transna- tional State," Theory and Society 30(2): 157–200. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/ A:1011077330455

Robinson, W.I. 2004. *A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class, and State in a Transnational World*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Robinson, W.I. 2008. *Latin America and Global Capitalism*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Robinson, W.I. 2011a. "Global Capitalism and 21st Century Fascism," Aljazeera, 8 May. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/04/201142612714539672.html

Robinson, W.I. 2011b. "Global Rebellion: The Coming Chaos?" Aljazeera, 4 December. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/11/20111130121556567265.html

San Juan, E. 2007. *In the Wake of Terror: Class, Race, Nation, Ethnicity in the Postmodern World.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Sethness, J. 2013. "The Structural Violence That Is Capitalism," Truthout, 16 June. http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/16887-the-structural-genocide-that-is-capitalism

Snyder, T. 2014. "Fascism, Russia and Ukraine," New York Review of Books, 20 March. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2014/mar/20/fascism-russia-and-ukraine/

Tengely-Evans, T. 2014. "Piketty and Marx," International Socialism, 143, June 14. http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=991&issue=143

Thomas, P.D. 2009. *The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy, Hegemony and Marxism.* Amsterdam: Brill. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004167711.i-478

Torrance, R.M. 1994. *The Spiritual Quest: Transcendence in Myth, Religion, and Science*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Weisbrot, M. 2013. "Forty Years On, Much of Allende's Dream Has Come True: the United States No Longer Has the Same Hegemonic Stranglehold Over Coun- tries within Latin America," Aljazeera, 14 September. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09/2013913174222513256.html

Wells, M. 2013. "Los Angeles Moves toward Restricting Food Distributions in Public Places," World Socialist Web Site, 30 November. http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2013/11/30/losa-n30.html

Yen, H., and M. Naziri, M. 2013. "Shocking Study: 4 out of 5 in USA Face Near- poverty and Unemployment," Political Blind Spot, 28 July. http://politicalblindspot.com/shocking-study-4-out-of-5-in-usa-face-near-poverty-and-unemployment/

VIDEOS OF THE CONFERENCE

THE END OF EDUCATION: SCHOOLING, LATE CAPITALISM AND NEW DIRECTIONS IN CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Prof. Peter McLaren's
keynote lecture
15 April 2015

METHODOLOGIES FOR RESEARCHING WITH LINGUISTICALLY AND CULTURALLY DIVERSE SCHOOL POPULATIONS

Prof. Geri Smyth's
keynote lecture
16 April 2015

DIVERSITY, DEMOCRACY, JUSTICE: VISIONS OF CHANGE. WHAT CAN TEACHERS DO?

Round table with researchers, students,
representatives of NGOs
17 April 2015

THE PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

15. April

Time	Programme	Room	Chair
14.00-14.30	Opening ceremony	Aula	
14.30-16.15	Keynote lecture: Prof: Peter McLaren The End of Education: Schooling, Late Capitalism and New Directions in Critical Pedagogy	Aula	
16.00-16.45	Coffee break	Aula	
16.45-17.45	Conceptualizing Interculturality in a Multicultural Teacher Education Programme (Kaisa Hahl, Erika Löfström)	115	Erika Kopp
	The Evaluation of Courses in the Teacher Education Programs in terms of Multicultural Education (Zeki Arsal)		
	Layers of Diversity in Using Testimony in Education (USC Shoah Foundation; workshop leader: Andrea Szőnyi)	305	
17.55-18.55	Teaching for social justice through the internationalization of teacher education (Erin Mikulec)	113	Alaster Scott Douglas
	Challenges to embedding global social justice into initial teacher education- an Irish perspective (Mags Liddy)		
	'We be of one blood, thou and I' (Zöld Kakas /Green Rooster/ Lyceum; workshop leader: Kata Kerényi)	305	
19.00	Opening reception with performances	Aula	

16. April

Time	Programme	Room	Chair
9.00-10.30	Keynote lecture: Prof. Geri Smyth Methodologies for Researching with Linguistically and Culturally Diverse School Populations	Aula	
10.30-11.00	Coffe break	Aula	
11.00-12.00	We laugh together, we educate together! A campaign on inclusive education (UCCU Roma Informal Education Foundation; workshop leader: Flóra László)	212	
	Teaching Human Rights in Higher Education (Anna Babicka-Wirkus)	305	Attila Horváth
	Moral Intelligence for more Diverse and Democratic World (Mustafa Z. Altan)		
	Educating Teacher Students to Teach to Transgress (Elina Särkelä)	407	Dennis Beach
	Addressing learner diversity in school classrooms: differentiated teaching in England and USA (Alaster Scott Douglas)		
12.10-13.10	Stories teachers tell: a grounded theory study (Krisztina Nagy-Váci)	212	Éva Szabolcs
	Education for linguistic diversity in schools: A matter of social justice? (Maria Alfredo Moreira)		
	Learning-at-work periods supporting competence diversity development of in-service teachers (Esa Virkkula)	213	Åsa Morberg
	Advancing With Reflections: Professionalizing Technical and Apprenticeship Trainers (George J Haché)		
	Social Justice and Diversity in Indigenous Teacher Education: Indigenising the Academy (Presenter: Kirk Anderson)	313	
	What Is the Goal of Reflection in Teacher Education: Social Justice or Personal Development? (Petr Svojanovsky)	314	Mónika Kovács
	"It's Just a Commercial!": American Teacher Candidates' Understanding and Perceptions of Negative Cultural and Ethnic Stereotypes in the Media (Julie McGaha)		

16. April

13.15-14.30	Lunch	Aula	
14.30-15.30	„Free School" - Drama Education Methods in Political Education (Krétakör /Chalk Circle/; workshop leaders: Ádám Bethlenfalvy & Bálint Juhász)	305	
	Teachers' Beliefs and Intercultural Sensitivity (Bruno Leutwyler)	212	Monique Leygraaf
	Student Teachers' and Teachers' Beliefs about Diversity in the Hungarian Research Studies (Orsolya Kálmán)		
	Changing perspectives and agendas: entrepreneurship education in vocational learning and teaching (Martti Pietilä, Sade-Pirkko Nissila)	313	Erika Kopp
	A Survey of Self-evaluation Process, Attitudes and Opinions of Geography Teachers in Serbia (Tijana Ilic)		
	Social Justice Representations of Primary and Secondary Spanish teachers and students (Vanesa Sainz, Almudena Juanes, Tatiana García, Santiago Agustín, Liliana Jacott, Antonio Maldonado)	407	Åsa Morberg
	Different Mathematics Education Perspectives in a Multicultural societies. A Preliminary Study in Kosovo's Institutions (Xhevdet Thaqi, Valbona Berisha)		
15.40-16.40	A Social Justice framework in Education (Almudena Juanes, Antonio Fernández, Vanesa Sainz, Santiago Agustín, Vanessa Seguro)	213	Éva Szabolcs
	Beyond the Illusion of Inclusion towards the Metaphor of Harmony Jazz and Implications for Teacher Practice and Education in Culturally Diverse Societies (Dawn Courage)		
	Position of Social Justice in Teacher Education Curriculum in Hungary (Erika Kopp, Judit Szivák, Sándor Lénárd, Nóra Rapos)	305	György Mészáros
	The Marginalisation of Social Justice as a Form of Knowledge in Teacher Education (Carl Bagley, Dennis Beach)		
	New and old challenges to social justice and equity in education: immigrant students in Spain (Iulia Mancila)	314	Geri Smyth
	Asylum Seeker and Refugee school aged Minors in Hungarian Public Education (Beatrix Bukus)		

16. April

16.40-17.00	Coffee break	Aula	
17.00-18.00	Discourse on inclusion in education (Ksenija Romstein)	212	Attila Horváth
	Education versus family for children with special needs in Latvia (Linda Daniela)		
	Representations of Social Justice and Citizenship (Tatiana García-Vélez, Everardo Pérez-Manjarrez, Vanesa Sainz, Antonio Fernández)	305	Orsolya Kálmán
	Integrating Students´ and Teachers´Personal Stories and Intercultural Competence as Part of Professional Development (Marija Sablic, Marija Lesandric)		
	Care Ethics, Practice and Critical Pedagogy: Attending to the 'Inner/Outer' Distinction in Education as a Hallmark of Humanisation (Andrew O'Shea)	407	Peter McLaren
	Education Contributing to Social Justice (Monique Leygraaf)		
18.10-19.10	Life is a Learning Journey -Evaluation and Assessment as a possibility for Individual Learning and Success (Maarika Piispanen, Merja Meriläinen)	213	Erika Kopp
	Training for Integration in a Context of a Course Portfolio (Zsuzsa Kovács)		
	Early school leaving: perceived reasons, responsibilities of different actors and successful pedagogical methods of prevention (Judit Juhász, Mihályi Krisztina)	313	Dennis Beach
	Policy Analysis of Early School Leaving (ESL) in Hungary (Ágnes Kende, Júlia Szalai)		
	Importance of gender diversity among preschool teachers. Examples from Croatia (Tina Madunic)	314	György Mészáros
	Continuity and Change: Examining the Diversity Profile of National University of Ireland (NUI) Initial Teacher Education Entrants, 2006-2013 (Elaine Keane, Manuela Heinz, Conor Foley)		
19.30-	"Social dinner" with NGOs: Green Rooster Lyceum, The Refugee Mission of the Reformed Church, Amnesty International Budapest, Chance Community Association; Romani Platni Roma Community Restaurant, Artemisszió Foundation, The Public Sociology Group «Helyzet» - Gólya Co-operative Community Hub, Megálló Group Foundation		

17. April

Time	Programme	Room	Chair
9.00-10.30	*Round table* with researchers, students, representatives of NGOs *Diversity, democracy, justice: visions of change. What can teachers do?* P*articipants:* Geri Smyth, Peter McLaren, Gábor Halász (researcher), Eszter Salamon (President of the European Parent Association /EPA/) Dóra Soponyai (high school teacher), András Pósa (high school student), Judit Takács (sociologist), Julio Diniz-Pereira (researcher, activist: Landless Wokers Movement, Brazil)	Aula	
10.30-11.00	Coffee break	Aula	
11.00-13.10	**Multicultural tours:** Walk where the Roma live! Budapest 8th district visiting tour (two groups) • Jewish tradition – Hungarian peculiarities, history of the district • From the Jewish Quarter to the Ghetto • Virtual encounters with survivors – personal stories on location with special focus on the ghetto experiences (with tablets) • Virtual encounters with survivors – personal stories on location with special focus on rescue activities (with tablets)		
13.10-14.30	Lunch	Aula	
14.30-15.30	Minority language education in Romanian teacher training (Noémi Birta-Székely)	212	Alaster Scott Douglas
	Creating Linguistic Awareness Among Preservice Teachers (Burcu Ates, Helen Berg)		
	Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in Careless Times: Caring as Professional Ethical Praxis and Identity (Maeve O'Brien)	305	György Mészáros
	Why to teach about envied groups in social justice education? (Mónika Kovács)		
	Including indigenous environmental education in adult education: eco-hermeneutic inquiry as arts informed research (Andrejs Kulnieks, Dan Longboat, Kelly Young)	407	Peter McLaren
	The Role of the Landless Workers Movement (MST) on the Development of Brazilian Activist Educators' Identities (Júlio Emílio Diniz-Pereira)		

17. April

15.40-16.40	Teachers´s views on diversity: towards an inclusive education (Iulia Mancila, Cateri Soler García, Miguel López Melero)	213	Monique Leygraaf
	Addressing Educational Inequity through Service-Learning (Barbara Greybeck)		
	School Leadership for Equity: Lessons from the Literature (Ward, S.C., Bagley, C., Lumby, J., Woods, P., Hamilton, T., Roberts, A.)	313	Orsolya Kálmán
	Distributed Leadership for Equity - Systemic influences on teachers' work and professional development (Máté Schnellbach, Nóra Révai)		
16.40-17.00	Coffee break	Aula	
17.00-18.00	Something lacking: Teaching in classrooms with minimal diversity (Jeff Garmany)	212	Mónika Kovács
	Automatic Segregation in Hungary (Mária Dobosi)		
	Know Your Place! (Rory Mc Daid)	305	Geri Smyth
	Racial, religious, and gender discrimination in English teaching in Taiwan (Chih-Min Shih)		
	From Ritual Conformity to Ritual Resistance: Pupils' Strategies in De-Segregated Classroom (Jana Obrovská)	314	György Mészáros
	Ethical issues in the research with children (Tijana Borovac)		
18.30-19.00	Closing	Aula	
20.00-22.00	**Book presentation and conversation with the author :** Julio Diniz-Pereira: How the Dreamers are Born. Struggles for Social Justice and the Identity Construction of Activist Educators in Brazil	Gólya Community Hub, Budapest, Bókay János u. 34., 1083	