International Perspectives on Educational Diversity and Inclusion

Studies from America, Europe and India

Edited by
**Gajendra K. Verma,
Christopher R. Bagley and
Madan Mohan Jha**

International Perspectives on Educational Diversity and Inclusion

The inclusion of minority groups within mainstream education in a way that serves principles of social justice and equity is a familiar one for educators worldwide. *International Perspectives on Educational Diversity and Inclusion* is innovative in its exploration of how globalization impacts on these challenges. With chapters from authors in America, Britain, Europe and India, the book addresses the issue of inclusion within the framework of diversity, and models of comparative education. The editors draw on the extensive experience of the wide-ranging contributors, who examine:

- Accounts from cross-cultural cognitive psychology on the special interests and educational needs of certain ethnic groups
- Research on social class divisions, neighbourhood poverty and school exclusions in Britain
- Educational developments for inclusion of minorities in Europe, Greece and Eastern Europe
- India's educational policies surrounding its struggle to achieve 'education for all' in a nation at the threshold of economic prosperity.

International Perspectives on Educational Diversity and Inclusion is unique in its breadth, in presenting accounts of attempts to include diverse ethnic and social groups, and children with special needs within inclusive educational systems. Different countries, all at different stages of development with contrasted minority populations, face these issues of policy and practice with varying degrees of success. The book should provide stimulating insights into modern concepts of globalization and its impact on educational policy for students of sociology, comparative education and psychology. Readers will learn how the educational inclusion of diverse ethnic and social groups has received setbacks in America, has rarely been achieved in Britain and some European countries, and is still struggling to be achieved in India.

Gajendra K. Verma is Emeritus Professor of Education, University of Manchester, UK.

Christopher R. Bagley is Emeritus Professor of Social Science, University of Southampton, UK.

Madan Mohan Jha is Commissioner and Secretary for Education, State of Bihar, India.

International Perspectives on Educational Diversity and Inclusion

Studies from America, Europe and India

**Edited by
Gajendra K. Verma,
Christopher R. Bagley and
Madan Mohan Jha**

Contents

Part IV
Diversity and educational equality in Britain and Europe **77**

Part V
Diversity and educational equality in India **123**

Part VI
Conclusions **193**

Tables

Editors and contributors

Dr Gajendra K. Verma is Emeritus Professor of Education at the University of Manchester, UK, where he held the Sarah Fielden Chair of Education for several years. He has published widely on educational issues and is an expert and government adviser on multicultural issues, including membership of the influential Swann Committee. He has been co-director of a number of EU-funded projects on multicultural teacher training, in collaboration with partners in Finland, France, Netherlands, Germany, Greece and Israel.

Dr Christopher R. Bagley is Emeritus Professor of Social Science, University of Southampton, UK. He has held Chairs in Child Welfare and Social Work in Calgary, Canada, and Hong Kong, and has published widely in the fields of multiculturalism, international child welfare, mental health, and cross-cultural psychology.

Dr Madan Mohan Jha is a member of the Indian Civil Service (IAS), and obtained his doctorate in education from the University of Oxford, UK. He is currently Commissioner and Secretary for Education in the State of Bihar, India, where he is designing and implementing plans for restructuring the educational system with a view to ensuring the fundamental right to education for all children within a framework of inclusion, equity and excellence. He is author of *School Without Walls* (Heinemann, 2002).

Laura Engel is a PhD student in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA. Her research interests include globalization and educational policy production. Her doctoral research addresses issues of educational policy in Spain, within the context of EU policy.

Dr Carl A. Grant is Hoefs-Bascom Professor of Teacher Education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA. He has written or edited twenty books and monographs on multicultural education, including *The Dictionary of Multiculturalism* (with Gloria Ladson-Billings), Phoenix, Arizona: Oryx Press, 1997 and *Making Choices for Multicultural Education* (with Christine Sleeter), New York: John Wiley, 2003.

Dr Hilary Gray of the British and East European Psychology Group is an experienced psychologist and educator, responsible for several cross-cultural programmes involving Britain and East European countries.

Dr Adamantios Papastamatis is a lecturer in education at the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Greece. His doctorate, on aspects of student self-concept, is from the University of Manchester, UK. He has been involved in a number of EU-funded collaborative research projects.

Dr Fazal Rizvi is Professor in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA, where he directs the Global Studies in Education program (gse.ed.uius.edu). His next book, co-authored with Bob Lingard, *Globalizing Educational Policy*, will be published by Routledge early in 2008. He has served on a number of government committees, including an international panel on the UK's RAE 2008.

David Rutkowski is a research student in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA. His doctoral research focuses on a range of theoretical, technical and political issues surrounding the development of global performance indicators through a detailed analysis of the World Educational Indicator (WEI) project.

Dr Rupam Saran obtained her doctorate for a thesis on curriculum policies in New York schools. She has been a teacher in the New York public school system, and is currently Assistant Professor in the Department of Education, Manhattanville College, New York, USA.

Dr Mohammed Akhtar Siddiqui is Professor and Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies in Education in the Faculty of Education, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi, India. He is also Director of the Academic Staff College at this university, with responsibility for the instruction of university teachers.

Jason Sparks is a doctoral student in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA. His thesis research focuses on policies concerning the teaching of English and the ways in which governments might seek to regulate its provision by private providers.

Dr Prachi Srivastava is Lecturer in International Education at the Sussex School of Education, University of Sussex, UK. She was ESRC Research Fellow at the Department of Educational Studies, University of Oxford, researching school choice and privatization in economically developing countries. Her co-edited book, *Private Schooling in Less Economically Developed Countries: Asian and African Perspectives*, was published in 2007 by Symposium Books.

Dr Derek Woodrow is Emeritus Professor of Education at Manchester Metropolitan University, UK. Originally specializing in the teaching and learning of mathematics, he is author and co-author of several books and papers on multiculturalism and the impact of society and culture on achievement in minority groups.

Part I

Globalization and diversity in education

1 Equality and the politics of globalization in education

Fazal Rizvi, Laura Engel, David Rutkowski and Jason Sparks

Introduction

Equality has long been a major goal of education around the world. As early as 1948, Article 26 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights stated that, "everyone has the right to education" and, "education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stage". In line with this declaration, most governments profess a commitment to equality, and have taken various steps to provide at least basic education to all of their citizens regardless of the ways in which governments have interpreted the notion of equality, as well as their limited ability to fund measures working towards the goal of equality in education. The production of social and human capital has often been cited as one of the main reasons for supporting the goal of equality in education. And indeed, there is a great deal of credible evidence to suggest that an investment in education not only provides personal benefits to individuals, in terms of their earning capacity, but also has the potential to benefit whole communities, in both economic and social realms. There has therefore been a major push by intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), like the World Bank, the OECD and UNESCO, and non-governmental organizations, for universal access to primary education, while the demand for secondary and tertiary education has also grown rapidly.

Over the past decade, this call for more education has been made within a broader discourse about the changing nature of the global economy, which is characterized as "knowledge-based", and which is said to require greater levels of education and training than ever before. In the so-called "knowledge economy", educational systems have been asked to produce a workforce adequately prepared to meet the challenges of globalization. It has been suggested that social and economic development is no longer possible without policies that encourage greater participation in education. The goal of access to education is thus reiterated, but is now articulated within a broader discourse about the changing global context within which education takes place. In this way, the rhetoric of access and equality in education and the politics of globalization have become inextricably related (Scholte, 2000).

In this chapter, we explore the nature of this relationship by discussing some of the ways in which globalization is affecting policy priorities in education. We

argue that the effects of globalization on educational and social equality for different groups and communities vary greatly, creating considerable disparity around the world, with some communities benefiting enormously from globalization, but others encountering major disruptions to their economic and cultural lives. Moreover, we suggest that globalization has transformed the discursive terrain within which educational policies are developed and enacted, and that this terrain is increasingly informed by a range of neo-liberal precepts that affect the ways we think about educational governance – indeed, about its basic purposes. Along these lines, a particular way of interpreting globalization has become globally hegemonic, which undermines, in various ways, stronger democratic claims to equality in education.

The politics of globalization

The concept of globalization has been widely used in recent years to rethink the imperatives driving educational changes, even if globalization remains poorly understood. While little consensus exists about its meaning, the concept of globalization does appear to encompass some of the profound social and economic changes that are currently taking place around the world. Many of these changes have been driven by recent revolutions in information and communication technologies, which have resulted in a world that is more interconnected and interdependent than ever before. Paradoxically, global processes have themselves created some of the conditions by which the idea of globalization has become seemingly ubiquitous, used widely in both policy and popular discourses to explain the nature of recent changes. It has been used to refer to a set of social processes that imply "inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach round the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before" (Friedman, 2000).

Such integration, however, is far from complete; its nature can be understood in a variety of ways, and it clearly benefits some communities more than others. Globalization is thus a highly contested notion, which articulates historically with a range of colonial practices, on the one hand, and socially with recent technological developments in transport, communication and data processing, on the other. These developments have transformed the nature of economic activity, changing modes of both production and consumption. They have also altered the nature of international relations, and the work of intergovernmental political institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations. Moreover, these developments have propelled an enormous growth in the movement of people, information and ideologies, leading to an enormous increase in cultural interactions and the hybridization of cultural practices.

David Harvey (1989) provides perhaps one of the best descriptions of economic globalization. He argues that globalization describes "an intense period of time–space compression that has had a disorientating and disruptive impact on political–economic practices, the balance of class power, as well as upon cultural

and social life" (p. 8). In this new era, global capitalism has become fragmentary, as time and space are rearranged by the dictates of multinational capital. Improved systems of communication and information flows and rationalization in the techniques of distribution have enabled capital and commodities to be moved through the global market with greater speed. The rigidities of Fordism have been replaced by a new organizational ideology that celebrates flexibility and efficiency as its foundational values, expressed most explicitly in ideas of subcontracting, outsourcing, vertical disintegration, just-in-time delivery systems and the like. In the realm of commodity production, argues Harvey, the primary effect of this transformation has been an increased emphasis on instrumental values and the virtues of speed and instantaneity.

Castells (1996) characterizes the global economy as informational, networked, knowledge-based, post-industrial and service-oriented. He argues that cultural and political meanings are now under siege by global economic and technological restructuring. Castells speaks of an "informational mode of development" through which global financial and informational linkages are accelerated, convert places into spaces and threaten to dominate local processes of cultural meanings. According to Castells, networks constitute "the new social morphology of our societies"; and "the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in the processes of production, experience, power and culture". The new economy is "organized around global networks of capital, management, and information, whose access to technological know-how is at the roots of productivity and competitiveness" (ibid. 1996). All industries, including education, are trapped within the networking logic of contemporary capitalism, subject to the same economic cycles, market upswings and downturns and segmented global competition.

The global economy has also led to a new conception of governance, requiring a radically revised view of the roles and responsibilities of national governments, minimizing the need for their policy intervention, with greater reliance on the market (Strange, 1996). This interpretation of the declining role of the state in policy development dislodges one of the central tenets of the modern nation-state system – the claim to distinctive symmetry and correspondence between territory and legitimacy. While nation-states fiercely protect their sovereignty, in the age of globalization the exclusive link between territory and political power appears to have been broken. As Held and McGrew (2000) argue, "the state has become a fragmented policy-making arena, permeated by transnational networks (governmental and non-governmental) as well as by domestic agencies and forces". So, while the modern state retains some of its authority, it now needs to negotiate forces beyond its control – not only of international organizations and regimes but also of transnational capital. This applies to educational policy as much as it does to economic policy, as educational priorities become implicated in global power systems.

Within these systems, there is now an ever-increasing level of cultural interaction across national and ethnic boundaries. With the sheer scale, intensity, speed and volume of global cultural communication, the traditional link between territory and social identity appears weakened, as people can more readily choose to

detach their identities from particular times, places and traditions (Risvi, 2005). Not only the media but greater transnational mobility has a "pluralizing" impact on identity formation, producing a variety of hyphenated identities which are less "fixed or unified" (Hall, 1992). This has led to the emergence of a "global consciousness", which may represent the cultural basis of an "incipient civil society" (Falk, 1995). This development suggests the need to interpret globalization both descriptively and normatively – as an objective set of social processes, but also as a subjective or phenomenological awareness by people and states of recent changes in global economy and culture.

Despite a recognition of its cultural dimensions, one of the main problems with most accounts of globalization is that they draw attention "disproportionally upon the global economy, presenting it as a pre-given 'thing', existing outside of thought" (Smith, 2000), whose developmental logic has the capacity not only to explain the development of policies but also, it is assumed, to determine the subjectivity of people, without ever interrogating what those people are up to. As Smith (2001) points out, this interpretation of globalization presents contemporary global processes not as an ever-changing product of human practices but as an expression of a deeper economic logic. In so doing, globalization is conceived as historically inevitable, representing a juggernaut with which we simply have to come to terms and negotiate as best as we can.

An increasing number of scholars and activists have, however, begun to challenge this view of globalization. They have interpreted globalization not as an expression of inexorable historical processes, but as an ideology serving a particular set of economic and political interests. Theorists like Bourdieu (2003) have suggested that globalization represents a deliberate, ideological project of economic liberalization that subjects states and individuals to more intense market forces. This project, often referred to as 'neo-liberal', is thus based on a politics of meaning that seeks to accommodate people and nations to a certain taken-for-grantedness about the ways the global economy operates and the manner in which culture, crises, resources and power formations are filtered through its universal logic. It thus "ontologizes" the global market mentality, creating global subjects who in turn view the world and the policy options they have through its conceptual prism. This prism is constituted by an emphasis on market principles and production of profits; a minimalist role for the state; deregulated labor market; and flexible forms of governance. From this perspective, the term "globalization" designates certain power relations, practices and technologies, playing a "hegemonic role in organizing and decoding the meaning of the world" (Scharito and Webb, 2003).

In recent years, educational policies have been deeply affected by this neo-liberal view of globalization, as educational systems have sought to realign their priorities to what they perceive to be its imperatives. While the authority for the development of education policies remains with sovereign governments, they nonetheless feel the need to take global processes into account. However, the relationship between the global processes and policy production at the national level is highly complex, because governments do not simply have the freedom to "pick and choose" from a global menu of policies; rather, their deliberations are framed

by the ideological discourses circulating around the world, often through international organizations such as UNESCO and the OECD, as well as media and a global class of policy experts. The political structures beyond the nation-states thus become relevant to national policy deliberations, as does the globalizing cultural field within which education takes place. In the process, a new discourse of educational purposes emerges, sidelining education's traditional concerns with the development of individuals and communities.

Shifting purposes of education

This new discourse highlights the need for education to achieve the objectives of global economic integration, by producing efficient and effective workers to meet the requirements of the global economy. David Labaree (1997) has observed that education has traditionally been thought to have three distinct, but sometimes, competing, purposes: democratic equality, social mobility, and social efficiency. While these purposes of education are not mutually exclusive, one of these has often been highlighted over the others. For example, in the post-World War II Keynesian period, the idea of democratic equality became dominant in many parts of the world, interpreted in Western countries from a liberal-democratic perspective, while in socialist countries it acquired a different meaning. Some countries promoted social mobility and meritocracy, while others stressed a more egalitarian outlook. In many postcolonial countries, the idea of equality became an ideological mantra, even if it was seldom realized in education. In recent years, however, under the conditions of globalization, it is the idea of social efficiency that is more prized by an increasing number of citizens, corporations and inter-governmental organizations, as well as governments.

For Labaree, the concept of democratic equality has long suggested the need for education to facilitate the development of democratic citizens who can participate in their communities in a critically informed manner. It is a view central to John Dewey's philosophy of education (Dewey, 1916). Its focus is on equal access and equal treatment of all citizens, and on regarding education as a public good. This suggests that maximum benefit to society can only be realized if every member of a community is educated equally to realize their full potential. The primary purpose of education is then the creation of productive citizens, and not necessarily efficient workers, able to maximize personal fulfillment. This does not mean that vocational training is unimportant. Nonetheless, it is to insist that such training must be located within the broader role education must play in the development of a socially cohesive democratic community. The purposes of education are thus more social and cultural than economic, focused more on community than on the individual.

In contrast, the social efficiency view of educational purposes focuses more on individuals, but requires education to play a more important, instrumental, role in developing workers able to contribute to the economic productivity of nations and corporations alike. It judges educational systems in terms of their efficiency – their capacity to make an adequate return on investment, assessed in terms of

their contribution in producing workers with knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to increasing productivity within the knowledge economy. In this way, education is viewed both as a public and a private good: public because it contributes to the economic well-being and social development of a community; and private because it serves individual interests within the competitive labor market. However, it is important to stress that the notion of public good that the social efficiency view promotes is markedly different from the social democratic conception, which regards education as intrinsically good, and not linked instrumentally to organizational efficiency, economic outcomes and productivity.

In recent constructions of globalization, the focus on social efficiency has become a key and perhaps the overriding goal of education. Much of what is now regarded as educational reform is based on the ideological belief that social and economic "progress" can only be achieved through systems of education geared more towards fulfilling the needs of the market. It is assumed that educational systems have, for far too long, been inefficient and ineffective in ways that have prevented them from realizing this functional objective. Popular media and corporations have, in particular, propagated this opinion and have called on governments to pursue reforms that are not only more socially and economically efficient but are also cognizant of the new "realities" of the knowledge economy in an increasingly globalized world. This has required the purposes of education to be more instrumentally defined, in terms of education's capacity to produce workers who have grounding in basic literacy and numeracy, are flexible, creative, and multiskilled, have adequate knowledge of new information and communication technologies, and are able to work in culturally diverse environments.

Of course, this account of educational purposes does not imply that social efficiency has entirely displaced concerns for equality and social mobility. However, it is worth noting that both equity and social mobility have been incorporated within the broader discourse of social efficiency. For example, it has been argued by international organizations such as the OECD that a focus on efficiency can in fact lead to greater equality and opportunities for social mobility. It is suggested that without workers who are able to perform effectively in the global labor market, the potential for social mobility is severely reduced; and that since the global economy requires appropriate social conditions for capital accumulation and economic growth, equity concerns cannot be overlooked by policymakers committed to social efficiency. As the OECD (1996) has suggested:

> A new focus for education and training policies is needed now, to develop capacities to realize the potential of the 'global information economy' and to contribute to employment, culture, democracy and, above all, social cohesion. Such policies will need to support the transition to 'learning societies' in which equal opportunities are available to all, access is open, and all individuals are encouraged and motivated to learn, in formal education as well as throughout life.
>
> (OECD, 1996)

What this discourse suggests is that social efficiency must now be regarded as a "meta-value", subsuming within its scope educational aspirations such as the goals of social equality, mobility and even cohesion. In the process, the meaning of equality is weakened, re-articulated to suggest formal access to the institutions of education, rather than stronger claims to equality of treatment and outcome.

Strong and weak concepts of equality

Access to education, of course, is important to all forms of educational outcomes, including economic well-being, health, employment, and productive citizenship. Without access, the chances of achieving social and economic equality are negligible. However, simple formal access to schools has never been sufficient to realizing the potential of education, because unless families have an adequate economic base at home to support students attending schools, the students are unlikely to be able to take advantage of formal access. This, of course, complicates the relationship between access to education and equity outcomes. While a commitment to formal access is entirely consistent with the idea of social efficiency, it is not enough to achieve democratic equality. For this to become a reality, attention needs also to be paid to the social conditions necessary for learning, to instructional quality and to the resources that are necessary to support effective programs. Formal access to schooling does not always translate into effective equity outcomes.

Indeed, simple access can be counter-productive, setting up expectations which, if not realized, have the potential to create considerable social alienation among those who have invested time and effort into education, without the promised rewards. Without good teachers, who have adequate training and professional attitudes, access can undermine equality, even if it meets some of the standards of efficiency. Access can also be counter-productive if the curriculum and instruction are not linked to local cultures and traditions, and are inappropriate to the community in which they are offered. This requires a more complex "stronger" view of access and equality than is suggested by the "weak" social efficiency view. Education has a whole range of purposes; it is not simply for producing efficient workers for the changing global economy. If this is so, then social efficiency has to be reconciled with the broader cultural concerns of education, linked to issues of class, gender and ethnicity.

That simple access is not sufficient for achieving equality in education can be further demonstrated by addressing issues relating to the education of girls. In recent years, IGOs, such as the OECD, the World Bank, and UNESCO have repeatedly emphasized the importance of gender equity in education. And indeed much has been done to provide girls greater access to education; and the number of girls attending school has never been greater. However, the neo-liberal arguments for gender equity reveal a weak conception of equality, cast largely in terms of social efficiency, and the requirements of the global economy. According to the World Bank (2004), for example, "research has also shown that women and girls work harder than men, are more likely to invest their earning in their children, and

are major producers as well as consumers". UNESCO (2001) states, "Educating girls yields the highest return in economic terms". Finally, the OECD (2000) urges that "Investing in women (with respect to education, health, family planning, access to land, etc.) not only directly reduces poverty, but also leads to higher productivity and a more efficient use of resources". Each of these views links gender equity to economic consumerism and efficiency. This instrumentalist logic is arguably sexist, as it views women as a means to certain economic ends, rather than as people who participate in education for a huge variety of reasons, some economic, others social and cultural.

A stronger claim to gender equity in education, on the other hand, must address issues not only of their access but also of economic and social outcomes of education, resulting from globalization. Here the picture is decidedly mixed. Recent data show that while girls are participating in education in larger numbers than ever before, the outcomes of their education are not socially and economically proportional to their efforts. For example, in recent years, there have been many more opportunities for women to utilize their education in paid work. However, this work has been predominantly in the service economy of global information, global communication, global retailing and global finance (World Bank, 2004). Each of these areas has been characterized by "flexible" labor conditions and poorer career prospects, perpetuating and sometimes deepening gender hierarchies. Despite the growing level of access of women to higher education, their participation in the fields of the natural sciences and engineering is far from gender parity. With growing importance attached to these fields within the global economy, associated with technological innovation and technical expertise, this inequality is more significant than it might first appear, since it suggests that the growing access of women to tertiary education is in areas that do not enjoy the same high economic rewards, social status and prestige.

What this analysis indicates is that gender equity beyond access requires a radical overhaul of the educational and social processes that perpetuate gender inequalities. This aspiration is clearly informed by a different purpose of education. While the social efficiency view demands better utilization of the human resources that women represent, the democratic equality view seeks a social transformation through which gender relations are totally reconfigured. This latter view not only highlights the importance of access and social inclusion, but also underlines the importance of rethinking the terms of this inclusion. It envisages societies that have potentially been economically, politically and socially transformed in gender terms. This requires changes not only to the ways education is administered but also to the curriculum and pedagogy, especially in the context of globalization, with its potential to reshape patterns of both economic and social relations.

Shifts in the curriculum

Any comprehensive overview of recent shifts in the curriculum is clearly beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is perhaps important to note that there has

been more rhetoric in recent years about the need to rethink issues of curriculum in the light of changes represented by globalization than actual changes in practice. Primary and secondary curriculum remains remarkably unaltered in most countries, even if there have been some changes in the ways in which pedagogy has been approached, especially at the primary level. More child-centered and humanistic ways of thinking about and dealing with young children appear to have become popular, not only in countries with liberal democratic traditions but elsewhere as well. There have also been significant changes in which students are assessed, and teachers are now held accountable to educational systems in much more rigorous, and sometimes even punitive, ways. New technologies of accountability have been established not only at the national level, but also transnationally. Practices of benchmarking and comparing achievements and educational performance on a wide variety of indicators have arguably become common, as a result of an increasing level of regional and international collaboration, much of which is driven by the international organizations such as the OECD and UNESCO. Programs like PISA (2005) and TIMMS (2005) for example, have begun to provide a framework within which educational policy deliberations at the national level are now conducted.

Some of these developments have clearly been facilitated by recent developments in information and communication technologies (ICT), even if it is the technologies that have driven educational changes, rather than the changes driving the technologies. Either way, the need to understand the possibilities of ICT in order to develop more efficient and effective ways of delivering education has become a major feature of contemporary thinking. Also significant have been the efforts to include ICT into the curriculum. Indeed, computer education and the teaching of English language represent perhaps two of the most important new initiatives in the curriculum, responding directly to the pressures of globalization. However, each is problematic in its own way, and raises a whole range of issues about the ways in which it is promoted by governments and IGOs, and relates to issues of equality in education.

Since the early 1990s, policymakers around the world have recognized the curricular significance of ICT. Significantly, in 2000, the Group of Eight (G8) met in Japan to "seriously address the challenges of ICT in education", producing the Okinawa Charter on Global Information Society, a document that describes ICT as "one of the most potent forces in shaping the twenty-first century", and speaks idealistically of an "IT-driven economic and social transformation" impacting "the way people live, learn and work". The Charter calls for a "stronger partnership among developed and developing countries, civil society including private firms and NGOs, foundations and academic institutions, and international organizations" to develop a "solid framework of IT-related policies and action" aimed at insuring that ICT serves a range of goals, such as: creating sustainable economic growth and enhancing public welfare. The Charter states its commitment to the principle of inclusion, mentions democratic values, human development, and respect for diversity, and the potential in ICT for social and economic opportunities worldwide.

While these fine political sentiments are indeed laudable, it is less clear from the Charter how they are to be translated into effective educational reforms that address each of these values, and not simply those sustaining economic growth. Even its discussion on "Bridging the digital divide" calls for policies that lead to the development of human resources capable of responding to the demands (read economic demands) of the information society, a goal to be achieved by supporting effective programs in ICT literacy and skills through education (Plomp *et al.*, 2003). The G8 Charter's characterization of the information society is based on range of neo-liberal assumptions about the global market, and the human resources needed to make it efficient. The broader discourse of the inevitability of rapid economic and social change in the Charter (G8, 2000) is underpinned by what Ulrich Beck (2000) refers to as the "ideology of rule by the world market", reducing the "multidimensionality of globalization to a single, economic dimension". In this way, the Charter regards participation in the global economy as a universal good, the requirements of which need to be understood and enacted by nation-states. It is assumed that all efforts to align education with the needs of the global economy are necessarily beneficial to society; and that not to do so is to exclude students from ICT-driven economic and social transformation. Here, again, the notion of equity is re-articulated in the language of the market.

Much of this call for curriculum reform is thus located within the social efficiency view of educational purposes. ICT is viewed as a vehicle for making education more efficient and effective, leaving intact some of the deeply held assumptions about education and its role in supporting and sustaining the mechanisms of the global economy. Education is conceived as a means to achieve the G8 goal stated earlier: the "development of human resources capable of responding to the demands of the information age" (G8, 2000). It is considered necessary for fully participating in the age of globalization, but the concept of globalization itself is viewed narrowly, as linked to current economic transformations driven by a neo-liberal ideology, which defines social relations in terms of competition between individuals and nations. So long as this view prevails, it is difficult to imagine how the so-called "digital divide" between communities and nations can ever be bridged, except on the edges, for, in a context of global competition, developing countries will continue to struggle to achieve parity within the highly stratified world economic community.

Just as the interest in integrating ICT into the curriculum has been framed within the social efficiency view of education, as contributing to the needs of the changing global economy, so too have been the arguments put forward by policymakers around the world in support of greater emphasis on the teaching of English. The teaching of English is assumed to be crucial in any thoughtful response to the pressures of globalization. For example, a 2002 UNESCO report on curriculum changes in the Asia-Pacific region notes that: "Facing the challenges of globalization trends, curriculum of countries in the region have paid special attention to foreign languages, first and foremost it is English" (UNESCO, 2002). The report goes on to say that the choice of language in education policy is "largely driven by the demands of the international labor market, in particular in the field of ICTs and science".

Similarly, a 2004 APEC document, echoing the UNESCO sentiment above, asserts:

> As English has become the most common medium for communication in a global world, it is the language that provides job opportunities, access to higher education and a broader flow of information, as well as facilitates diplomatic discussions and business negotiations. English has also become the primary medium for communication in science and technology.
>
> (APEC, 2004)

In this discourse, there is an almost unproblematic construction of, and appeal to, the demands of a global economy, which disregards what Tollefson (1991) describes as the very local impact of language policies on "access to economic resources, to policymaking institutions, and to political power". In transforming language use and language education into commodities for a global marketplace, such discourse takes a particular stance with regard to what Pennycook (1999) calls "the cultural, political, social and economic implications of language programs". For example, this stance seems unconcerned with the role English might play in perpetuating global inequalities, as well as globalization's tendencies for homogenizing cultural traditions.

What this discussion clearly reveals, however, is the degree to which the emerging "consensus that professional development of FL [foreign language] teachers is one of the most important and challenging issues that all economies face" (APEC, 2004) is embedded within the social efficiency view of education, and the extent to which curriculum reform is now framed by perceptions concerning educational purposes being inextricably and, perhaps exclusively, linked to the labor market considerations of the global economy. In speaking of economies, and not societies or nations, for example, the quote from the APEC report (2004) above barely hides its neo-liberal assumptions, linked to human capital needs, which are now driving the language policy shifts within the Asia-Pacific region.

These shifts are based on a particular "reading" of global processes as necessarily economic, articulated in ways that subordinate political and cultural concerns that have traditionally been given at least an equal emphasis in policy deliberations. An outcome of this economic reductionism is that it inherently perpetuates the global inequalities, as English-speaking countries and those countries which can afford to develop levels of English proficiency mark themselves out as better able to profit from the global economy. In this way, not only does the increasing use of English worldwide carry the risk of homogenizing local cultures and traditions but it also becomes a marker of social and national differentiation.

Shifts in governance

Differentiation is, however, also reproduced by a range of other developments driven by neo-liberal notions of globalization. Most notably, in recent years, there has been much rhetoric about "good governance", a phrase that masks an

underlying shift in educational ideology. Debated under the rubric of "good governance" are issues concerning transparency of decision-making processes, forms of devolution, technologies of measuring educational performance, international benchmarking, mechanisms of quality assurance, appropriate accountability regimes, sources of educational funding, effective uses of public resources, and so on. Even this short list shows how most of these concerns relate to social efficiency, defined mostly in terms of the extent to which educational systems are responsive to the labor market needs of the global economy.

In this way, the idea of good governance has not been left to the local communities to define, even if devolution is assumed to be essential for making educational systems more efficient and effective. The idea of devolution has of course been used in a wide variety of ways in political theory, from radical democratic notions of citizen participation in decision-making to weaker administrative notions of managerial decentralization. It is the latter view of devolution that has gained ascendancy in contemporary global ideologies of governance. It is functional and fiscal decentralization, rather than political devolution, that has been highlighted as a defining characteristic of good governance of education. Under this definition of decentralization, local institutions are permitted to make decisions, but only in ways that are aligned to both national goals and standards, which are increasingly linked to a broader technology of public administration. This also involves the ways in which expenditure on education is allocated, distributed and monitored.

Often such allocation is based on generalized performance criteria that do not always take into account particular needs of communities. This has a negative impact on rural and lower income areas, increasing regional disparities, especially when there are limited financial resources and preparation for local governance (UN, 2004). In addition, an emphasis on fiscal decentralization is linked to political conditions in which privatization is viewed as its logical outcome. Educational managers at local and district levels struggle to manage their own education programs, particularly those that cannot be easily accommodated within the broader national frameworks directing performance-based funding regimes.

The global trend towards privatization of education, not only at tertiary but also at primary and secondary levels, has intensified inequalities in a number of ways. While governments around the world have highlighted the importance of higher levels of education, they have either been unwilling or unable to fund growth in demand for educational participation. The use of the rhetoric of privatization has thus become widespread around the world, along with an emphasis on the notions of quality, efficiency, and productivity. With the scaling back of government funding igniting a rise in privatization, the role of the private sector in education has also grown, blurring the lines between government and private responsibilities over education. The number of private higher education institutions has grown rapidly. These developments have had major implications for educational equity, as private interests have increasingly assumed a greater, often self-interested, role in policy development in education. This has also led to education becoming increasingly viewed more in terms of an individual investment, rather than a social investment.

In very broad terms, the idea of privatization refers to the transfer of services provided by the public sector to a range of private sector interests. As a political construct, the idea of privatization emerged in the late 1970s as an attempt by a number of Western countries, like the United States and Britain, to separate decision-making in the areas of public policy from the provision of services. Three decades later, as we have noted, it has become globally pervasive, increasingly assumed to be the only way to ensure that public services, including education, are delivered efficiently and effectively. It has come to symbolize a new way of looking at public institutions and the role of the state in managing the affairs of its citizens.

This way of looking at governance is based on a set of assumptions that include the view that the power of private property rights, market forces and competition brings out the best in public sector employees; that when the public sector is forced to compete against private contractors then the service delivery is necessarily more efficient; and that when public institutions are thrust into market environments they become much more organizationally agile and innovative, with a greater commitment to reform. Economic arguments in favor of privatization also view it as necessary for growth, for meeting increasing levels of demand for particular services, including education. Such arguments necessarily assume the welfare state to be "withering away", no longer capable of meeting the requirements both of society and individuals who are increasingly interested in managing their own affairs and do not trust the state to look after them.

While, in recent years, many of these arguments have become commonplace, few, if any, can be substantiated with hard data. So, for example, the contention that private contractors are more efficient and cost-effective in delivering services without compromising on quality is one that has repeatedly been shown to be both groundless and perhaps even unverifiable; yet this does not seem to stop advocates of privatization from asserting it repeatedly. The fact is that economic arguments alone cannot justify privatization. To try to do so is to grossly underestimate its political character, and to misunderstand its role as an ideology. In the end, the political context in which privatization is promoted is inherently ideological, based on an assumption that the private sector is intrinsically more efficient and productive than the public sector.

However, the notion of efficiency is highly problematic because it cannot be interpreted in some neutral fashion, without reference to the more fundamental moral and political criteria against which it might be measured. Nothing is efficient in its own right. We need to ask the more basic question, "Efficiency in terms of what?" As the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (1981) points out, there are strong grounds for rejecting the claim that efficiency is a morally neutral concept. Rather, it is "inseparable from a mode of existence in which the contrivance of means is in central part the manipulation of human beings into compliant patterns of behavior" (MacIntyre, 1981). In an organizational setting, efficiency drives always involve control over people, achieved either through sanctions or hegemonic compliance.

However, such a focus on efficiency often has a negative impact on the educational opportunities available to marginalized groups and communities who

have traditionally benefited from public investment in education. In the context of declining levels of public expenditure on education, families are often forced to pay for the education of their children. This might be fine with those families who can afford it, but privatization has disastrous consequences for marginalized groups, especially for girls in certain cultural traditions. There is considerable evidence to show that when parents, in developing countries in particular, are required to make a difficult choice, they frequently prefer to pay for the education of boys. While privatization might be efficient in some respects, as neo-liberal theorists suggest, it often has negative consequences for those who rely on the public provision of education, as well as on gender equity in education and, by implication, on the broader goals of social equality.

Mobility and trade in education

Just as new modes of governance, driven by global neo-liberal ideologies, have negatively impacted equality in education, so has the increasing levels of mobility, not only of capital, information and ideologies, but also of people. Globalization has affected considerable movement from rural and regional centers of population to cities, especially global cities which occupy, as Sassen (1991) has pointed out, a special place in the global economic division of labor, and which operate as nodes of global circulation of capital, goods and people. This has created conditions for increased mobility of people from regional and rural areas to metropolitan centers where there are greater possibilities of employment. The requirements of city life have always determined educational priorities of nation-states, but with cities of national significance becoming global, a new cultural geography has emerged, affecting all aspects of social and cultural life, including education.

The awareness of the changing nature of the global economy and of the global labor market, however imprecise and speculative, has created a growing demand for international education at the tertiary level, especially in the cities, among those who can afford it. Of course, the idea of international education, itself, is not new. There has always been international mobility of students and researchers in search of new knowledge, and training where this was not available within the nation. In the past, international education helped to create the expertise needed to develop the social, administrative and economic infrastructure of the developing countries. It was concerned with the development of skills, attitudes and knowledge so that, upon their return, graduates could make a robust contribution to national development in the image of their sponsors. The purposes of international education were thus defined in terms of the need to increase intercultural knowledge, and to enhance the level of international cooperation. In this way, equal weight was given to the economic, political and cultural purposes of education.

However, in recent years, a new discourse of internationalization has emerged. This discourse is linked not only to perceptions concerning the emerging labor market stipulations, and the need for people to acquire multicultural and cosmopolitan sensitivities in the era of globalization, but also, and perhaps more

importantly, as a matter of global trade in education. The discourse of internation-alization of education has thus shifted in recent years, with the introduction of a set of market principles to guide its practices. It is now increasingly viewed as "an export industry", driven by a growing demand for an education abroad within the developing countries, enabling countries like Australia and the United Kingdom to set themselves up as major suppliers. According to the OECD's Center for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI, 2004), the growing demand for international education is simultaneously, "a cause, consequence and symptom of globalization". It responds to the need of industries at the cutting edge of the knowledge economy, such as ICT, financial management, science and engineer-ing, in which the demand for globally mobile labor is growing at a rapid rate.

Not surprisingly, therefore, it is the World Trade Organization (WTO) that has in recent years been a major advocate for what Jane Knight (2002) has called the "trade creep" in higher education. The WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS, 2004) has sought to specify a range of conditions under which trade in education is to be pursued. These conditions include such matters as: transparency of rules; liberalization of markets; elimination of practices acting as barriers to trade and student mobility; and the development of rules for resolving disputes. Now, while in one sense these rules appear perfectly sensible, from another perspective they serve a more ideological function, of institutionalizing a particular way of looking at international education, defining it in terms of the efficiency of the global markets in education, rather than in its more political, social and cultural purposes.

In broader terms, the heavily commercial character of international education serves only to reproduce global inequalities. Under earlier regimes of interna-tional education, universities in the developed countries provided access to a large number of students from poorer, less developed countries. Under a market regime, the number of financially sponsored students has dwindled markedly, fur-ther widening the skills gap that now exists between the newly industrializing countries and poorer Pacific countries, whose economic prospects have steadily declined. Moreover, international education reflects the globally uneven and asymmetrical nature of student flows within the global market of international education. For example, Marginson (2003) has noted the magnetic attraction of American higher education, and has argued that the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand sit "in the American slipstream, operating on a more entrepreneur-ial basis than American institutions. These countries gain the referred power as lesser English-language providers and sites for migration, often in a transitional stage in passage to the USA".

These developments represent a form of economic and social haemorrhaging of poorer countries caused by the new global geometry of power. This haemor-rhaging is further perpetuated by the "brain drain" of the highly talented international students who can make a significant contribution to the national development of their own countries but are seduced by the opportunities pre-sented by the richer countries. In so far as government policies in developed countries view international students as potential immigrants in areas of skill

shortage, they accelerate this pattern of "brain drain". It is estimated that more than 60 per cent of international students from developing countries qualify for immigration to a developed country and are granted permanent residence, even if they do not abandon their citizenship and plan instead to work in a transnational space (Rizvi, 2005). This situation is further complicated by the fact that many students who do return to their own country either seek or are recruited into well-paying jobs in transnational corporations, depriving national institutions of their expertise. In these ways, international education has increasingly become a hand-maiden to corporate globalization, providing the new global economy the human resources it needs to expand into new markets rather than to contribute to broader social and cultural goals.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed how the politics of globalization, or more accu-rately a particular construction of globalization, has, in recent years, reconfigured the discursive terrain within which educational policy is developed and enacted; and how this reconfiguration has undermined, in various ways, the goal of equal-ity and social inclusion in education. We have suggested that the hegemonic dominance of the neo-liberal conception of globalization has greatly benefited some communities, while it has had disastrous consequences for others. In educa-tional policy, the politics of globalization has had the consequence of making the social efficiency goals of education become dominant over its more traditional social and cultural concerns with the development of the individual and needs of the community. In line with these goals, a global conception of educational gov-ernance has emerged, associated with functional and fiscal decentralization and privatization, which has encouraged global trade in education. None of these developments bring us closer to the goal of equality. Instead, they have perpetu-ated social hierarchies within and across national boundaries.

These developments have also left many educators and educational systems feeling disenfranchised, especially when they are expected to conform to unreal-istic accountability regimes, and deliver outcomes for which they have not been adequately funded or resourced. At the same time, the policy shift towards priva-tization has compromised the goals of access and equality and has widened inequalities across gender, class and nations. The excessive emphasis on effi-ciency has resulted in greater focus on the operational requirements of the systems rather than upon the lives of people and their communities. This has hap-pened as a result of the balance between competing purposes of education becoming tilted towards social efficiency, undermining the potential of education to build democratic communities.

There is clearly no turning back from globalization. However, globalization need not necessarily be interpreted in neo-liberal terms. It must be possible to rec-ognize that the world is more interconnected and interdependent than ever before, without accepting entirely the logic of the market, and the technocratic solutions to the problems of education. The new global times require us to think and act

imaginatively, both locally and globally, if we are to tame the excesses of the market, and work with globalization in ways that are more creative, while remaining committed to the potential that education has for building democratic communities, committed to the ethical idea of equality in its stronger sense.

References

APEC (2004) *Strategic Plan for English/Foreign Language Learning, Sub Theme Paper 1*, Santiago, Chile. At: http://biblioteca.mineduc.cl/documento/English_ APEC _strategic _plan_final.

Beck, U. (2000) 'What is globalization?' In: Held, D. and McGrew, A. (eds), *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2003) *Firing Back: Against the Tyranny of the Market.* London: Verso.

Castells, M. (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society.* Oxford: Blackwell.

CERI (2004) 'Cross-border post-secondary education in the Asia-Pacific region'. In: *Internalization and Trade in Higher Education.* Paris: OECD.

Dewey, J. (1916) *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education.* New York: Macmillan.

Falk, R. (1995) *On Humane Governance: Towards a New Global Politics.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Friedman, T. (2000) *Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization.* New York: Farrer, Straus & Giroux.

G8 (2000) *Okinawa Charter on Global Information Society,* G8 Kyushu-Okinawa Summit Meeting's Declaration. At: http://lacnet.unicttaskforce.org /Docs /Dot% 20Force/ Okinawa%20Charter.

GATS (2004) *General Agreement on Trade in Services.* New York: World Trade Organization. At: www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/gats_factfiction1_e.htm.

Hall, S. (1992) 'The question of identity'. In: Hall, S., Held, D. and McGrew A. (eds) *Modernity and its Futures.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Conditions of Postmodernity.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Held, D. and McGrew, A. (eds) (2000) *The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate,* second edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Knight, J. (2002) 'Trade creep: implications of HATS for higher education policy'. *International Higher Education,* 28, 4.

Labaree, D. (1997) *How to Succeed in School Without Really Learning.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

MacIntyre, A. (1981) *After Virtue.* London: Duckworth.

Marginson, S. (2003) 'The phenomenal rise in degrees down under'. *Change,* May–June: 1–7.

OECD (1996) *Lifelong Learning for All.* Paris: OECD.

OECD (2000) *Gender and Economic Development: The Work of Diane Elson.* Paris: OECD. At: www.oecd.org/LongAbstracts/0,2546.

Pennycook, A. (1999) 'Development, culture and language: ethical concerns in a postcolonial world'. Presented to Fourth International Conference on Language and Development, October 19 1999. At: www.languages.ait.ac.th/hanoi_ proceedings/ pennycook.htm.

PISA (2005) *Program of International Student Assessment.* At: www.pisa.oecd.org/ pages/0,2987,en.

Plomp, T., Anderson, R., Law, N. and Quale, A. (2003) *Technology Education: Cross-National Information and Communication Technology Policy and Practices in Education.* Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing.

Rizvi, F. (2005) 'International education and the production of cosmopolitan identities'. *Research in Higher Education, International Series 9,* Hiroshima, Japan: 77–92.

Sassen, S. (1991) *The Global City: New York, London and Tokyo.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Scharito, T. and Webb, J. (2003) *Understanding Globalization.* London: Sage.

Scholte, J. (2000) *Globalization: A Critical View.* London: St Martin's Press.

Smith, M. (2000) *Transnational Urbanization: Locating Globalization.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Strange, S. (1996) *The Retreat of the State.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

TIMMS (2005) *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study.* At: http://nces. ed.gov/timss.

Tollefson, J. (1991) *Planning Language, Planning Equality: Language Policy in the Community*. New York: Longman.

UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948–1998. At: www.un.org/overview/rights.html.

UN (2004) *Human Development Report 2004.* New York: United Nations. At: http://hdr. undp.org/.

UNESCO (2001) *All for Girls' Education! Why it is Important.* Paris: UNESCO. At: http:// portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php.

UNESCO (2002) *Building the Capacities of Curriculum Specialists for Educational Reform,* Final Report of the Regional Seminar, Vientiane, Lao PDR, September 9–13, 2002. Paris: UNESCO.

World Bank (2004) *Gender and Development.* Washington, DC: The World Bank.

2 Diversity and multicultural education

Cross-cutting issues and concepts

Gajendra K. Verma

> The fundamental change that is necessary is the recognition that the problem facing the education system is not how to educate children of ethnic minorities, but how to educate all children – (ours) in a multiracial and multicultural society and all pupils must be enabled to understand what this means.
>
> (*The Swann Report,* DES, 1985, p. 363)

The above quotation is from the Swann Report (DES, 1985), an influential report on the education of children from ethnic minority families in the UK. Published under the title of *Education for All,* the report emphasised the need to ensure that education not only addressed the particular learning needs of young people regardless of their ethnicity, but it also emphasised the need to teach all young people how to respect ethnic and cultural differences and to accept them as part of the cultural richness of life in our modern world, and not as a threat.

Twenty years on, the messages from Swann remain vital. We live in an increasingly interdependent and globalized world, in which we work and interact with groups of different ethnicities and cultures – some beyond national borders – as well as with people of varying cultural, linguistic, and religious groups *within* the nation-state. In such a world of increasing interdependence – economically, socially and politically – multicultural education can play an important role in challenging stereotypes, prejudices and ethnocentric perspectives of both individuals and groups in national and international exchanges.

Consider a recent definition of globalization:

> Globalization results from the abolition of borders for all kinds of economic, financial and cultural activities. It affects not only the economic and financial sphere but also national cultures and services, including education. In education it leads to an increased concern for quality.
>
> (Caillods, 2003, p. 1)

Globalization confronts societies and individuals with new learning challenges that educational planners often do not know how to tackle. Paradoxically, with

globalization comes increased localization of educational enterprise. Decentralizing educational administration is the second major issue which according to Caillods (2003) has profoundly transformed planning practices. Caillods' phrase 'abolition of borders', apart from its literal meaning, also serves as a symbolic reminder of the ethnic diversity to be found within modern societies, often stemming from massive immigration since 1945.

Caillods' definition of globalization indicates two important parts of an equation, namely that it impacts not just on societies, but also on individuals. Furthermore, the reference to 'increased decentralization' occurring hand-in-hand with globalization also provides an indication of the intricacies of serving needs at both societal and individual levels, through localized provision. Finally, the 'learning challenges' posed by globalization represent ones facing policy makers and planners, teacher educators and, crucially, young people.

Ethnic diversity

Ethnic diversity is reflected in differences arising from linguistic styles, cultural and religious values and traditions which influence the behaviour, cognitive styles, attitudes and values of groups of people in a given society (Verma, 1989). The benevolent acknowledgement of ethnic diversity is not new but is accentuated by a greater political consciousness among groups wishing to retain or emphasise their identity within the country in which they now live (Gollnick and Chinn, 2002; Verma, 1989). In the UK, for example, there has been a long history of immigration over the last few centuries, yet ethnic diversity has only become 'an issue' of consequence in the wake of the large scale immigration and settlement that occurred in the 1950s to 1970s (Verma, 1986).

Differences in socio-economic status and tensions between ethnic groups have been the product of minority groups finding themselves subject to discrimination in access to employment and housing, and even sometimes to violence, and finding their life chances impaired by gross inequalities in the system (Verma, 1999).

Carl Grant (1995) argues that the concept of diversity demands the awareness, acceptance and affirmation of cultural and ethnic differences. In addition, Grant suggests that diversity promotes both the appreciation of human differences and the belief that in order for students to think critically – especially about life circumstances and opportunities that directly or indirectly impact their lives and the lives of their family members, community and country – they must affirm both *social* diversity (cultural pluralism) and *human* diversity.

It is interesting that Grant makes the distinction between the social and the human dimensions of diversity. He does so, it would appear, because of a legitimate concern about the individual, especially in an ethnically diverse society. He suggests that the term 'at risk', used in the report *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), had subsequently been used, not to refer to the 'nation', but to those students, 'who are most often of color and poor and whose first language isn't English' (Grant, 1995, p. 4). One of the effects of this is negative stereotyping. He later asserts that certain characteristics of student

diversity (such as colour, language, ethnicity, and socio-economic class) can label an individual as a potential educational winner or loser.

> The term often sticks to a student and clouds teachers' perceptions of that person as he or she moves through the grades. Finally, whether or not the student needs a great deal of assistance, the 'at risk' label ... can bring forth a self-fulfilling prophecy.
>
> (Grant, 1995, p. 11)

I would argue that this is not a phenomenon that is unique to American society. It is one that has considerable universality, certainly as far as ethnically diverse societies are concerned. Rivlin and Fraser (1995) remind us of the importance of approaching people in such ethnically diverse societies on an individual basis. Individual differences are not simply a matter of one's ethnicity. Regardless of ethnic origins, every individual reflects in his or her lifestyle, the socio-economic class of which the person is a part. 'This is not to say that all lower-class, upper-class or middle-class persons are carbon copies of one another – but it is to recognize the influence of social class on the individual' (Rivlin and Fraser, 1995, p. 375). The social class element is a factor of increasing relevance in multicultural societies in which ethnic groups are well-established, with an ever-increasing proportion being of working age, born and educated in the country of settlement, rather than born overseas.

Multicultural education

Multicultural education should not be considered simply as something that ought to permeate the education of young people, not just as another requirement that we place on schools and on further and higher education institutions, but as reflecting a set of values which inform all social institutions. Key to the implementation of multicultural education are the recognition and acceptance of the right of different cultural groups to exist and share equally in the differential rewards of social institutions (Gollnick and Chinn, 2002).

   Two broad strategies are required in the planning and provision of multicultural education in a plural society. By 'plural society', I mean a society that respects and accommodates ethnic differences and in which there is equality of opportunity, regardless of an individual's origins. The first strategy relates to the philosophy that should underpin the work in all schools and institutions. The second relates to particular educational provision made to meet particular educational needs of children and young people from different ethnic minority groups. Neither strategy can be effective without the other (Verma, 1993).

   This second strategy is one employed in schools where a significant proportion of the student population is of ethnic minority origin. In Britain, such schools are all too often located in the most socially-economically disadvantaged urban areas, especially the inner city ones. Very often too, teachers face the greatest challenges, not just because of ethnic diversity among their students, but also because

of the hardships and prejudice experienced by their families, and because of poorly resourced schools and large classes. Furthermore, apart from poor physical resources, such schools may face real staff recruitment problems, with a high staff turnover, and a high proportion of newly-qualified and relatively inexperienced teachers. While there may be the need for special provision to provide extra support for children from ethnic minority families, especially those who have recently arrived in the country, such provision cannot be considered to represent all that a true multicultural education requires. It might provide some alleviation, but it alone cannot provide the basis for a long-term solution.

The 'Education for All' recommended by the Swann Report (DES, 1985) was the product of a widely recognised need for social justice and for equality of opportunity. In the UK context, this meant finding a way to prepare *all* children and adolescents for life in a multicultural society. Although this provided the broad philosophical framework for addressing equality of opportunity and social justice, the Committee proposed a number of more specific measures designed to alleviate the disadvantages experienced in school by students from minority groups. These included addressing scholastic underachievement (especially of students from Bangladeshi, Afro-Caribbean, and Pakistani backgrounds). There were also elements in the Education for All philosophy propounded by the Swann Report that were closely related to inclusiveness, and one which was also part of the philosophy of the Warnock Report (1978) into provision for children with special needs.[1] Elements of such a philosophy ought to underpin formal education provision in any civilised country.

The first strategy required is one aimed at preparing people to cope with diversity, so that they do not feel challenged by or feel 'under threat' from ethnic/cultural diversity: thus the dominant groups should come both to understand and respect value systems that differ from their own.

The second strategy offers measures that are responsive to the needs of groups/individuals who are experiencing disadvantages in the education system, as a result of being brought up in a culture that is some way distant from the mainstream culture. Within the school system, the objective is to provide children from different cultural backgrounds with access to the same personal opportunities as those from main cultural groups. This may necessitate some bilingual support in key transition phases. The goal of multicultural education should not simply be to recognise and appreciate cultural diversity as practised in most western democratic societies, for this can amount to mere tokenism. People must understand the significance of a culture's history and tradition as part of the dynamic and multifaceted culture of any contemporary society. The education system therefore ought to develop curricula and pedagogies that integrate and understand cultural process and cultural continuity, and changes within a framework of the complex national identity of a plural society.

The delivery of effective multicultural education is heavily dependent on the quality and training of the teaching force recruited to deliver it (Verma, 1993). It is sometimes argued that multicultural education strategies may reduce the present inequality which exists within the education system. Yet when analyzed at the

macro level, many of the factors contributing to inequality transcend the boundaries of the education system itself, and reflect socio-economic inequalities of society. Most Western European states claim, and probably believe that they espouse, equality – thinking of it as a central pillar of their law and administration. Unfortunately, however, arguments can readily be adduced to show that this is not so. It can be argued that states, by their laws and administrative processes, are concerned to ensure the perpetuation of inequality so that those who have, retain their privileges and those who have not, continue to be deprived of them. Such an arrangement serves the social stability of the state well. In Britain social class divisions and the unequal division of wealth, with many ethnic minorities being 'the poorest of the poor', means that schools serving ethnic minorities struggle with lack of resources, larger classes, and impermanence of teaching staff (see Bagley's critique of the British educational system in the final chapter of this volume).

Teacher education

The Swann Report (DES, 1985) was the work of a public committee of inquiry set up by the UK government to investigate the education of children from ethnic minority families. Among the report's findings were a number of failings on the part of the teaching profession in addressing the needs of children from ethnic minority families. Research evidence, various reports and the findings of the Swann Report clearly show that the factors contributing to underachievement of ethnic minority pupils are:

- stereotyped attitudes in teachers;
- low expectations among teachers;
- a eurocentric/anglocentric curriculum;
- biased assessment and testing procedures;
- poor communications between school and home;
- racism in the educational system;
- racial prejudice and discrimination in society at large.

(Pumfrey and Verma, 1993)

Teacher education needs not only to focus on the classroom, that is, on the 'mechanics' of teaching and learning, but also on the impact of these on classroom interaction. Teaching–learning processes are not culturally neutral, but are heavily value-laden (Verma, 1993). This has an important bearing not only on what is taught and on how effectively it is taught, but it also has an important bearing on how students perceive themselves, their fellow students and others around them. It is important that teachers understand more about how the cultural messages, implicit in their teaching processes, affect students from diverse backgrounds.

There is a moral obligation implicit in the task of teacher education to consider how best to prepare teachers to work in schools so that they will be:

- conscious of the ethnically and culturally diverse nature of the societies they live in;
- capable of recognizing their own prejudices;
- able to identify discrimination in others and in the institutions they work in;
- prepared to act as agents of change in the education of a diverse and pluralistic, but harmonious, society.

There is some evidence to suggest that many, if not most, trainee teachers have quite well-formed ambitions of the kinds of schools they wish to teach in, the priorities they have in seeking to develop young minds, and the kinds of youngsters they intend to work with. However, as maturing young adults undergoing a course of professional preparation, it is reasonable to expect these intentions to be subject to change and refinement.

A teacher education course should take account of the needs of a teacher to:

- be equipped to prepare young people for a life in a multicultural and harmonious society;
- have an awareness and understanding of racism, both historically and in contemporary society, and to be conscious of the various forms in which racism manifests itself;
- have an awareness of intercultural relations and of their social and economic contexts;
- be able to teach with sensitivity and skill, recognising the particular needs of ethnic minority students;
- interact effectively with colleagues in the institutional framework in relation to these issues.

Also, it is important that these issues permeate the *whole* training curriculum, and that they are not simply 'added on' to the training package, nor merely offered as an optional study module.

From a multicultural education perspective, teacher training programmes need to achieve the following:

- to raise the awareness of students in their critical approach to cultural bias, prejudice, racism and stereotyping in teaching schemes, school texts and other teaching materials, and the ways in which they are used;
- to adopt an approach to all subjects in the school curriculum which avoids an ethnocentric view of the world;
- to recognise the values of teaching which identify and acknowledge effectively the aspirations of all students, and seek to enhance their chances of maximizing their potential;
- to prepare all elements of the course with multicultural and anti-racist considerations, in both theoretical and practical components;
- to identify and use effective strategies for working with students whose mother tongue is not the language of instruction.

Objectives such as these derive their legitimacy from the ideals of a true Education for All. All students should arrive at an awareness of the cultural identity and belief systems of different ethnic groups, with at least a critical respect for their values. This should be regarded as being of personal benefit to them as individuals and as essential for a humane and just society. Without this awareness, and without an understanding of how racism operates to their disadvantage, young people intending to be teachers are not adequately equipped to guide and help form the attitudes of children and adolescents as they prepare them for life in the society in which they are growing up.

Moreover, in this age of globalization, with its implications for migration and increasingly complex ethnic diversity and competition in many societies, it is important to recognise that multicultural education embraces not only a local perspective, but also has worldwide implications (see, for example, the comparative study of teacher training for multicultural awareness in the UK, Finland, Greece, Germany, France and Israel described below).

Such issues place very heavy demands on teachers. Among the complex tasks teachers face, they must be able to recognise racism and ethnocentrism, counter it in their teaching, and design new curricula that deal creatively with the controversies in the competition between shared values, and plural ways of seeing the world.

> Furthermore, educators cannot operate effectively without multiple partnerships. These enable them to draw on the skills of parents and the community to assist in diversifying the curriculum, affirming diversity rather than ignoring or devaluing it, and improving social relations between students.
>
> (Hickling-Hudson, 2003, p. 5)

Densmore (1995), writing of America, draws attention to the purpose of multicultural education, and reminds us that there is still much to do before it permeates the whole education system, a necessary pre-condition for creating a system that offers equality of opportunity for all students: 'Even though conservative critics have recently been trying to create the impression that ethnic-centered curricula have been imposed in schools nationwide, in fact, changes in the ethnic diversification of curriculum content are not yet widespread' (Densmore, 1995, p. 490). Multicultural education is intended, in Densmore's model, to affirm the worth and dignity of those students who have been historically marginalized.

Teacher education and technology

Research supported by the European Union has investigated the effectiveness of Web-based learning and tuition in helping train both student and qualified teachers in order to enhance their intercultural understanding, and their teaching strategies for working in multicultural classrooms. Quite apart from being able to access materials from the Web, those following such programmes have also been encouraged to engage in dialogue with fellow trainees in other European countries.

The *Immigration as a Challenge for Settlement Policies and Education: Evaluation Studies for Cross-Cultural Teacher Training* (ECT) project involved a

partnership between teacher training institutions in Finland, Israel, France, Germany, Greece, and the UK (Pitkänen *et al.*, 2002, 2006). Another partnership between Finland, Germany and the UK completed a further experimental programme, building on the lessons learnt from the evaluation for cross-cultural teacher training (ECT) project. These EU-funded projects made extensive use of the Web to facilitate cross-cultural communication between student teachers in the participating countries.

The overriding lesson to be learnt from such projects is the fact that in an increasingly globalized world it is now possible to offer new opportunities in teacher education for multicultural societies. Technology makes it possible to bring together trainee and practising teachers and to encourage them to engage in dialogue with colleagues in other parts of the world, from their own homes, while offering support materials and tutorial help and support through the same electronic medium. Use of the Web creates new learning opportunities with a multifaceted interface: access to tutors, as well as other trainees on the same programme, but working in a different cultural context, seeking to enhance their intercultural understanding. This work is generating new dialogues, and facilitating understanding across cultures.

The European Union is not alone in making such developments possible. A 2002 UNESCO seminar on Open and Distance Learning (ODL) emphasised to its delegates that they would '"have an important role in achieving the great vision which motivates UNESCO's work, the vision of a world in which everyone can get an education", the vision of Education for All' (D'Antoni, 2003).

Ethnic diversity, and multicultural education are not challenges that face particular areas of the world only, but need to be recognised as *global* ones. While we may accept that challenges may vary in intensity from area to area (both nationally and regionally) because of local politico-cultural circumstances, their impact is global.

Conclusions

One of the effects of globalization is a form of 'cultural reductionism'. This appears to be a product of an increasingly global media (especially advertising and the pop culture) that increasingly penetrates our lives. This presents a challenge to the existing cultural frames within which modern societies operate, and to the values we hold. The younger generation seems most susceptible to the pressures of a superficial international popular culture. Over twenty-five years ago, in a book calling on French academics to fight to preserve the French language and culture in the face of the pressures of the English-speaking world, Gobard (1976, p. 122) referred scathingly to the risk of, 'Peoples in their infinite diversity becoming transformed into a horde of customers in the same international supermarket' (translated from the French).

Globalization poses considerable challenges, not least as far as education and influence upon the young in ethnically diverse societies, is concerned. In this, technological progress is a two-edged sword. The one edge offers new opportunities for peoples to meet and interact on a scale that was previously impossible.

This is so, whether we sit at our computers and explore the Internet, a minor cultural revolution in itself, or whether through the opportunities for travel now available to more people than ever before.

However, ever-increasing globalization of capitalist enterprises might well contribute to inequalities in the treatment and life chances of different sectors of the population in any societies stratified by ethnicity and social class. Increasingly, there will be additional pressures on national education systems to provide minimum-level, transferable skill training for sectors of young people who are useful for international capitalism. In ethnically diverse societies, tensions may become acute when these educational policies are not applied even-handedly, favouring the more privileged ethnic groups. Hence it is all the more important that the education system plays its full part in tackling inequalities. Hernes and Martin (2003) argue that education has both the potential of either easing or exacerbating ethnic conflict through the way it is organized and delivered to different ethnic groups:

> School is where life's chances are distributed – often unequally – and thus may either favour or hamper the social mobility of different ethnic groups. School is also the place where 'socially constructed' attitudes towards other ethnic groups may be formed or reassessed and its functioning thus determines the rules of ethnic interaction.
>
> (Hernes and Martin, 2003, p. 1)

Otherwise, there is a risk of internal unrest, which may further jeopardise the capacity of national governments to attract the inward investment needed to remain competitive and to offer good standards of living for all sectors of the local population. Thus there is an economic imperative that stands alongside the moral one. Educators must ensure that they offer the very best education possible for *all* young people regardless of their ethnic background, and wherever they live. Education can play an important role in leading the battle against inequality (Verma, 1993):

> Education in the twenty-first century can become an essential contributor to integration, to a culture of peace, and to international understanding. Through this we can assure respect for diversity, whether diversity of behaviour, or diversity of philosophical or religious belief.
>
> (Verma, 1997, p. 337)

Notes

1 Ironically, Warnock (2005) has argued that the principles of inclusion that she advocated have not been fulfilled, to the extent that Britain now stands in violation of the UNESCO Salamanca Statement principles on equal and fair treatment of pupils with 'special educational needs'.

References

Caillods, F. (2003) 'The changing role of the state: new competencies for planners'. *International Institute for Educational Planning Newsletter,* 21, 2.

D'Antoni, S. (2003) 'Open and distance learning: technology is the answer but what was the question?' *International Institute for Educational Planning Newsletter,* 21, 14.

Densmore, K. (1995) 'An interpretation of multicultural education and its implications for school–community relationships'. In Grant, C. (ed.) *Educating for Diversity: An Anthology of Multicultural Voices.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

DES (1985) *Education for All: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Group (The Swann Report).* London: HMSO Department of Education and Science, Cmnd 9453.

Gobard, H. (1976) *L'Aliénisation Linguistique: Analyse Tetralogique.* France: Flammarion.

Gollnick, D. M. and Chinn, P. (2002) *Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society.* New York: Prentice Hall.

Grant, C. A. (1995) (ed.) *Educating for Diversity: An Anthology of Multicultural Voices.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon (sponsored by the Association of Teacher Educators).

Hernes, G. and Martin, M. (2003) 'Planning education in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies'. *International Institute for Educational Planning Newsletter,* 21, 1.

Hickling-Hudson, A. (2003) 'Teacher education for cultural diversity and social justice'. *International Institute for Educational Planning Newsletter,* 21, 5.

National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983) *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative of Educational Reform.* Washington DC: US Government Printing Office.

Pitkänen, P., Verma, G. K. and Kalekin-Fishman, D. (2002) (eds) *Education and Immigration: Settlement Policies and Current Challenges.* London: Routledge-Falmer.

Pitkänen, P., Verma, G. K., and Kalekin-Fishman, D. (2006) (eds) *Increasing the Multicultural Understanding of Student Teachers in Europe.* Oxford: Trafford Press (for The Manchester Educational Research Network).

Pumfrey, P. and Verma, G. K.(1993) (eds) *Cultural Diversity and the National Curriculum:* Vol. 1 – *The Foundation Subjects and RE in Secondary Schools.* London: The Falmer Press.

Rivlin, H. N., and Fraser, D. M. (1995) 'Ethnic labeling and mislabeling'. In Grant, C. (ed.) *Educating for Diversity: An Anthology of Multicultural Voices.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Verma, G. K. (1986) *Ethnicity and Educational Attainment.* London: Macmillan.

Verma, G. K. (1989) (ed.) *Education for All: A Landmark in Pluralism.* London: The Falmer Press.

Verma, G. K. (1993) (ed.) *Inequality and Teacher Education: An International Perspective.* London: The Falmer Press.

Verma, G. K. (1997) 'Inequality and intercultural education'. In Woodrow, D., Verma, G., Rocha-Trindada, M., Campani, G. and Bagley, C. (eds) *Intercultural Education: Theories, Policies, and Practice.* Aldershot: Ashgate, England.

Verma, G. K. (1999) 'Inequality and education: implications for the psychologist'. *Education and Child Psychology,* 16, 6–16.

Warnock, M. (1978) *Children and Young People with Special Educational Needs.* London: HMSO.

Warnock, M. (2005) *Special Educational Needs: A New Look.* London: The Philosophy of Education Society.

Part II

Inclusive education: conceptual issues

3 Barriers to student access and success

Is inclusive education an answer?[1]

Madan Mohan Jha

Introduction

The principle of basic education as a human right has been accepted internationally. However, the experience in many developing countries shows that a large number of children are not able to complete the minimum number of school years. They face a variety of barriers before coming to school and even within the school. Does 'inclusive education' offer a solution? This chapter attempts a response to this question by analyzing the origin, concept and practices of inclusive education, and also the nature of barriers which children, particularly those at risk and from the disadvantaged sections, have to confront when they want to access school education.

Origin of the concept 'inclusive education'

The 'Salamanca Statement' adopted at the 1994 World Conference on Special Needs Education*: Access and Quality* urged all governments to: 'Adopt as a matter of law and policy the principles of *inclusive education,* enrolling all children in regular schools, unless there are compelling reasons for doing otherwise' (UNESCO, 1994, Salamanca Statement, p. ix).

There are two distinct perspectives on inclusive education. First are those emerging largely from the developed countries; and second are those referring to the felt need and circumstances prevailing in the developing world. In richer developed countries, education is largely inclusive of girls, the disadvantaged, and all ethnic minorities. Children challenged by disabilities, sensory, cognitive and physical, were previously educated in separate 'special' schools, but are now being recommended for admission to regular schools with an inclusive orientation. Discourse on inclusive education in developed countries mostly centres on the extension of special education, or at most a reform of special educational practice. The underlying approach in this perspective has been the assumption that children's disabilities are due to medical factors that need to be addressed in order to adapt them for the conventionally organized school, its curriculum and pedagogy.

However, a plethora of critical literature has emerged recently, re-examining the concept of inclusive education from an educational reform perspective.

Schools in this critical perspective should respond and adapt to the needs of *all* children, regardless of gender, physical, cognitive and sensory needs, ethnicity, and religious and cultural background, and fit themselves to children's learning styles and needs, and not the other way round. Ferguson (1996), Udvari-Solner (1996), Thomas *et al.* (1998), Ainscow (1999) and Mittler (2000) have extensively discussed the school reform perspective in order to develop the concept and practice of inclusive education.

Sebba and Ainscow (1996) have offered the following definition of inclusion:

> Inclusion describes the process by which a school attempts to respond to all pupils as individuals by reconsidering its curricular organization and provision. Through this process, the school builds its capacity to accept all pupils from the local community who wish to attend and, in so doing, reduces the need to exclude pupils.
>
> (p. 9)

The presumption in this definition is that most students from the local community would 'wish to attend' the neighbourhood regular schools. Those who do not may be going either to special schools or to private (including boarding) schools. In the UK, some seven per cent of pupils attend private schools of one kind or another.

Inclusion in developing countries

Developing countries demand a different approach to the concept of inclusive education. In such countries a high proportion of children may rarely attend school, or leave primary education prematurely, for a range of reasons including social and economic disadvantage. The 1994 UNESCO World Conference also understands this situation when it argues that a school should accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, linguistic or other conditions. This should include disabled and gifted, street and working children, children from remote or nomadic populations, children from linguistic, ethnic, or cultural minorities and children from other disadvantaged or marginalized areas and groups (UNESCO, 1994, pp. 11–12).

These inclusive schools: must recognize and respond to the diverse needs of their students, accommodating both different styles of learning and ensuring quality education to all through appropriate curricula, organizational arrangements, teaching strategies, resource use and partnerships with their communities (ibid.).

Special educational needs

From the UNESCO 'Salamanca Statement' and the 'Framework for Action on Special Needs Education' (1994) there does not appear to be any ambiguity in regard to approach and perspectives on inclusive education. Some confusion presumably has arisen, however, from the terminology 'special needs education' used

for the title of the world conference, leading to the Framework for Action 'on principles, policy and practice in special needs education'. A similar term, and the concept 'special educational needs' or SEN was introduced in Britain by the Report of the Warnock Committee (1978), later enshrined in The Education Act of 1981 as follows:

> A child has 'special educational needs' if he/she has a learning difficulty, which calls for special educational provision to be made for him/her. A child has learning difficulty if she/he: (a) has significantly greater difficulty in learning than the majority of children of the same age; (b) has a disability which either prevents or hinders the child from making use of educational facilities of a kind generally provided for children of the same age in schools within the area of the local authority.
>
> <div align="right">(See Jha, 2002, p. 64)</div>

The SEN concept represented some progress on educating children with disabilities in the UK, which earlier was mostly in separate schools of poor quality, as a matter of policy. Warnock abolished the eleven categories of special educational need which existed at the time, but increased the proportion of children needing special educational treatment from two per cent to twenty per cent. She considered a variety of factors that might contribute to learning difficulties, but was 'forbidden to count social deprivation as in any way contributing to educational needs' (Clough and Corbett, 2000, p. 4). In developing countries such as India, the aspects of social and economic deprivation cannot be ignored, and indeed in many developing countries a majority of children may be said to have special educational needs. The concept of SEN and identification of children with special educational needs under a statutory code of practice has been criticized by a number of commentators and educationists in Britain on a variety of grounds (Tomlinson, 1982; Galloway *et al.*, 1994; Vlachou, 1997; Booth *et al.*, 1998; Mittler, 2000).

Mittler (2000) sees the identification of children with 'special educational needs' as labelling and discriminatory. Ainscow (1999) sees the very concept of 'special educational needs' as a barrier to inclusion. Mittler argues:

> I think the concept of special educational needs, particularly as it is seen in this country [UK] becomes another barrier. I don't think it has a productive contribution to make to the inclusive education agenda. If anything, it is one of the barriers to moving forward.

The Salamanca Framework for Action did refer to a move from the term 'special educational needs' to 'inclusive education' when it concluded:

> In the context of this Framework, the term 'special educational needs' refers to all those children and youth whose needs arise from disabilities or learning difficulties ... There is an emerging consensus that children and youth

with special educational needs should be included in the educational arrangements made for the majority of children. This has led to the concept of the inclusive school.

(UNESCO, 1994, p. 6)

However, without significant changes in the policies and curricular arrangements in the schools including those in the West, the ultimate objectives of inclusive education cannot be achieved. Tomlinson comments on this difficulty:

There is considerable anxiety that despite rhetoric of inclusive education, education policies in developed countries continue to ensure that vulnerable and disadvantaged groups are often excluded from the forms of education regarded as most valuable, and from gaining qualifications that can be exchanged for good employment, income and security. There is, in particular, a growing awareness that creating competitive markets in education, with schools competing for the most desirable pupils and resources, is incompatible with inclusive education.

(Tomlinson in Foreword to Jha, 2002)

The World Conference on Special Needs Education (1994) noted the need for reforms in school education, in both developing and developed countries:

Special Needs Education – an issue of equal concern for countries of the North and South ... has to perform part of an overall educational strategy and, indeed, of new social and economic policies. It calls for major reform of the ordinary school.

(UNESCO, 1994, pp. iii–iv)

Barriers in schools

There are walls between schools and children before they get enrolled; they face walls with curriculum inside classrooms; and finally 'they face more walls when they have to take examinations which determine how successful they will be in life' (Jha, 2002). On walls and barriers confronting school systems today, it is further observed:

Removing barriers and bringing *all* children together in school irrespective of their physical and mental abilities, or social and economic status, and securing their participation in learning activities leads to the initiation of the process of inclusive education. Once walls within schools are broken, schools move out of their boundaries, end isolation and reach out to the communities. The distance between formal schools, non-formal schools, special schools and open schools will be eliminated.

(Jha, 2002, pp. 15–16)

At most, school systems are confronting two types of barriers, external and internal. Children face external barriers before coming to and getting enrolled in schools. The nature of such barriers could be the physical location of schools, social stigmatization or the economic conditions of children. Sometimes non-availability of a school or its location in areas that cannot be accessed can become the major barrier for children seeking education. Children with physical, cognitive or sensory challenges face barriers if the building has not been constructed with their mobility needs in mind.

Schools offer a variety of reasons, particularly in countries which do not have strong neighbourhood school policies adapting to local needs, for rejecting admission of students whom they perceive to be difficult or unpleasant to teach, for reasons ranging from their alleged behavioural or disruptive problems to their unpopular ethnicity. In Europe for example, Gypsy and Roma children are frequently rejected by schools on the grounds that they are difficult to teach, slow to learn, and will soon move on. Exclusion of undesirable children by fees, examinations and administrative fiat is likely in educational systems where there is a strong private element, even when such schools are partially funded by the state. In India for example, forty-six per cent of secondary schools are private but are also state-aided, and their inclusion policies are often erratic and idiosyncratic. It takes a degree of political maturity for a country to organize education on a neighbourhood basis so that comprehensive schools admit all permanent and temporary (e.g. Roma) residents of the neighbourhood, and retain pupils without the need for expulsion or exclusion.

Children face barriers within schools and classrooms because of curriculum factors and teaching methodologies. Those who are visibly different can be isolated within schools, and even relegated to different classrooms in order to receive discriminatory treatment. In England, under the existing policy more than twenty per cent of children are identified through 'statements', a dossier of alleged problem behaviours, achievement failures, and the special demands such a child may place upon overworked teachers who have to service large classes. Statemented children are particularly likely to be excluded from schools in Britain. In developing countries too, the curriculum is not child-friendly, but relies on strict discipline and didactic style by the teacher, who is given no training or incentive to be flexible to the needs of individual children.

The realization is coming in many countries, such as the economically developing countries of east and south Asia that the present system of school organization and its associated curriculum may not be able to cope with the demands of globalization for a highly educated and flexible work force. A *Time Magazine* survey of east Asian schools (Beech, 2002) found that:

> Japan is completing its radical (educational) restructuring, abolishing Saturday classes, encouraging volunteerism and allowing schools to experiment with different curricula; Taiwan is scrapping its university entrance exam system in favor of a more holistic approach that considers grades, essays

and extracurricular activities, and South Korea is picking up a third of incoming college students not based on their test scores but for their unique talents.

These innovative educational models have yet to be adopted by India. Examination scores judge, in a rather arbitrary manner, success in the present model of schooling in India. This model of selection is a barrier for many promising students:

> Examinations also drive out many children, particularly the rural, the disadvantaged and the disabled, out of school. It is a great filtering mechanism. It suits the system, since only a select few students, largely from the urban middle class, get high scores, thanks to the system of tuitions and coaching, in order to get admission into higher academic institutions, which have limited seats.
>
> (Jha, 2002)

Inclusion: a solution to barriers which prevent success?

Inclusive schools are designed with a vision and principle that believe in the culture of rights, social justice and equity. The concept is that all children are not the same, and it accepts diversity as a strength, and not a problem. It believes in a basic pedagogy which asserts that children learn in different ways, and relates success more to the learning of life and social skills, than scoring high marks in narrowly defined examination curricula. The admission policy of such schools would accept children from a diverse community rather than rejecting them on the grounds of test scores, or other physical, social and economic factors.

Inclusive schools offer flexible curricula that would respond to the diverse needs of children. Child-centred pedagogy, and the application of Gardner's (1993) Multiple Intelligence (MI) principles, are other major departures from traditionalism that inclusive schools will follow. The UNESCO Framework has again highlighted the need of child-centred pedagogy:

> The challenge confronting the inclusive school is that of developing a child-centred pedagogy capable of successfully educating all children, including those who have serious disadvantages and disabilities. The merit of such schools is not that they are capable of providing quality education to all children; their establishment is a crucial step in helping to change discriminatory attitudes, in creating welcoming communities and in developing an inclusive society.
>
> (UNESCO, 1994, p. 6)

Traditional schools offer scope for the use of only two types of intelligence – linguistic and logical–mathematical learning styles. This singular approach can create learning barriers for many children, particularly those belonging to the first generation to be schooled, and members of various minority groups. Gardner

(1993) has identified seven types of intelligence: linguistic or verbal; logical–mathematical; spatial or visual; musical; kinaesthetic; interpersonal; and intra-personal. Schools encouraging the identification of these different intellectual styles, and fostering a child's talents over multiple intellectual styles, should be able to remove unseen and internal barriers that children face in traditional schools.

Inclusive schools use a variety of innovative practices to get children involved and participating in learning processes. Some of the inclusion strategies I propose (Jha, 2002, p. 140) are as follows:

- whole class inclusive teaching
- group/co-operative learning
- peer tutoring/child-to-child learning
- activity-based learning
- team approach/problem solving
- equity in assessment and examinations.

Inclusive education and its evolution in school systems as a process for removing barriers to access is a growing phenomenon. The strategies suggested above have been developed in many schools across different countries and also have conceptual and pedagogical backing. However, it is yet to be shaped into a reform movement or as a replacement of the traditional system within a country or state.

Quality with equity

There is one more dimension to the inclusion concept. It addresses the issues of quality in consonance with equity. In traditional styles of schooling quality and excellence are usually divorced from principles of equity of admission, teaching styles and curriculum development. The institution of the school as a public system for mass education has its origin in the industrial era, and was developed to create workers who could serve the first phase of globalizaton, that of preparation for colonial supremacy, and the domination of capitalist modes of production. This model of education serves the interests of social control over the masses, and still exists in many parts of Europe and Asia. Schools borrowed ideologies and vocabularies from industry, with ideas of 'performance', 'standard', 'quality control through testing' and so forth. In the information age schools adapt their curricula to serve the needs of global capitalism for a stable and co-operative work force. Skrtic (1991), Lipsky and Gartner (1999) and Lloyd (2000) have questioned the 'adequacy, relevance and appropriateness' of the public education system that was shaped and influenced by the needs of the industrial era, and its subsequent developments in a world of globalizing trade.

The post-industrial, modern work place based on rapid technological change and communications development requires a more collaborative, problem-solving and team-work basis. 'Collaboration means learning collaboratively with and from persons with varying interests, abilities, skills and cultural perspectives' (Skrtic, 1991). Equity, therefore, becomes a pre-condition for post-industrial era

schools. Skrtic observes further: 'The successful schools in the postindustrial era will be ones that achieve excellence and equity simultaneously – indeed ones that recognize equity as the way to excellence' (p. 223).

Open education

Open education is characterized by the removal of 'restrictions, exclusions and privileges' (Richardson, 2000). It provides an alternative curricular route to students who are not able to cope with the rigid curriculum and fixed timeframe of the traditional school system. For many students and parents, however, the alternative educational approach is a second choice, considered only when they have not been able to access the traditional school system. However, the growth of information and communication technology in recent years and its application to education is reducing the distance between open, interactive learning systems and the traditional rigidities of the more formal type of schooling. Children in regular schools are accessing information with the help of modern educational technology and the Internet. They are becoming active partners in knowledge production, as they would do in the open system. Teachers are changing their role and are becoming facilitators rather than stern dominies. Schools are becoming learning places for dialogues and exchanges.

Inclusive education in its philosophy, and also in its practice, is closer to the open education system. In India's 'national open school' for instance, students have demolished the myth that 'open school' must correspond to the mode of 'distance education', whereby students should not assemble daily at a place and teachers should not be on hand to help them. Many children with disabilities in special schools are opting for open school curricula. Such open schools are removing barriers to access for a cross section of students and are assuring success that might have been denied by the traditional school system.

Case examples of open schooling

Two schools in India have been studied closely as examples. They have addressed the issues of equity and quality simultaneously and are close to the concept of inclusive schooling, though they remain under the administration of school boards.

Loreto Day School (Sealdah – Kolkata) is affiliated with the West Bengal State School Board, but is unlike many other private or partially aided schools in the country. In 1979 it contained ninety poor, non-fee paying students out of a total of 790 on its roll. In 1998 the school had a roll of 1,400 students, 700 of whom were non-fee paying. These students were subsidized by the fee-paying students, sponsors and donors and by the West Bengal government. This increase in non-fee paying students stems from a vision and value system that the school has created for itself. Its other programmes include the 'Rainbow School' – a school-within-school for street children. This is not a tag-on afternoon programme to address equity issues in a token fashion, but is a structured and integral programme of curriculum development, and child-to-child teaching and learning.

The street children are individually tutored by 'regular' pupils from classes Five to Ten as part of their work experience. Many 'rainbow children' succeed in becoming enrolled in regular schools, and others have found secure jobs. The school runs many other programmes and activities to reach out to the community.

> Loreto challenges a fixed view of school and its structures by seeking to live out a set of values which continually challenges parents, teachers and pupils of the school to build an outward looking community, to be flexible, and to live in simplicity ... flexibility places utmost value on people ... simplicity places the resources at Loreto's disposal in the broader context ... it therefore stands against acquisitiveness, consumerism and the trappings of modern life in favor of valuing people and relationships.
>
> (Jessop, 1998)

The school has also maintained the conventional academic performance of its students, with fifty per cent having first class marks in the Year 12 public examinations conducted by the school board. Loreto has succeeded in breaking the conventional mindset that creates barriers to access by poor students, as well as the structural features (e.g. fees) which bar entry. There is an expectation that all students can succeed, regardless of their status or social origins. 'There are lessons for all schools, worldwide, rich and poor, in the boundary breaking strategies which Loreto has adopted to maximize its resources' (ibid.).

There are many schools in Kolkata and other projects in India which bring better-off children face to face with children of economically poor parents, though not to the extent and manner that Loreto does. The point made is that breaking the barriers to access need not be an isolated strategy but could become a systemic strategy to bring inclusion, equity and redefined quality as a wider vision of education.

St. Mary's School in New Delhi developed an inclusion policy with the admission of Komal Ghosh, a student with severe cerebral palsy, who was earlier in a special school. 'Komal's presence helped school become more humane,' said the Principal. Since then the school has opened its gates to other types of children with disabilities, along with orphans, and economically poor students. Priority in admission is given to neighbourhood students and all children learn together in the same classroom. Teachers have evolved a variety of teaching methodologies to involve children in a variety of learning activities, both group and individual. The school has focused on social integration and the skills development of all students, regardless of background and handicap, and, overall, students do not have a strong profile in public examinations. Teachers meet frequently to share their experiences, seeking to develop problem-solving strategies for individuals and groups, addressing the learning needs of all children. In addition, the school has outreach programmes whereby it helps children and adults from underprivileged groups to achieve literacy and other skills. These two examples suggest that adoption of the inclusion process by schools can develop in natural ways that can vary according to ecological setting and populations served.

As a matter of policy, Indian law requires that children with disabilities be educated in regular schools as far as possible. Many schools, including some private schools, are following this policy by giving admission to these children. But, in the absence of a vision and orientation, children get isolated in schools and many times are segregated in special units. Even when they are in mainstream classes they can be ignored, especially when the class is very large, the teacher has no aides and no training or structural support for programmes of inclusive education. The concept of inclusion, initiated as an educational policy for all children, must go beyond the idea of special education, particularly when one addresses policy development in developing countries. Inclusive education takes into its fold the vulnerable, and children at risk for whom access is not just a question of physical availability of space in schools and services of teachers; the success of such programmes is not measured merely by success in public examinations.[2]

Conclusion

Barriers to access can be viewed in physical as well as structural terms. But more than that, it is the curriculum, the pedagogy, the examination and the school's approach, which create barriers. Unless these unseen barriers are taken care of, access for all children and an assurance of success for all will remain an unachieved goal. The inclusive education movement, combined with technological developments and new approaches to open schooling, has come at a crucial time. Countries, and school systems choosing a holistic approach to access and success are more likely to succeed in reaching Education for All.

Notes

1   Updated version of a paper presented to the Commonwealth of Learning Conference, Durban, South Africa (June, 2002). At the time of writing the author was a joint secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Human Resource Development. Views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the Government of India.
2   For a detailed account of inclusive education practices and policies in three New Delhi schools, see Jha (2006).

References

Ainscow, M. (1999) *Understanding the Development of Inclusive Schools.* London: Falmer.
Beech, H. (2002) 'School daze'. *Time Magazine,* 159, No. 14, April 15th, 2002.
Booth, T., Ainscow, M. and Dyson, A. (1998) 'England: inclusion and exclusion in a competitive system'. In Booth, T. and Ainscow, M. (eds) *From Them to Us: An International Study of Inclusion in Education.* London: Routledge.
Clough, P. and Corbett, J. (2000) *Theories of Inclusive Education.* London: Chapman.
Ferguson, D. (1996) 'Is it inclusion yet? Bursting the bubbles'. In Beres, M. (ed.) *Creating Tomorrow's Schools Today: Stories from Inclusion, Change and Renewal.* New York: Teachers College Press.
Galloway, D., Armstrong D. and Tomlinson, S. (1994) *The Assessment of Special Educational Needs: Whose Problem?* London: Longman.

Gardner, H. (1993) *Frames of Mind: Theories of Multiple Intelligence.* London: Fontana.

Jessop. T. (1998) *A Model for Best Practice at Loreto Day School, Sealdah, Calcutta.* New Delhi: Education Sector Group, DfID.

Jha, M. (2002) *School Without Walls: Inclusive Education for All.* Oxford: Heinemann.

Jha, M. (2006) 'The inclusion of children with "special"educational needs in India: a case study of three schools in New Delhi*'.* Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford.

Lipsky, D. and Gartner, A. (1999) 'Inclusive education; a requirement of a democratic society'. In Daniels, H. and Garner, P. (eds) *World Yearbook of Education 1999: Inclusive Education.* London: Kogan Page.

Lloyd, C. (2000) 'Excellence for all – false promises! The failure of current policy for inclusive education and implications for schooling in the 21st century.' *International Journal of Inclusive Education,* 4, 133–151.

Mittler, P. (2000) *Working Towards Inclusive Education: Social Context.* London: Fulton.

Richardson, J. (2000) *Researching Student Learning: Approaches to Studying in Campus Based and Distance Learning.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Sebba, J. and Ainscow, M. (1996) 'International development in inclusive schooling: mapping the issues'. *Cambridge Journal of Education,* 26, 5–18.

Skrtic, T. (1991) *Behind Special Education: A Critical Analysis of Professional Culture and School Organization.* Denver: Love Publishing.

Thomas, G., Walker, D. and Webb, J. (1998) *The Making of the Inclusive School.* London: Routledge.

Tomlinson, S. (1982) *A Sociology of Special Education.* London: Routledge.

Udvari-Solner, A. (1996) 'Theoretical influences on the establishment of inclusive practices'. *Cambridge Journal of Education,* 26, 19–30.

UNESCO (1994) *The Salamanca Statement on Special Needs Education.* Paris: UNESCO.

Vlachou, A. (1997) *Struggle for Inclusive Education.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Part III

Diversity, equality and education in the United States

4 Diversity and inclusion in the United States

The dual structures that prevent equality

Carl A. Grant

Introduction

Macedo (2000) declares that "Diversity is the great issue of our time". He observes that nationalism, religious sectarianism, a heightened consciousness of gender, race and ethnicity, a greater assertiveness with respect to sexual orientations, and a reassertion of religious voices in the public square, are but a few of the forms of particularity that stubbornly refuse to yield to individualism and cosmopolitanism.

And, let me add, racism as another "form of particularity" that refuses to yield. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss diversity and inclusion in the United States, particularly in education. I begin with definitions, some history, and contextual framing of diversity and inclusion in the United States. Next, I address the conceptual perspective that I use to frame the discussion. Third, I discuss the status of diversity and inclusion in Kindergarten to Grade 12 education by pointing out how dual structures are maintained in two areas of education: school desegregation/integration and curriculum.

Definitions, historical context, and theoretical perspective

Diversity, as used in this chapter, refers to the differences among people. Although there are many differences among individuals, I am referring to group differences. Traditionally, in the United States, the national (e.g. political, media and educational) focus on group difference has been on race and ethnicity and, since the 1970s, it has included gender equity (Bem, 1993; Watkins *et al.*,1993) and disability (Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975). Currently, the discourse on group diversity is broadening, but not without opposition, to include religions other than Christian (Sacks, 2002) and sexuality **(**Kumashiro, 2002). Inclusion, as used in this chapter, is the bringing into the intra-structures of societal institutions race and ethnic groups, and other cultural groups who are located on the margins of public discourse, practice, and action. Here I am not addressing inclusion as a form of racial and cultural assimilation, but as "social participation". Social participation does not assume that those who are becoming included must assimilate into the dominant norms of society's institutions (Tinto, 1993).

Before colonial time, cultural and racial diversity was a social reality on the continent of North America where the United States is now a nation. When the Pilgrims (English Separatists) arrived in 1620 at Plymouth in New England, American Indians were living in the area. It was because of the benevolence of the American Indians that the Pilgrims were able to survive their first harsh New England winter. Diversity and inclusion was off to a good start in the "New World" and in order to show appreciation for the great deeds of the American Indians, and to celebrate the Pilgrims' accomplishment, a day of thanksgiving was proclaimed. Historians report that a major feast was held and the Pilgrims and Indians had a joyous celebration. A celebration of thanks – Thanksgiving Day, a national holiday – takes place each November in the United States to remind the nation of the occasion and the generosity of the American Indians. Thanksgiving Day, not withstanding the positive perspective on diversity and inclusion that the Pilgrims and American Indians initiated, did not last. Instead, early White Americans put in place a dual structure: one way to treat White people and another way to treat people of color.

Ringer (1983) informs us that since colonial times White America's response to and treatment of perceived "racial" minorities has had a dual character, which stressed the separateness of the races and the inferiority of Non-White peoples. This dual structure also aids and abets patterns of knowledge production within society, including the rules that frame and guide how people think and act in socially stereotyped ways. Popkewitz (1998) calls this framing and guiding "systems of reason". In the early nineteenth century, Alexis de Tocqueville observed and reported on the dual structure that existed between Whites and Non-Whites and the systems of reasoning that kept it in place. Tocqueville stated: "The prejudice rejecting the Negroes seems to increase in proportion to their emancipation and inequality cuts deep into mores as it is effaced from the laws" (Tocqueville, 1848, p. 316).

In 1903, W. E. B. DuBois made a similar but stronger observation about diversity and inclusion. DuBois (1903/1968) claimed: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line – the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea". More recently, Loury (2002) reminds us what Gunnar Myrdal had brought to our attention in 1944. Myrdal (1944) pointed out that the power in what he described as "vicious circles" of cumulative causation served as a self-sustaining process in which the failure of Blacks to make progress justified for Whites the very prejudicial attitudes that, when reflected in social and political action, served to ensure that Blacks would not advance (Myrdal, 1944).

This duality, Ringer claims, is mainly derived from the two fold process of colonization and colonialization that was generated by White Europeans' conquest and settlement of the New World. The duality, which is deeply rooted in America's past, holds firm through legal mandates and the attitude and behavior of White Americans. Governmental institutions enact and enable this duality. These institutions include the following: courts (e.g. U S Supreme Court: *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* 1896 "separate but equal" doctrine); legislative bodies (U S Congress: Exclusion

Act of 1882 and Immigration Act of 1924, denied Chinese and Japanese immigrants entrance into the United States); presidency (e.g. President Jackson's Indian removal policy that forced the Cherokees to go west of the Mississippi river and resulted in the infamous "trail of tears").

Besides governmental policy serving as an expression and instrument of duality, and reinforcing the systems of reason that keep inclusion and diversity on the margin in the United States, society's mores, customs, individual and collective attitudes, and behaviors keep in place the dual structures. For example, in 1958, not forty years ago, in the middle of the night, in the bedroom of their Virginia home, newlyweds Richard and Mildred Loving, White American man and Black American woman, woke up to blinding flashlights and police. The couple was arrested and charged with violating the ban on marriage for interracial couples. It was not until 1967, in *Loving* v. *Virginia,* that the United States Supreme Court struck down the remaining interracial marriage laws across the country and declared that the "freedom to marry" belongs to all Americans.[1]

The United States was, in legal terms, a dual society, until the following legislation was passed: *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954, which ended legal racial segregation in schools; the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which declared that discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in public establishments was prohibited; and the Voting Rights act of 1965, which declared that no citizen should be denied the right to vote based on race. Although the legal structure was struck down, the systems of reason that support the dual structure remain in place and keep progress toward diversity and inclusion moving at a slow pace.

Dual structures today

Once the legal dual structures were struck down in the 1950s and 1960s, the Civil Rights Movements of African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, Latino/a Americans and American Women pushed for structural changes to bring about equity and equality of opportunity throughout society for all people. In addition, members of the different civil rights groups demanded the inclusion of their history and culture in societal institutions, such as schools, museums, and concert halls.

Has the dual structure given way to one inclusive structure? Have diversity and inclusion been achieved by culturally and racially diverse groups and women to their full potential? Three recent articles, one in the *Washington Post* (December 5, 2004); the second in *Time Magazine* (December 13, 2004); and the third in the *New York Times* (January 14, 2005) are good barometers on the state of racial diversity and inclusion in the United States. The title of the *Washington Post* article provides the context: "In college football, a glaring disparity: only 2 Blacks among 117 head coaches". The motivation for the article was the firing of an African-American coach, Tyrone Willingham, after only three seasons at the highly respected University of Notre Dame. In Notre Dame's history, no football coach had been fired without completing the full five years of his contract. College football in the United States is a "cash cow", and a source of fun and

relaxation that also provides bragging rights for fans of teams that are victorious. Here at the University of Wisconsin, and at many college stadiums across the country on any given Saturday during football season, 80,000 or more fans paying approximately $40 per ticket (student tickets do not cost as much) are in the stands. College football coaches may make well over $1,000,000, whereas a senior professor may make $90,000 or a bit more or less. The author of the article, Liz Clarke, a *Washington Post* staff writer, makes three points in the article that are pertinent for understanding diversity and inclusion in the United States:

1   Research shows that when A1 schools (major universities) hire Black coaches, it has typically been to rebuild troubled programs. While ousted White coaches often get re-hired by rival schools, no Black coach who has been fired from an A1 school has ever gotten hired by another;
2   A reason for the back-pedalling in diversifying college coaching is the fear that donations from well-heeled boosters (university alumni) will drop off;
3   Most Blacks are hired on coaching staff as recruiting coordinators – jobs that often lead nowhere other than the rough neighborhoods that produce so many top high school prospects. This is so because they are seen to have the gift-of-the-gab and legitimism to sell the athletic program to African-American kids.

Another illustration of the status of diversity and inclusion in the United States comes from *Time Magazine. Time*'s Christopher John Farley interviewed Tavis Smiley, an African-American talk television/radio host, about leaving National Public Radio (NPR). NPR programming is designed to attract an intelligent, progressive, and well-read audience.

> *Farley:* "Why did you decide to leave NPR?"
> *Smiley* replied they had agreed on the destination they were to arrive at, but somewhere along the line NPR wavered in the journey. "Our show is the most multiracial in NPR's entire history; it has the youngest demographic of any show in NPR's history, so progress was being made. My concern was the pace the network was moving at – it wasn't fast enough."
> *Farley:* "Is it true you got angry letters from listeners when you started at NPR?"
> *Smiley:* "I can't begin to tell you the hate mail that I received when I started three years ago ... They didn't like the way I talked, the way I sounded. Because my whole style was so antithetical to what the traditional NPR listener had been accustomed to."
>
> (*Time Magazine,* December 13th, 2004, p. 8)

Tavis Smiley's departure from a public radio show illustrates that the show's producers and some of the listeners place narrow boundaries around programming which is considered to be progressive and diverse. In addition, inclusion is mainly for those who are viewed as intelligent and progressive according to the norms of White middle class culture and ways of thinking and behaving.

The final article, "*Macy's settles complaint of racial profiling of $600,000*", comes from the *New York Times.* Andrea Elliott reports that Macy's, an old established and highly respected department store, agreed to settle a $600,000 complaint over racial profiling. Racial profiling, or to be identified and victimized for a possible wrong doing because of race or ethnicity, is a common experience for many Blacks and Latinos; it indicates to them that full inclusion into the mainstream of United States society and the acceptance of multiracial diversity has yet to take place. The complaint, reported in the *New York Times,* contends that Macy's New York department stores engaged in racial profiling and the unlawful handcuffing of Black and Latino customers detained on suspicion of shoplifting. The article reports that most people detained at a sampling of Macy's twenty-nine stores around New York state were Black and Latino, a disproportionately high number when compared with the percentage of Blacks and Latinos who shopped at the stores.

Women have made considerable strides toward gender equality over the past fifty-plus years; however, they still do not have full membership in United States society (e.g. Bem, 1993; Watkins *et al.*, 1993). In the field of higher education, for example, much diversity and inclusion work remains to be done in the areas of gender discrimination, collegial inclusion, and understanding of innate ability.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology in a report of 1999 acknowledged that female faculty were victims of pervasive discrimination, and that although female faculty members have grown to 34 percent, up from 28 percent in 1975, the gap between salaries for females and males faculty actually widened during that period (Goldberg, 1999). Also, a study at Princeton University in 2003 reported that women faculty members in science and engineering feel less satisfaction and sense of inclusion than men; and although women faculty achieve tenure equal to men faculty they earn less and are not promoted as readily (Arenson, 2003). Finally, Lawrence H. Summers, the president of Harvard University, set off a fire storm within the academic community and United States society in general in January 2005. Summers suggested that the number of women in mathematics and science is less than the number of men because women may be innately less able to succeed in math and science careers (Dillon and Rimer, 2005).

Discussions about diversity and inclusion can be readily located in many discourses taking place in society, but these discussions most often show that the dual structure and the systems of reason that serve as a barrier to inclusion and diversity are firmly in place. Also some discussions about inclusion and diversity have reached the point where the concepts are trivialized. Cheryl Lieberman, a professional diversity consultant for the business community, highlights this point in addressing the attention given to diversity and inclusion within the business community (Lieberman, 2004). She observes that over the past decade, diversity and inclusion have become "the business buzzwords". The management shelf of any bookstore is filled with titles devoted to "understanding", "managing", "increasing", "building", "focusing", "working towards", "achieving", "leveraging", "exploiting", "creating", and "mastering" diversity and inclusion (Leiberman , 2004, p. 1).

Such trivialization of diversity and inclusion is another means by which the dual structure in society is maintained, thereby keeping non-White racial groups and women on the margin. When diversity and inclusion become buzzwords, or "habits" that effective managers use to monitor and arrange their employees or products, then true commitment to the hard work and coalition building still needed dissipates and then disappears. Speaking of diversity and inclusion as if they are only consultant buzzwords negates the realities that many people of color and women in the United States endure. These realities, such as many people living in poorer conditions with fewer opportunities, are negated because there is less and less space in public discourse to note this continuous lack of participation. Diversity and inclusion are just trends, not necessities for society. In addition, trivialization of diversity issues, such as that noted in the phrase "I am colorblind" seeks to offer a false norm, and overlooks a person's culture, race, and ethnicity; and seeks to maintain the status quo of a White male-dominated society (Sue, 2003).

Diversity and inclusion in education: school desegregation and curriculum

By examining two areas in education – school desegregation/integration and curriculum – one can get a reading on the status of diversity and inclusion in the United States' educational system. To begin, a brief description of the historical context of diversity and inclusion in United States education is provided. Schools in the United States have long been a site of struggle over our priorities and values as a nation and the vision of ourselves that we want to pass on to the next generation. The question of whose history, language, literature, and concepts of science and mathematics should be taught in our public schools rests principally on our perspective of diversity and our willingness to be inclusive. Also, arguments over who can and should be educated have been at the core of the nation's beliefs about diversity and inclusion. For decades after the nation was established, public schooling in the United States was not accepting of racial diversity and inclusion, and women received a second class education – one that mainly prepared them to be good home-makers.

The first 250 years or more saw every European colony in the (now) United States, and many other states which were later admitted to the Union, prohibit or stridently restrict teaching free and enslaved African Americans the fundamentals of reading and writing (Span, 2003). In 1740, South Carolina passed the first compulsory illiteracy law, making it a crime to teach enslaved African Americans. Anti-Black literacy laws were passed in many other Southern states including Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. In addition, several of these states imposed fines, public whippings, and/or imprisonment on anyone caught teaching enslaved or free African Americans how to read and write (Span, 2003). In the North, African Americans were treated somewhat better, but diversity and inclusion as practices were not supported by Whites. In Northern states, such as New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, separate schools for Black and White

were set up. A White supremacist ideology, instead of an ideology of diversity and inclusion, remained legally in place in the South until it was struck down by the US Supreme Court in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954.

Inclusion in the schools: the status of school racial desegregation

When Chief Justice Earl Warren stated for the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Brown* decision (1954) "we conclude – unanimously – that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal", Black people and other people of color believed that racial inclusion was here, or just around the corner. Such has not been the case. May 17th, 2004, marked the fiftieth anniversary of *Brown* v. *Board of Education.* The fiftieth anniversary was a time of major speeches and recognization for the following: Thurgood Marshall and other members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) legal defense team who argued the *Brown* case; Chief Justice Warren who wrote and delivered the unanimous Supreme Court decision; and many young African American students, such as Ruby Bridges who rode the buses and walked through crowds of screaming segregationists to make the judgment in the case a reality (Bridges, 1999).

However, another prevailing theme among the speeches and the published articles for the fiftieth anniversary was that *Brown* had produced "fifty years of broken promises". Geneva Gay (2004) captures the theme well in her article "The paradoxical aftermath of *Brown"*:

> Our children (and, for some, their parents and grandparents as well) have waited far too long for educational equality to become a functional reality 'at all deliberate speed'. Another 50 – or even 5 – years should not elapse with us being in the same place where we are now in equalizing educational opportunities and outcome for ethnically, racially, culturally, socially and linguistically diverse students.
>
> (p. 17)

In addition, for some African Americans, the belief that Brown will make education better for Black students and other students is rapidly fading or has faded. These people believe the dual structure, both legal and attitudinal, which historically served as a barrier to diversity and inclusion, are still very much in place. Legal decisions in such court cases as *San Antonio Independent School District* v. *Rodriguez* (1973) and in *Milliken* v. *Bradley* (1974) have not served well for diversity and inclusion within the education system. In Rodriguez, the court rejected demanding equality in educational spending. In other words, schools where students of color and of working class attend do not have to receive an equal amount of revenue as the schools where White middle and upper class students attend. Another court case, *Milliken* v. *Bradley* (1974) thwarted Northern metropolitan school desegregation plans, to integrate urban students with suburban students.

Here the court argued that since suburban jurisdictions were not normally legally responsible for segregation in cities, court-ordered desegregation remedies would be confined to city limits.

The dual structure has been kept in place by the attitudes and perspectives of several United States presidents toward racial diversity and inclusion in schools. President Nixon developed a Southern Strategy, which was an appeal to Southern Whites who opposed court-ordered busing to end school desegregation, in order to win the presidential election in 1968. In addition, the Office of Civil Rights during the Nixon administration did very little to enforce the *Brown* decision (Ashmore, 1994; Tushnet, 1994). President Reagan rescinded the Emergency School Act of 1972. This Act provided the only significant source of public money earmarked for the educational and human relations dimensions of desegregation plans (Orfield and Eaton, 1996).

In the 1980s and early 1990s, the dual structure and the systems of reason that resist diversity and inclusion were refortified as the Supreme Court released schools from desegregation orders. In the *Board of Education of Oklahoma* v. *Dowell* (1991), the United States Supreme Court ruled that formerly segregated school districts could be released from court-ordered busing once they had taken all "practicable" steps to eliminate the legacy of segregation, even if students of color remained isolated or segregated. Also, in *Freeman* v. *Pitts* (1992), the United States Supreme Court ruled that Federal district courts had the discretion to order incremental withdrawal of court supervision over school districts that were ordered to comply with desegregation orders. Futher, in the latter half of the 1990s, the Court began to use strict scrutiny of racial classification to strike down even voluntary efforts by local communities to address de facto (non legal) racial segregation. In *Eisenberg* v. *Montgomery County Public Schools* (1999), the U S Supreme Court let stand a 1999 decision striking down the use of race in a student transfer policy aimed at reducing White flight (Kahlenberg, 2004).

Even more revealing about the status of diversity and inclusion in the United States is how White and Non-White students are segregated along racial lines. Gary Orfield and Susan Eaton (1996) report that school segregation has increased steadily over the past two decades, especially in non-Southern states. Also, Orfield (2001) claims that although the South is still much more integrated than it was before the Civil Rights Movement, it is moving backwards at an accelerating rate**.** The proportion of Black students who attended White majority schools was 2.3 percent in 1964, 44.5 percent in 1988, but had declined to 34.7 percent in 1996, and the percentage is still decreasing. In addition, Orfield and Eaton (1996) claim that 80 percent of Latino students attend predominantly minority schools, compared with 42 percent in 1968. Furthermore, they claim that in New Jersey, New York, Texas, Illinois and California, 38 percent of the Latino students attend school where the student population is less than one tenth White. Finally, the North West Regional Educational Laboratory (1997) argues that "segregation in schools is more than racial separation; it also separates students by class, family, and community educational background" (p. 1).

Curriculum

Schools and classrooms are the arenas in which battles are fought to describe who we are as a people, our history, and our future. Curriculum and textbooks – the major conveyors of curriculum – are the major sites of struggle over how a nation tells its historical and cultural narrative. Because curriculum is the conveyor of the country's narrative, it receives the major attention in regard to diversity and inclusion in education. Schools' curriculum, as I look over my grandson Gavin's third grade curriculum, and other grade level school curriculum, conveys to Gavin and other students which racial and ethnic groups are part of the American narrative, their role in the narrative, which groups (ethnic and gender) are not included in the narrative and how women are constructed in the narrative. It tells students which groups contribute to U S society, as well as how much they contribute. In addition, the curriculum indicates how racial and gender groups as well as other groups (e.g. physically challenged) are perceived by others and themselves.

Gavin's curriculum and the curriculum used throughout US schools do a far better job of addressing diversity and inclusion than the curriculum his mother, Alicia, used in the 1970s, and his grandfather used in the 1950s. Why does Gavin's curriculum pay more attention to diversity and inclusion? Is the dual structure that keeps diversity and inclusion only a dream for people of color diminishing, as shown by this increased acknowledgment of a broader range of groups of people?

The dual structure and the systems of reason that act as a barrier to diversity and inclusion in societal spaces received a major below during the Civil Rights era of the 1960s and 1970s. Groups of people of color and women crusaded for their rights. During this Civil Rights era, curriculum and textbooks were evaluated for two sins: the sins of omission, which included the failure to recognize the contribution of individuals from particular groups; and the sins of commission, which depicted various groups in negative and stereotypical ways. Geneva Gay (1990) observes that early efforts to desegregate school curricula (i.e. implement multicultural education) were designed to address two simultaneous challenges:

> One was to correct the sins of omission – when the members, heritages, contributions, and experiences of minority groups were excluded from instructional materials. The other was to undo the sins of commission – the repeated presentation of stereotypical images and biased views of racial minorities.
>
> (Gay, 1990, p. 58)

Evaluations of kindergarten through twelfth grade curriculum textbooks from the 1960s through the 1990s point out that Latinos/as and Asian Americans were rarely portrayed in the curriculum. At best they are figures on the American landscape with virtually no history or contemporary ethnic experiences. In addition, there is no sense of ethnic diversity within each group. Asian Americans and Latinos/as are discussed as just one monolithic group (Grant and Grant, 1981; Sleeter and Grant, 1991). American Indians are portrayed as "fierce savages" or

as "noble savages" and are mostly set within a historical context (Jetty, 1999; Pearce, 1988). African Americans, while given more attention in curriculum than other racial and ethnic groups except Whites, are shown in a much more limited role than European Americans. In addition, only a sketchy account of Black history is included and very little sense is provided of African Americans in contemporary life (Sleeter and Grant, 1991). In addition, women of color are rarely shown as active agents in political, social, and economic struggles for equality (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Gavin, his mother Alicia, and her female friends of color learned from their curriculum that they should remain in traditional, passive, female roles. As students of color, they learned that Whites are the dominant group that maintains both power and privilege. In addition, Gavin, Alicia, and friends received very little information about their American-Indian, Latino/a, and Asian-American friends (Sleeter and Grant, 1991).

In the late 1980s and 1990s, Cornbleth (1995) argues the "inclusion diversity" debate in curriculum was characterized as the "E pluribus 'v.' unum" critique. *E pluribus unum* is a Latin motto meaning "one out of many". The motto can be seen on any US nickel. Her critique argued that the curriculum overemphasizes the *pluribu*s at the expense of the *unum.* Critics of diversity and inclusion argued against curriculum inclusion on the grounds that this would challenge or change existing accounts of history in the curriculum, or would replace European (Western) authors with authors of color, and more women authors. These critics contended that such diversity and inclusion would weaken United States democracy and lead to national disunity and chaos (Schlesinger 1991) Also, they claimed that diversity and inclusion in the curriculum would devalue America's European heritage (Ravitch,1990; Schlesinger 1991) and that people of color and White women are not only being included in the curriculum, but were also diverting attention from White males (*New York Times,* November 18, 1987). In addition, authors such as Ravitch (1990) and Schlesinger (1991) claimed that there was already enough diversity and inclusion in the curriculum, and that ethnic bias by and large had been eliminated through the curriculum and textbook reform efforts of the 1970s and 1980s. Therefore, there was no longer any need to continue changing the curriculum.

Some proponents of a Western curriculum have argued that American schools are failing because they have too much diversity and inclusion. E. B. Hirsch, in his national best seller *Cultural Literacy,* asks:

> Why have our schools failed to fulfill their fundamental acculturative responsibility? In view of the immense importance of cultural literacy for speaking, listening, reading, and writing, why has the need for a definite, shared body of information been so rarely mentioned in discussions of education?

(p. 19)

Allan Bloom was one of the leading spokespersons for the anti-diversity and inclusion argument. In his bestselling book *The Closing of the American Mind: how higher education has failed democracy and impoverished the souls of today's students,* Bloom (1987) argued for a college curriculum based upon "Great

Books" of the Western tradition. He also argued for a curriculum that is guided by the fundamental work of Western philosophy, especially ancient Greek philosophy. Bloom states:

> Men may live more truly and fully in reading Plato and Shakespeare than at any other time ... The books in their objective beauty are still there, and we must help protect and cultivate the delicate tendrils reaching out toward them through the unfriendly soil of students' souls.
>
> (Bloom, 1987, p. 381)

Bloom's curriculum suggests a narrow view of the culture of the United States, and the world, since, for example, he excludes the contributions of Chinese and Indian thought to rational inquiry. Diversity and inclusion are denied because of this parochialism, which may well lead both teachers and students to forget that the essential activity of education takes place as students inquire, debate and discover.

Frederick Crews (1992) addresses this point when he claims that Allan Bloom and other proponents of only or mainly a Western curriculum are "Cultural nostalgics" who implicitly subscribe to a "transfusion" model of education, whereby the stored-up wisdom of the classics is considered a kind of plasma that will drip beneficially into our veins if we only stay sufficiently passive in its presence. Crews argues that:

> My own notion of learning is entirely different. I want keen debate, not reverence for great books; historical consciousness and self-reflection, not supposedly timeless values; and continual expansion of our national canon to match a necessarily unsettled sense of who 'we' are and what we ultimately care about.
>
> (Crews, 1992, p. xv)

There are other important areas in education where diversity and inclusion are kept on the margin. Special education is one such area, where African-American students, especially males, are often assigned to special education classrooms and/or are isolated or separated in regular classrooms (McCray *et al.*, 2003; Valles, 1998). Assignment to honors or higher track classes is another area where diversity and inclusion are kept on the margin. Honors classes are sometimes not offered in schools where students of color mostly attend, and in schools where students of color do attend, African-American and Latino students often are not students in the high honor classes (Gandara *et al.*, 1998).

Conclusion

Apologists might look at President Bush's multiracial and gender-conscious Cabinet and conclude that inclusion and diversity are well spoken for in the United States. Such is not the case in spite of the positive recognition that can be attributed to President Bush for selecting a multicultural, gender-fair cabinet.

Diversity and inclusion in the United States have come a good distance since the *Brown* decision in 1954, with passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Women's Movement of the 1970s. However, the "color line" as Du Bois noted in 1903, and gender inequity as Bem (1993) argues, are still very much with us today as evidenced in the Tyrone Willingham, Tavis Smiley and the racial profile stories; along with the stories of gender inequity in higher education. Whereas the Willingham and Smiley cases demonstrate the subtle but powerful effect of race (and racism), the Macy's racial profiling complaint, Orfield's report on the resegregation of schools, and the salary inequities between male and female professors, demonstrate a blatant disregard for diversity and inclusion. And all are reminders that the systems of reason and dual structures that keep diversity and inclusion marginalized are still very much in place in the United States.

Note

1 Marriageequalityca.org/history_marriage 2004

References

Arenson, K. W. (2003) 'Uneven progress is found for women on Princeton science and engineering faculties'. *The New York Times,* September 30th, Section B, p. 5.

Ashmore, H. S. (1994) *Civil Rights and Wrongs: A Memoir of Race and Politics* 1944–1994. New York: Pantheon Books.

Bem, S. (1993) *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bloom, A. (1987) *Closing of the American Mind,* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Bridges, R. (1999) *Through My Eyes.* New York: Scholastic Press.

Clarke, L. (2004) "In college football, a glaring disparity: only 2 Blacks among 117 head coaches". *The Washington Post,* December 5th, p. 1, 11.

Cornbleth, C. (1995) "Controlling curriculum knowledge: multicultural politics and policy making". *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* 27, 165–185.

Crews, F. (1992) *The Critics Bear it Away: American Fiction and the Academy.* New York: Random House.

Dillon, S. and Rimer, S. (2005) "President of Harvard tells women's panel he's sorry". *The New York Times,* January 25th, Section A, p. 19.

DuBois, W. E. B. (1968) *Souls of Black Folks.* New York: Blue Heron Press.

Elliott, A. (2005) "Macy's settles complaint of racial profiling for $600,000". *The New York Times,* January 14th, Section B, p. 1. At: Nytimes.com/2005/01/14/nyregion/14macys.html.

Gandara, P., Larson, K, Rumberger, R. and Mehan, H. (1998) "Capturing Latino students in the academic pipeline". *California Policy Seminar Brief Series,* May 1998. At: www.ucop.edu/pipeline.

Gay, G. (1990) 'Achieving educational equality through curriculum desegregation'. *Phi Delta Kappa,* 71, 56–62.

Gay, G. (2004) "The paradoxical aftermath of *Brown". Multicultural Perspectives,* 6, 12–17.

Goldberg, C. (1999) "M.I.T. admits discrimination against female professors". *The New York Times,* Section A, p. 1, March 23rd, 1999.

Grant, C. A. and Grant, G. W. (1981) "The multicultural evaluation of some second and third grade textbook readers – a survey analysis". *Journal of Negro Education,* 50, 1, 63–74.

Hirsch, E. B. (1987) *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Jetty, R. (1999) "They're supposed to be sovereign nations: hegemonic constructions of contemporary American Indian issues in current United States textbooks". Unpublished dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison, Wisconsin.

Kahlenberg, R. (2004) *Beyond Brown: The New Wave of Desegregation Litigation,* Guilford, CT: McGraw-Hill.

Kumashiro, K. K. (2002) "Against repetition: addressing resistance to anti-oppressive change in the practices of learning, teaching, supervising, and researching". *Harvard Educational Review, 72,* 67–92.

Lieberman, C. (2004) "Diversity and inclusion: the concepts behinds the words". *Connections.* Cambridge, MS: Cambridge Chamber of Commerce's newsletter. *At:* www.cornerstone consults.com/diversity.html.

Loury G. C. (2002) *The Anatomy of Racial Inequality.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Macedo, S. (2000) *Diversity and Distrust: Civic Education in a Multicultural Democracy.* Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press.

McCray, A. D., Webb-Johnson, G.C. and Neal, L. I. (2003) "The disproportionality of African Americans in special education". In Carol Camp Yeakey and Ronald D. Henderson (eds), *Surmounting All Odds: Education, Opportunity, and Society in the New Millennium,* Greenwich, CT: Information Age.

Myrdal, G. (1944) *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.* New York: Pantheon.

North West Regional Eduational Laboratory (1997) "Blacks and Latinos face segregation in school". www.nwerl.org/cnorse/infoline/may97/article2.html.

Orfield, G. (2001) "School more separate: consequences of a decade of resegregation". *Rethinking Schools Online,* 16. At: www.rethinkingschools.org.

Orfield, G. and Eaton, S. E. (1996) *Dismantling Desegregation: The Quiet Reversal of Brown* v. *Board of Education.* New York: The New Press.

Pearce, R. H. (1988) *Savagism and Civilization: Study of the Indian and the American Mind.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Popkewitz, T.S. (1988) "Educational reform: rhetoric, ritual and social interest". *Educational Theory,* 38, 77–93.

Ravitch, D. (1990) "Multiculturalism E pluribus plures". *American Scholar* (Summer) 37–354.

Ringer, B. B. (1983) *"We the People" and Others: Duality and America's Treatment of its Racial Minorities.* New York: Tavistock.

Sacks, J. R. (2002) *The Dignity of Difference: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilizations.* London: Continuum.

Schlesinger, A. (1991) *Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society.* New York: Norton.

Sleeter, C. E. and Grant, C. A. (1991) "Race, class, gender, and disability in current textbooks". In Apple, M. and Christian-Smith, L. (eds) *The Politics of the Textbook.* New York: Routledge.

Span, C. (2003) "Knowledge is light, knowledge is power: African American education in antebellum America." In C. Yeakey and D. Henderson (eds), *Surmounting All Odds: Education, Opportunity and Society in the New Millenium*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age.

Sue, D. W. (2003) "Dismantling the myth of a color-blind society – last word". *Black Issues in Higher Education* November 6th. At: www.looksmart.com.

Time Magazine (2004) "10 Questions of Tavis Smiley", December 13th, p. 8.

Tinto, V. (1993) *Leaving College: Rethinking the Causes and Cures of Student Attrition* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tocqueville, Alexis de (1848) *Democracy in America.* New York: Harper & Row.

Tushnet, M. V. (1994) *Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1956–1961.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Valles, E. C. (1998) "The disproportionate representation of minority students in special education: responding to the problem", *Journal of Special Education,* 32, 52–54.

Watkins, S. A., Rueda, M. and Rodriguez, M. (1993) *Introducing Feminism.* London: Icon Books/Faber.

5 Reconceptualizing multiculturalism in American urban education

Rupam Saran

Introduction

Contemporary postmodern American urban education is facing the challenge of incorporating multiculturalism in public schools socially and academically. American society is increasingly becoming multicultural and the time demands that educators and policymakers simultaneously honor multiculturalism, and create a meaningful environment for learners. Concurrently, the most important task of the modern urban education system is to instill a sense of Americanism along with the maintenance of cultural identity and diversity in heterogeneous society. The prevalent belief among education leaders and education reformists is that by embracing the concept of multiculturalism, educational establishments can help students maintain American identity, and nurture unity within diversity in schools. At the present time, the thrust towards appreciation for multiculturalism is an important struggle for the public schools. Students are being exposed to their cultural heritage, and the histories of many groups are being incorporated with varying degrees of success into urban school curricula.

The United States' history is culturally diverse, and American identity is constantly struggling with the idea of who and what is American. To gain the fullest understanding of end-of-the century multicultural conditions, one must understand the role of diversity in American society.

In multiracial and multicultural American society the thread of diversity works as both a unifying and separating force. Understanding American culture and American identity involves grasping the nuances of the cultural, economic, social, and political diversity of Anglo-American society and understanding migrant-dominant relationship patterns. The impact of continuous immigration upon American culture, economy, politics, and education has been an issue of debate and tension throughout American history.

Contradictions of American urban education

In the context of challenges, the contradictions of contemporary American urban education, and the role of multiculturalism, one must understand the complex nature of underlying forces of elitism, racism, internal colonialism, and capitalism

that have shaped the American urban education system. The emergence of mass free elementary education in the United States was due to the need to Americanize the common population. The idea of common schooling for the mass population saw the infancy of urban education. By the mid-nineteenth century the United States had a greater number of students attending free elementary and high schools than many European countries. Before the twentieth century, the main function of education was to breed an elite class in society, or to promote religious belief and literature. Owing to industrialization, the role of education gradually changed.

In the United States changes in education were associated with the economy, immigration, overcrowding of cities, unattended children of newly-arrived immigrants, and the need to breed good citizens. In order to fulfill the demands of many new social conditions, compulsory schools were established in cities. The urban education system developed as an inclusive, free, and mandatory system for everyone regardless of their political, cultural or socioeconomic status. Equality lay behind the ideology of urban education; urban schools were not intended to differentiate among citizens and immigrants.

The democratic principles of the United States shaped its mass education system. The development of mass education was the reflection of an ideology that an open education system was an essential element of a modern political system. Consequently, in the United States, the basic foundation of urban education emphasized the equality of race, ethnicities, genders, socioeconomic status, and opportunities. In reality, however, urban education did not practice this doctrine, as its main goal had become to promote social control by transforming the young immigrant population into a skilled, compliant workforce for industries. Unfortunately, the contemporary urban education has turned into the largest institution to promote the process of assimilation and adaptation among immigrant children, with the implicit purpose of maintaining social control. In the United States, urban education has largely been the result of the search for a single universal system suitable for all types of populations – a system where people followed one discipline, were taught obedience and were made to act in a uniform manner (Harris and Duane, 1874; Draper, 1899; Tyack, 1974; Nasaw, 1979).

One of the main functions of urban schools has been to transmit the dominant culture of the host country to future generations. Urban schools became channels through which the traditions of a dominant culture based on Protestant ethics and values were transmitted. The curricula of these schools did not acknowledge the cultural differences within the immigrant population, and consequently, students learned under the norms and the hegemony of the mainstream culture. Thus urban education at the time became a subtle way of destroying a variety of treasured cultural heritages, even in segregated schools teaching only African Americans.

Americanization of the immigrant and established ethnic minority populations was therefore the main goal, both explicit and implicit, of urban education in the United States (Tyack, 1974; Richman, 1905). The argument in favor of Americanization was the need for greater uniformity within American society. In urban schools immigrant children of diverse cultures and ethnic backgrounds were molded to assimilate into American culture and were transformed into

committed "Americans", accepting of and subservient to dominant Anglo-American culture and language.

The years between 1820 and 1930 were very important in the history of immigration to the United States since approximately 35 million people migrated to the country. Mass immigration from Europe, Asia, Canada and Mexico became a great challenge for the American education system and "constituted an educational problem unparalleled in human history" (Callahan, 1962). The immigrant population threatened the "host" Anglo-Americans by bringing with them a diversity of language, culture, ethnicities, and values. Consequently, the dominant American society demanded that urban schools Americanize the immigrant population by teaching them the English language, preparing them for citizenship, and the American way of life (Mohl, 1997, p. 113). In this model, public schools became the "melting pot" that fostered Americanization and assimilation. Regarding the goals of Americanization in 1909, one of the leading American educators, Ellwood P. Cubberly, urged that it was the task of education "to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate these people as our American race, and to implant ... the Anglo-Saxon concept of righteousness, law and order ... and to awaken them to a reverence of our democratic institutions" (Cubberly, 2004, pp. 15–16). The politics of urban education for most of the twentieth century focused on the complete assimilation and integration of immigrants into mainstream of American life. Simultaneously, this notion promoted the idea of a common economic and political life for all Americans and virtually all educational policies revolved around themes of a "melting pot".

American society is predominantly under the misconception that "Anglo-Saxon culture" is superior.[1] Milton Gordon's melting pot idea in which minorities abandon their identities and "melt" in with the dominant groups was endorsed by most Americans due to the belief in "Anglo-Conformity" (Gordon, 1964). However, currently, the practice of assimilation exists only residually, and has proven to be myth rather than reality because subjugated populations were not allowed to assimilate into white dominant culture because people of color were believed to be inferior. On the other side of the spectrum, minorities rejected the idea of assimilation because it was hard for them to abandon their heritage and dissolve into the host society.

Contemporary American society widely endorses the concept of "cultural diversity" and "cultural pluralism" that does not demand total rejection of cultural identities but rather visualizes American society as a salad bowl where all elements stay together retaining their flavor (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). The ideals of "cultural diversity" and "cultural pluralism" contributed to the transformation of the mission of urban schools that believed in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture. The philosophy of urban schools changed to such an extent that public schools were expected to be sensitive to the cultural identities and heritage of all immigrant children. The idea of "cultural diversity" and "cultural pluralism" became the seeds of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism in American urban education

In neo-conservative American society, the term multiculturalism implies two interpretations. First, multiculturalism stresses the idea that different cultural groups maintain their cultural identity in a dominant culture. Second, multiculturalism refers to the idealistic belief that all cultural and ethnic values should be respected and understood by the dominant culture. Unfortunately, the true meaning of multiculturalism has been reduced to a slogan. The vision of multiculturalism is viewed ambiguously in postmodern American society. While postmodern education is excited about educational opportunities offered by multiculturalism, the term is defined very superficially and narrowly. The moral vision of multiculturalism varies according to the political beliefs of the group that is defining the concept. Consequently, there are many definitions of multiculturalism that in turn can serve the interests of different groups who may be in contest for limited social and political ends (McLaren, 1997).

The theoretical perspective of multicultural education promises acknowledgment and opportunities to all cultural groups and ethnicities. Multicultural curricula require schools to preserve diversities, negate persisting stereotypes and prevent formation of new ones (Gonzalez, 1995). In addition, it is schools' responsibility to enable students of diverse cultures to maintain their identity in the dominant culture and provide tools to survive socially and economically in wider society (Arnowitz and Giroux, 1991). In summation, multiculturalism asserts that no group is inferior to the other, although in practice hidden conflicts within schools often mean that one ethno-cultural group is dominant, at the expense of minorities.

In a society where dominant groups make every effort to maintain their hold over minority groups, the success of pluralism and multiculturalism is often in doubt. While dominant groups demand total subjugation of minorities and acceptance of dominant-group ideology that labels them as inferior, marginalized cultures can often react in a spirit of pluralism and multiculturalism. Although American political institutions now seem to embrace the concept of multiculturalism by taking a stand to help maintain marginalized cultures, languages, ethnicities, and customs, through bilingual and bicultural programs, the effort is minimal compared to the subtle but profound efforts addressed to the Americanization of the marginalized immigrant population. Officially, educational reform policies are not concerned with the linguistic needs of this marginalized population and consequently bilingual education is not encouraged.[2] The concept of monoculturalism advocates the superiority of Western patriarchal culture, and acts against the spirit of true multiculturalism (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997).

Postmodern American education demands the implementation of multiculturalism that would honor all cultures and enable schools to discourage all forms of prejudice and discrimination. Until the present time, however, urban educators have developed a multicultural curriculum that is a hollow promise of academic excellence and equity for all students. Under the dominance of a traditional

Eurocentric monocultural curriculum, the infusion of multiculturalism in curricula has been reduced to a shallow knowledge of minority groups without respecting their cultural heritage and acknowledging their contributions to American culture. Though times have changed, Edward Ross's idea of "social control through education" is still alive and his idea of "order and regulation" in education still dominates the contemporary education system. Contemporary education leaders and education reformists often still try to maintain Fredric W. Taylor's idea of scientific management that advocated management of schools based on the efficiency model of the corporate world (Kliebard, 1995).

In the context of urban education, given the extent of competing political interests, facile multiculturalism has become a ritualized, decoration-piece of the urban school curricula and has been interpreted as a requirement to portray minority groups as "subjugated but equal" and their knowledge as "indigenous knowledge". The cultural content of the urban school curriculum serves to promote or diminish some groups at the cost of others by presenting distorted realities. Discourses of labeling and stereotyping of cultural groups in curricula often create conditions for "inter-ethnic rivalry" that leads to a "culture of victimization", and negative competitive trends within people of color. For instance, the portrayal of Asian immigrants as model minorities has created a culture of self-victimization within ethnic groups (McLaren, 1997). The label of "model minority" has led to a backlash against some groups of Asian students in schools and colleges. Education policymakers and politicians use the accomplishments of Asian students to justify the notion of meritocracy and the slogan of "equal opportunities for all". Simultaneously, examples of model minorities are used as an excuse to discredit and ignore low achieving or disadvantaged ethnic groups. Thus, in the guise of multiculturalism, conservative bureaucrats promote negative social relations, and a sense of powerlessness and failure within some ethnic groups, such as Hispanics and African Americans.

Why reconceptualize existing ideas of multiculturalism?

There is a need for a socio-cultural educational environment that can recontextualize multiculturalism in ways that would challenge traditional modes of schooling and knowledge production. There is a need to pursue democratic education and create critical conceptions of "true multiculturalism" with global and local perspective in a monocultural, Eurocentric urban education arena (McLaren, 1997). Cameron McCarthy views multiculturalism as representing a "cultural truce" between white liberals and black liberals, and demands restructuring of school knowledge and "rearticulation" of minority failure, cultural characteristics, and language proficiency. Multiculturalism should promote cultural understanding, cultural competence, and cultural emancipation (McCarthy, 1993). True multiculturalism should be examined from multiple perspectives. The goal of such multiculturalism should be to confront cultural conflicts and contradictions, expose power relations within Anglophone society, empower students to find their voices and ethnic identities, bring an understanding of racism,

legitimize subjugated knowledge, and improve academic and economic success of minority students. True critical multiculturalism should not be limited only to the issues of cultural diversity: rather it should attempt to reach diverse constructs that work for social justice and it should take into account "constituencies" such as poor working-class whites, that have not supported social justice in the past but currently need attention due to joblessness and poverty (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). Though the term multiculturalism is primarily used when speaking of race, other issues such as socio-economic class, language, gender, culture, sexual preferences, and disabilities are addressed within the expanded horizon of critical multiculturalism.

What is critical multiculturalism?

Critical multiculturalism is the response to cultural, economic, and political contradictions of American society and their relationship to pedagogy. Simultaneously, it challenges the monocultural education system that values the Cartesian notion of superiority of Western knowledge and considers all cultures subjugated except a few Western European cultures. With the commitment to emancipatory pedagogy that demands social justice, critical multiculturalism exposes persisting social inequalities that are the consequences of power and oppression. Critical multiculturalism emphasizes that ways of knowing are inherently and culturally cultivated and persuaded. In this context, the central concern of critical multiculturalism built upon the critical consciousness of class, racial, and economic diversities, is to examine the power of patriarchy, white supremacy, and class elitism. In addition it exposes hidden forces of racism, sexism, and class biases of dominant culture that creates prejudice and discrimination. Simultaneously, it identifies and legitimizes contributions of oppressed groups to the dominant culture. The monocultural hegemonic curricula promote dominant perspectives of seeing and evaluating minority groups. Such an approach of pedagogy is confronted by critical multicultural curricula by providing positive conditions for identity formation in school settings.

Current political and social conditions of American society demand unity within diversity. In this context the most challenging question is: how can unity be maintained in a society where diversity is increasing constantly? The question of American identity, i.e. who is an American, has created tension for decades. Given the context of American identity, Roger Collins asserts the case for an American identity that honors the integrity of its marginalized cultural elements (Collins, 1993). Collins takes a stance for an identity that involves mediation between native and acquired cultures. Concurrently, he suggests that assimilation can occur without sacrificing one's cultural integrity and that the dominant culture can be more tolerant of different cultural identities. In this regard, the concern is why the dominant group should have the right to use their knowledge and culture as norms for a much larger and diverse population of the United States (Apple, 1982). Under such tension, the concept of critical multiculturalism provides answers to questions of identity, political possibilities of emancipatory

actions and the historical situatedness of subjugated and indigenous knowledge. In the context of dominant and subordinate knowledge and culture, there is an urgent need for a critical pedagogy that would encourage critical understanding of social realities and contribute to "building emancipatory curriculum" (Giroux, 1988).

In the spirit of emancipatory curricula, critical pedagogy involves cultural formation in which students are actively involved in cultural literacy. In response to Cartesian dualism, critical multiculturalism provides cultural studies as an alternative method of gaining insight into the interrelationship of race, class, and gender within the dominant society. In this regard, cultural studies are an alternative to mainstream Western values and add "intellectual diversity" to Eurocentric monocultural curricula. For Arnowitz and Giroux, the role of critical pedagogy is to expose forms of subordination that create inequalities and reject undemocratic ideas in society. The task of critical pedagogy in a multicultural environment is to transform teachers and students to be critical viewers of "political, social, and cultural enterprise", and understand their limitations and capacities (Arnowitz and Giroux, 1991, 1997).

Notions of "whiteness" and critical multicultural education

The understanding of critical multiculturalism and postmodern conditions leads to insights into white positionality and issues of power and powerlessness between white and non-white population. Monoculturalism demands that people of color surrender to the supremacy of "whiteness" and assimilate, rejecting their cultural capital. Giroux refers to cultural capital that is the legitimation and distribution of certain forms of knowledge. The notion of superiority of the whiteness creates internal colonialism in society. People of color do not get the respect and recognition for their academic achievements that they deserve. In a general sense, whites of European heritage consider themselves superior. In the context of education, critical transformative pedagogy has the power to expose the vanity of "whiteness", and build an open and intellectual "community" in a multicultural, multiethnic, and multiracial classroom where all voices would be heard and all knowledge would be legitimized and respected (Hooks, 1994). Hooks asserts that for the emergence of such a community, it is crucial that the multiple effects of "whiteness" should be explored, analyzed, and discussed and an unbiased perspective of multiculturalism should be practiced in classrooms. The demography of the United States predicts that in the near future "whiteness" might not be the mainstream ethnicity in many American classrooms. Although in many American inner city schools students of color have majority over white students, such schools still conform to Eurocentric monocultural curricula. The invisible power of whiteness has shaped all aspects of schooling and has justified the privileges of the white population. Critical multicultural education can study the effects of whiteness and enable minority ethnic groups to be liberated from its grip.

Racism and critical multiculturalism

The dominant Eurocentric establishment tries to deny the significance of racial and ethnic diversity that is a vital force in American society. The term "people of color" categorizes all non-whites in one category and ignores their individual racial identities. The Eurocentric curriculum denies African-American, Latino, and Asian-American students their identities, and treats them as minority students. Ironically, all these racial minorities are dominant forces in shaping the American economy. Racism has been institutionalized in the American curricula. As a result, racial inequalities persist in the American education system. The non-critical curriculum does not recognize "racism" and racism is not discussed. In the mainstream curriculum, the histories of African Americans, Latinos, and Asians are misrepresented and they are labeled as inferior races.

The notion of criticality attempts to cultivate awareness of racial oppression and racial justice in education, and simultaneously to suggest that curricula should include understanding of different racial perspectives. Although the marginalized population has always been viewed through a Eurocentric lens, it is time for the dominant population to be viewed through the lens of the marginalized. Through this method, white and non-white students would gain "self-knowledge" and be aware of their limitations and strengths.

Mainstream curricula ignore the persisting racial prejudice in American society and deny the existence of racism that has influenced all education policies, and discriminated against African Americans (McCarthy, 1993; Kincheloe, 1993). Broadly speaking, critical multiculturalism can fight racism, support Afrocentrism, and enable oppressed African Americans to take pride in their heritage by integrating Afrocentrism in mainstream curricula. Afrocentrism epistemology has the capacity to understand the intensity of emotional responses, identification, and involvement of black life (King, 1994). King cautions against a "false universalism" in curricula that ignores the experiences of the marginalized and shuns sociocultural and socioeconomic differences; it appeals for multiple perspectives and critical approaches of pedagogy that would enable marginalized people to obtain insight into racism and other social realities. The emancipatory pedagogy and African-American epistemology can influence people of color not to blindly accept the dominant culture's prejudice and racial discrimination. The notion of emancipatory pedagogy is a struggle against racism (McLaren, 1997; Giroux and McLaren, 1993).

Victor Villanueva's (1993) understanding of racial inequalities in American society is that they are caste-like, based on an ascribed birth status. Though there are minorities who manage to assimilate into the mainstream, Latinos, African Americans, Asians, and American Indians often remain outcast because of their color and suffer an imposed racial and cultural inferiority. It is their "subservience" to the dominant group that promotes a caste-like racial system. Although there is no visible colonization within American society, many minorities are treated like the colonized. Villanueva (1993) defines colonization as "The economic, political, and cultural domination of one cultural-ethnic group by

another" (p. 31). The hegemonic nature of internal colonialism in American society encourages minorities to stay within their predetermined and predefined social parameters.

Issues of class and critical multiculturalism

In the context of economic domination, critical multiculturalism understands the vital role of class system and power inequalities in the American education system. Mainstream curriculum operates to favour certain classes and "order of knowledge over others" (Apple, 1982). Without an understanding of the true nature of hegemony, and the dominance of class system in the culture, "critical multiculturalism" in educational thinking and planning is incomplete. Critical pedagogy believes that the study of the nature of hegemony, and finding strategies to fight hegemony, is a way of empowerment of low-income subjugated minorities. Although traditional curricula promise equality in education, the hegemonic characteristics of a stratified society produce inequalities. In postmodern American society there is no upward mobility for marginalized minorities, and equal opportunity implies conformity to a class system. The persisting class system in traditional education conforms to the elitist idea that intelligence is the right of elites. The notion of criticality points out that class conflict and prejudice in education are a cultural phenomenon that is rooted in class differences (Kincheloe, 2001).

Unfortunately, throughout the United States schools are labeled on the basis of socioeconomic status of neighborhoods, and the quality of education fluctuates with the economic condition of the communities. African Americans, Latinos, Mexicans, and other students of the underclass are underrepresented in high achievement and magnet schools. There is a wide gap in graduation rates, college admission, and school funding of urban magnet schools and neighborhood schools. Urban magnet schools and schools of high socioeconomic urban areas provide more challenging curricula, qualified teachers, and better resources than neighborhood schools with poverty issues. Consequently, schools of poor districts have a low achievement and graduation rate. The low achievement rate of students of low-income families is a reflection of poor home environments where parents are poorly educated, and face the pressure of supporting a family with low-income jobs. Although American urban schools have the task of being an equalizer in a stratified condition by providing uniform education, schools are often unable to provide conditions that can repair deficits produced by poor economic and social home environments. Children in low-income neighborhoods have many risk factors that add to the deficiencies of school districts. Young kindergarten students entering schools may have parents (or a mother) with less than a high school education; they may be welfare recipients (of food stamps or cash payments); they may come from a single parent family or have parents with two jobs and/or limited English language proficiency (Zill and West, 2000). These risk factors influence students' academic attainments. According to Kozol, poor academic achievement is not a reflection

of poor schools: it speaks for academic deficiencies caused by inequalities of family resources before children start kindergarten (Kozol, 1991).

Critical multiculturalism could enable teachers to see influences of poverty on students' academic achievements. The class system dominates schools and supports the interests of the elites by encouraging social reproduction, and maintaining meritocratic social order in American society. Critical multiculturalism rejects the prevailing notion of hegemony in the American education system. The hegemonic practices do not impose overt force on the oppressed, but rather dominate the marginalized by winning their consent or articulating them to believe that they are inferior to the mainstream population. The hegemonic classist assumptions support the deficit ideology that the under-privileged working-class people are "incapable of learning" and that only the elite class has an inherent right to learn. The students of inner city poor neighborhood schools have been victims of this deficit ideology. By internalizing the belief that they are incapable of learning they resign to the domination of the elites. Through this social positioning of inner city marginalized youth as deficient, the schools focus on suppressing youth resistance and "fixing" them with educational policies that encourage social control.

Issues of gender in critical multiculturalism

The concept of critical multiculturalism examines how gender roles and gender relationships affect the political, economic, and social conceptual framework of a patriarchal society. In order to understand how gender politics have shaped the American education system, one needs to examine the history of American education. During the first half of the nineteenth century the discourse of coeducation and the hiring of female teachers influenced all aspects of education. The inclusion of girls in all-boy schools demanded the hiring of more female teachers, who were economically cheaper than male teachers (Tyack, 1974). Thus, the number of female teachers in schools increased enormously. However, the number of male administrators did not change. Anglo-protestant, white middle class men dominated the school administration. Unfortunately, in contemporary education arenas this pattern is still alive. Although this was really an issue of sexual power and economics, the rationale for hiring more female teachers was that they were better in nurturing and civilizing students, and coeducation was better for students' social growth. Today the gender differences are highlighted in schools by a tracking system that encourages boys to enrol in challenging programs such as science and technology, while girls tend to opt for careers such as nursing, education, and other less challenging programs.

Sandra Harding (1998) raises concerns of how gender roles and gender relationships affect the political, economic, and social conceptual framework of a patriarchal multicultural society. Postcolonial multiculturalism analyzes "culturally distinctive histories and practices shaping women's conditions, interests, and desires in different local, national, and transnational culture" (Harding, p. 76). Critical multiculturalism asserts that there are other ways of knowing science and

technology than the traditional masculine ways of knowing. The patriarchal notion of knowledge suppresses a feminine domain of knowledge. Patti Lather asserts that feminism and research practices for the empowerment of women should be employed in postmodern multicultural education. Feminist research can help men see the world with a woman's perspective that can eliminate gender-based inequalities (Lather, 1991). Given the extent of gender-based exploitation of women, a critical multicultural curriculum articulates social dynamics related to the gender issue: empowerment of women, exposing forms of subjugation caused by male dominance in society, and gender injustices (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997).

Issues of linguistic needs in critical multicultural curriculum

Critical multicultural education advocates democratic inclusive education that is sensitive to the cultural, academic, and linguistic needs of poor and non-white students. Though there is bilingual education, the monolingual traditional education does not provide articulated support for the language diversity of urban students. Immigrant students with poor academic achievement in English have major problems in schools because they do not get language development programs essential for academic success. For students with English language deficiencies, learning English often means rejecting their cultural identities and native language, and assimilating norms, values and folkways of American society that are often destructive to their confidence and identity (Gumperz, 1982, 1994). Linguistic issues are cultural biases that ignore metalinguistic awareness and endorse "English only" curricula (Villanueva, 1993). Linguistic issues play a very important role in standardized tests because they target minorities with language barriers. Students who are not proficient in language perform poorly in standardized tests. Recently, the college entrance test, the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), added mandated essay-writing as one of its components. Students with low English language proficiency will likely fail these tests. Urban schools have failed to prepare students who have linguistic problems to pass the SAT. It is the responsibility of multicultural education to construct curricula to understand complexity of language diversity and its implications in education.

Indigenous knowledge and critical multicultural curriculum

Critical multicultural education provides opportunities for inclusion of socially constructed, indigenous knowledge in traditional curricula. This critical epistemological consciousness proposal asserts that all knowledge is socially constructed and no knowledge is indigenous or subjugated because all cultures produce knowledge that has ontological legitimacy and validity. Knowledge is constructed in cultural contexts and these contexts facilitate our understanding of the world (Bagnall, 1999). Inclusion of indigenous knowledge in traditional Eurocentric curricula would generate an awareness of different perspectives and enable dominant mainstream groups to see that there are multiple perspectives on

all issues. Indigenous knowledge is the product of life-experiences of subjugated culture that helps students understand their own and other cultures. It helps them rationalize knowledges they are given in school and simultaneously ignites "double consciousness" that enables them to critically rethink and recontextualize the "knowledge" with which they are presented (Kincheloe and Semali, 1999).

Critical multicultural education focuses on unmasking hegemonic processes of power inequalities that shape one's consciousness and create social and political conflicts in society. The Eurocentric curricula evade knowledge produced by the colonized and implicitly discredit all non-Western knowledge. The knowledge productions of subjugated cultures always have some validity in Western-Eurocentric curricula (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). For example, Western mathematics education discredits Asian and African knowledge of mathematics, considering it subjugated and arguing that mathematics is purely "European and androcentric" (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). Contemporary urban education restricts higher mathematics education for minority students and women owing to the belief that they are generally incapable of learning higher mathematics. The traditional curricula restrict advanced mathematics education for minorities. Concurrently, maths education is used to weed out marginalized populations (Moses and Cobb, 2001). Urban school mathematics instruction has low expectations of students of color, and from blue collar backgrounds. Critical education challenges these hegemonic processes in academic discipline and can encourage "democratic education for all".

A multicultural science education would expose the false claims of the Eurocentric science curriculum that claims that all scientific knowledge was discovered by Western culture. By including indigenous knowledge in curricula, critical science education would reveal the exploitation of subjugated cultures by Western colonizers who stole their knowledge and disguised it as original Western Eurocentric knowledge. It is the responsibility of multicultural science education to point out a Europology of modern science that has demonstrated a "pattern of scientific ignorance" and clarify that the "European miracle" was not a miracle at all because European scientific knowledge and gains were "borrowed" from colonized, subjugated cultures (Harding, 1998). In a critical paradigm, a multicultural science curriculum can bring understanding that all subjugated knowledge has validity, and has made significant contributions to the dominant culture.

Conclusion

Throughout US history, schools and curricula have been shaped by the sociopolitical and economic conditions, and ideologies of dominant groups in American society. Political theorists argue that schools and curricula are instruments to promote dominance and sociopolitical oppression in society through encouraging racism, poverty, social stratification, and capitalism. Various dominant ideologies, customs, cultural practices, rituals, beliefs, and values that schools nurture are accepted by a marginalized population as natural because they have no control

over the curricula they are supposed to follow. Marginalized students and their parents are voiceless in curricula construction. Elite education policymakers ignore their interests. In this condition, the concept of critical multicultural education demands a fundamental rethinking of urban education and reconceptualization of schooling. Critical multiculturalism is a pro-democratic movement that acknowledges the anti-democratic forces of American urban education. It asks for emancipatory transformative democratic education and simultaneously tries to form counter-hegemonic practices in education milieu. The critical multicultural curricula is grounded on the notion of social transformative education that aims to expose persisting inequalities based on race, class, gender, ethnicity, and religion and recognizes the cultural capital of the marginalized.

The most important aspect of multicultural education is that it validates subjugated knowledge and examines dominant group through the lenses of the subjugated, analysing dominant ideologies and structures in order to understand how these are perceived by marginalized populations. In the realm of cultural disequilibrium and cultural manipulation, critical multiculturalism identifies with the German tradition of *Buildung* which stresses emancipation from oppression, an individual's self determination, and the need to build a democratic social education (Sunker, 1994). In the context of multicultural education, the democratic intent of *Buildung* is relevant because it is committed to a person's development as a mature individual with understanding of existing manipulative socioeconomic and political forces (McLure, 1997). The concept of critical multiculturalism focuses on empowerment of educators, teachers, students, and parents for the purpose of creating a democratic education that might reduce cultural manipulation and cultural disequilibrium of mainstream curricula. The catalytic multicultural pedagogy can analyze the dynamics of hegemony that is evident in every aspect of urban education, and simultaneously pursue the contemporary pedagogy to take a diagnostic approach to the paradoxical reality of equality.

Notes

1 The majority of British immigrants to America were not in fact "Anglo-Saxon", but "Celtic" of Scots, Irish and Welsh origins. In any case, only a minority of Britons are purely of "Anglo-Saxon" descent, the majority having mixed Viking, Norman, Anglo-Saxon and Celtic origins.
2 Canada, with its official policy of bilingualism in French and English, and its many bilingual programs in Canadian public schools, provides an interesting contrast to America's official monolingual policy, in the presence of a large and increasing Spanish-speaking minority.

References

Apple, M. W. (1982) *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education.* New York: Routledge.
Apple, M. W. (2001) *Educating The "Right Way": Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality.* New York: Routledge-Falmer.

Arnowitz, S. and Giroux, H. (1991) *Postmodern Education: Politics, and Culture, and Social Criticism.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bagnall, R. (1999) *Discovering Radical Contingency: Building a Postmodern Agenda in Adult Education.* New York: Peter Lang.

Callahan, R. (1962) *Education and the Culture of Efficiency.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Collins, R. (2003) 'The long way home'. *Obsidian III: Literature in the African Diaspora,* 4, 39–60.

Cubberly, E. P. (2004) *The History of Education.* Kila, MT: Kessinger Books.

Draper, A. (1899) "Common schools in the larger cities". *The Forum,* 27, 385–87.

Giroux, H. (1988) *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Giroux, H. and McLaren, P. (1993) *Between Borders: Pedagogy and The Politics of Cultural Studies.* New York: Routledge.

Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D. (1970) *Beyond the Melting Pot,* 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gonzalez, N. (1995) "Processual approaches to multiculturalism". *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science,* 3, 233–44.

Gordon, M. (1964) *Assimilation in American Life.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gumperz, J. L. (1982) *Language and Social Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. L. (1994) *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, W. and Duane D. (1874) *A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States Approved by Many Leading Educators.* Washington DC: GPO.

Harding, S. (1998) I*s Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms, and Epistemologies.* Bloomington*:* Indiana University Press.

Hooks, B. (1994) *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom.* New York: Routledge.

Kincheloe, J. (2001) *Getting Beyond the Facts: Teaching Social Studies/Social sciences in the Twentieth Century.* New York*:* Peter Lang Publications.

Kincheloe, J. (1993) *Toward a Critical Politics of Teacher Thinking: Mapping the Postmodern.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Kincheloe, J. and Semali, L. (1999) *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy.* New York: Routledge Falmer Press.

Kincheloe, J, and Steinberg, S. (1997) *Changing Multiculturalism.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

King, J. E. (1994) 'The purpose of schooling for African American children: including cultural knowledge.' In Hollins, E., King, J. and Hayman, W. (eds) *Teaching Diverse Populations: Formulating a knowledge Base.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Kliebard, H. (1995) *The Struggle for the American Curriculum: 1893–1958.* New York: Routledge.

Kozol, J. (1991) *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools.* New York: Crown.

Lather, P. (1991) *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy with/in the Postmodern.* New York: Routledge.

McCarthy, C. (1993) "After the canon: knowledge and ideological representation in the multicultural discourse on curriculum reform". In McCarthy, C. and Crichlow. W. (eds) *Race, Identity, and Representation in Education.* New York: Routledge.

McLaren, P. (1997) *Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture: Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Culture.* New York: Routledge.

McLure, M. (1997) *Expertise Versus Responsiveness In Children's Worlds: Politics in School, Home and Community.* New York: Routledge.

Mohl, R. (1997) "Cultural pluralism in immigrant education: the YWCA's International Institutes 1910–1940". In Majagij, K. and Sprat, M. (eds) *Women Adrift: The YMCA and YWCA in the City.* New York*:* New York University Press.

Moses, P. and Cobb, E. (2001) *Radical Equation: Civil Rights from Mississippi.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Nasaw, D. (1979) *Schooled To Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Richman, I. B. (1905) *Rhode island: A Study in Separatism.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Sunker, H. (1994) "Pedagogy and politics: Heydorn's survival through education and its challenges to contemporary theories of education – *Buildung".* In Media, S., Baste, G. and Wardekke, W. (eds) *The Politics of Human Science.* Brussels: VUB Press.

Tyack, D.B. (1974) *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Villanueva, V. (1993) *Bootstraps from an American Academic of Color.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers in English.

Zill, N. and West, J. (2000) "Entering kindergarten: a portrait of American children when they begin school,". In *The Condition of Education 2000,* NCES 2000–062, Washington, DC: US Department of Education.

Part IV

Diversity and educational equality in Britain and Europe

6 Multicultural education

A European perspective

Gajendra K. Verma and Adamantios Papastamatis

Introduction

Cultural diversity has been a fact of life in countries of east and west, north and south for centuries, and has led to various kinds of co-operation or coercion between the different cultural, religious and ethnic blocs contained within national boundaries (see Bagley, 1973). Since the process of migration and the history of different nations vary considerably, the cultural profile of different regions and ethnic groups within any particular country also varies. However, contemporary recognition of the value of cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and their implications for social justice have marked the post-war, and the post-Soviet, eras.

A society (or country) may be regarded as a system of interrelationships which connects people from diverse backgrounds in various forms of co-operation, domination, or attempted exclusion. Rarely can cultures exist without a stable and ordered nation-state, although there are notable exceptions. Before the foundation of Israel, Jews of the Diaspora existed as separated cultural or religious groups, as do Roma people whose Diaspora and wandering is part of their cultural heritage. Each cultural group has an identity and value which must, if principles of social justice are to be served, be respected and preserved not only by their nation-state, but by the international community as well (Kyuchukov *et al.*, 1999).

By the nineteenth century, cultural diversity in most European countries was already marked in terms of differences in the religious, linguistic and ethnic profiles of their inhabitants. Political and social forces frequently attempted to assimilate divergent groups into the dominant culture and language and, when this proved difficult, to eliminate groups such as Jews, Gypsies and Roma through expulsions and pogroms. Some European nation-states have allowed the new settlers to retain their distinctive cultures which often differed from the dominant group e.g. the plural society of The Netherlands (Bagley, 1973). Many countries however, have failed to recognize and support the right to individual difference and identity amongst different cultural groups.

The end of World War II was a watershed when minority ethnic/cultural communities throughout the world started asserting their rights in Europe; and in Africa and Asia the process of decolonization began. Both national groups and

minorities became conscious of the fact that their identities had been eroded or suppressed because of deliberate social and educational policies. This awareness caused them to challenge the gap between the declared values and beliefs of democratic societies, and the realities of such policies in practice. Aboriginal peoples in North America and Australasia are cases in point.

Over the last four decades the classical concept of culturally homogeneous society has been openly challenged. For example, there is the process of European integration – political, social and economic – of laws and procedures which are likely to affect the daily lives of citizens. At the same time, cultural, linguistic and religious differences between communities have come under scrutiny and there is now political tension between nation-states as the enlarged EU seeks to frame a 'super-constitution' imposing binding laws and a framework of rights and obligations on nations who may have little in common. Ironically within this enlarged, quasi nation-state of the EU, countries themselves become cultural groups or blocs within the supra-national society which the EU has become. Continued immigration of people with different cultures, religions and languages across the EU adds to this complexity. Most EU governments have outlined policies highlighting the importance of equality and programmes opposing racial and religious discrimination. Despite debates, discussions and actions during the past few years no European nation-state has succeeded in executing effective policies for the successful integration of all immigrant cultural minorities and their dependents. There are complex reasons for this lack of success, but the problems are not, ultimately, insoluble.

One step taken towards a collective European Policy was the Amsterdam Treaty that took effect on 1 May 1999. The Amsterdam Treaty emphasizes the basic rights of immigrants and the principle of anti-discrimination. Signatories of the Treaty have a commitment

> to maintain and develop the Union as an area of freedom, security and justice, in which the free movement of persons is assured in conjunction with appropriate measures with respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention, and combating of crime.

Within five years of the ratification of the Treaty, there were to be no controls for citizens of the EU or for nationals of third countries when crossing internal borders of the EU (Section 73, EU, 1999).

This will undoubtedly have far-ranging effects on approaches related to the integration of immigrant cultural minorities. The main question is whether a specific settlement policy implies a monolithic view of society or a pluralistic one. When the aim is unilateral acceptance of newcomers of a given social structure and its sets of norms, the settlement policy can be characterized as assimilation, forced or otherwise. By contrast, when the goals are pluralistic, the aim is to develop a society in which members of cultural minority groups are given opportunities and support to maintain and develop the fundamental characteristics of their own cultures (Verma, 1997, 2002). At the same time they should have the scope to participate as equals in

the political, economic, social and civic institutions of the majority society (Verma, 1990; Pitkänen *et al.*, 2002).

Dimensions of culture

The argument of this chapter is that society is equivalent to the nation-state, and increasingly amongst the population of each nation are cultural groups who co-operate or compete in varying degrees of amity or enmity. Sometimes these competing factions are based on longstanding religious differences (e.g. Catholic and Protestant in the United Kingdom and The Netherlands) or on language, as in Belgium. In the present century new cultural groups emerge in societies as a result of patterns of migration or the rise of individual consciousness in some ethnic groups. Groups subjected to profound prejudice and discrimination by the host society are particularly likely to develop a militant group consciousness as a result of their alienation (Bagley and Verma, 1979).

Cultural values and ways of acting are learned, communicated and shaped through individual attempts to master, and participate in, the life of the nation-state. Thus culture is constructed and reconstructed through the process of social interaction of self-defined members of the cultural group with the major institutions of society. There are many aspects of an individual's identity which develop through this interactive socialization process. For the migrants who are an ethnic minority in a new country, adaptation can be complex and stressful, especially when racist social structures have to be negotiated (Furnham and Bockner, 1987). This process is influenced by family structures, by schooling and experience in the wider society. These forces contribute to the development of an individual's identity which consists of specific behaviours, values, lifestyles, attitudes and world views. Components of identity sometimes come into conflict with generally accepted societal norms. There is evidence that many of the cultural disparities that students experience are caused by conflicting values, beliefs and behaviours that they encounter in their home or cultural community, contrasted with those of the school (Pumfrey and Verma, 1990).

Some writers adopt a different view of culture. For example, Greene (1994) argues that culture is not a package of knowledge, attitudes and customs which can be parcelled up, handed to the child and then passed on intact to the next generation: 'The culture of any nation or community is constantly evolving and exists in the thought and actions and creations of its participants'. The concept of 'culture' is both complex and elusive. Some writers tend to imply that individuals or groups belong to and/or live in an easily identifiable and stable cultural milieu. This is a simplistic view of an individual's complex characteristics. While individuals can be born into a more or less clearly defined cultural group, through a process of change and development the nature of their cultural socialization changes, and is essentially dynamic. Individuals can acquire more than one cultural identity (e.g. being both Moslem and British) and will balance dual loyalties through a continuous process of dialogue and adaptation. 'Culture' in its broadest sense embraces every aspect of human development (Verma, 1989).

In most writings, culture is treated as an institutionalized group phenomenon on the assumption that there is homogeneity within a given social group (Verma *et al.*,1994). But such homogeneity rarely exists for very long. Regional characteristics, religion, socio-economic background, occupation, language and personal experience all contribute to the formations of changing subcultures within a social group. It is possible that, in spite of those differences between the subcultural groups, they may seem to share elements of a major, 'symbolic culture' such as those of the nation-state itself (Verma, 1999).

Cultural diversity and education

Educationalists and social reformers develop theories and models of cultural pluralism which imply that each cultural group has the right to develop distinctive characteristics within the framework of the wider society. Built into such a model are assumptions about equality, since the model assumes the existence of a continuous dialogue in democratic forums between various cultural groups, and the governors of the nation-state. Such a dialogue can have validity only if it is between equals. For example, in schools in various countries containing ethnic minority students, theories of so called 'multicultural education' have been developed and put into practice based on the concept of cultural integrity of groups within the schools, and their rights to participate in a curriculum which addresses both their needs, and the demands for them to develop into 'good citizens'.

Educational change in the context of the plural society rarely takes place in a tidy and uniform fashion. Issues such as ethnicity, culture, identity and religion have generated debates about the nature of society and its future social cohesion in many Western countries. There seems to be a gradual acceptance by policymakers in many countries that cultural diversity in society is a contextual imperative for all citizens. The educational system must aim to find ways to help children and young people become comfortable with diversity, and accept it as a normal part of existence and not as exotic and novel (cf. Booth and Ainscow, 1998).

Studies and reports published in various Western countries in the last forty years or so have implications for the ways in which we perceive European society in educational terms (DES, 1985; Verma, 1989). These have contributed to the debates about the way society and its various institutions are organized, the common values that should be upheld, and the ways in which the past, present and future of the nation-state should be appraised. In a culturally diverse society such a debate inevitably involves contentious issues surrounding racial discrimination, ethnicity, language rights and religious freedom. These issues have long been the source of considerable controversy, particularly in the field of education (Zmas, 2004). Whenever there are covert or overt disagreements over different values and beliefs surrounding multiculturalism, there are tensions within educational institutions ranging from teacher education colleges to schools at all levels.

Diversity is reflected in differences arising from cultural and religious values and traditions which influence the behaviour, attitudes and values of people in particular cultural groups, and in recent decades there has developed greater

political consciousness among cultural groups wishing to reclaim or emphasize their identity within their society or nation-state (Verma, 1989). In most Western societies for example, there has been a continual history of immigration over the last few centuries and, since 1945, from their former colonies. Yet ethnic diversity has only become 'an issue' of consequence in democratic societies in the wake of large scale immigration and settlement that occurred after the 1930s.[1]

Differences in socio-economic status and tensions between ethnic groups in any society have often been the product of minority groups finding themselves subject to discrimination and prejudice, and even violence, and finding their life changes impaired by gross inequalities in the various social systems of society (Bagley and Verma, 1979; Gay, 2000; Verma, 1999).

Multiculturalism: the Greek case

To illustrate issues of complexity and social change in framing multicultural policies, we offer the case of Greece. A popular European stereotype is that Greece is an ethnically and linguistically homogeneous country whose main influence on the multicultural stage has been the continued emigration of its citizens, paralleled by the frequent but irregular arrival of tourists who stay but briefly. But on closer examination, Greece is a dynamic and complex society in terms of culture, language and immigration. There has been, in Makri's (2003) analysis, 'immigration of great masses of people to Greece'. These have been both economic and political refugees in post-war years. It is salutary that there remain about one million Greek-speaking individuals in the countries of the former Soviet Union who are not allowed to legally migrate to Greece, whatever their desire to do so.

In a series of papers, Sofia Dascalopoulos (2003) outlines the ethnic and linguistic complexities of Greek society. A particularly interesting group in Greece are the 150,000 Romani people, some 20 per cent of whom are Moslems. Other minority groups making up Greece's complex plural society are Turks, Valachs, and Arvanites as well as various groups speaking Slavic languages. Dascalopoulos observes that how the concept of multicultural education and plural cultural inputs to Greek life will apply to those speaking Slavic languages is unclear: an impressive number of Greeks from the former Soviet Union have high school and even college education in Russian, while the Polish immigrant community in Greece is positively accepted.

Makri's (2003) valuable analysis of multicultural education in Greece contrasts several distinct approaches, which have their analogue in countries such as Britain. The first approach which pertained until the 1960s was an *assimilationist* approach, requiring newly arrived groups to learn to assimilate to the dominant culture's values and language. The later *integrationist* approach separated and treated newly-arrived groups with some consciousness of their special cultural needs and rights. In the 1970s the *multiculturalist* approach emerged; this recognized aspects of racism in the social system which impaired the occupational and cultural progress of long-settled immigrant groups and their children. Finally, the

intercultural model reconizes fully the 'democratic equality of rights' of all ethnic groups in the nation-state, both minorities and majorities.

Cultural diversity and teacher education

While the curriculum is an important area in terms of responding to cultural diversity and the opportunities for inclusiveness it can offer to children and young people, there is an even more important aspect of the educational process, namely the teachers. Many of us would, we suspect, when reflecting back on our education tend to recall first and foremost, those who taught us, rather than the curriculum we studied. This reminds us of the centrality of teaching and teachers in the educational process. If an inclusive education is to be offered to young people then the training of the teaching force is of paramount importance: a curriculum is only as good as those delivering it. Thus the delivery of effective education in a culturally diverse society is heavily dependent on the quality and training of the teaching force (Gagliardi and Mosconi, 1995; Pitkänen *et al.*, 2006).

In the context of the response to cultural and ethnic diversity, it is important that teachers are trained in a way that develops in them an awareness of cultural nuance and its effects on the behaviour, cognitive styles and bearing of children in the classroom by equipping them with relevant knowledge and operational skills (Appelbaum, 2002; Kesidou, 2004). Education should strengthen the cultural identity of all individuals in a particular society, and offer individual students the ability to see the world in unity within its plurality. The development of a cultural identity and a sensitivity to others are not built up automatically; they can only be outcomes of a curriculum designed to achieve them and delivered by dedicated teachers with the appropriate competencies.

Another crucial aspect of the teaching process is the 'hidden curriculum'. Formal changes are likely to come from the prescribed curriculum process which may teach knowledge, facts and competencies, but the hidden curriculum has a complementary and powerful part to play in bringing out changes in values, attitudes, and beliefs to complete the process of personal adaptation. For example, it may be damaging to the self-esteem of ethnic/cultural minorities if school expectations are insensitive to, and dismissive of, cultural and religious backgrounds (e.g. symbols of dress, and religious diets in various communities) (Pitkänen *et al.*, 2002).

In this respect it is important to develop teachers' capacity for multicultural education, that is, to provide them with information about pupils' communities and train them in how to use this information in teaching. Multicultural teacher training also needs to develop the teachers' capacity for communicating with pupils from different cultures. Teachers should also be trained in strategies for analyzing pupils' learning obstacles. They should know how to teach about sustainable development and how to train pupils to improve the quality of life (Gagliardi and Mosconi, 1995). The answer then, seems to be professional development. Teachers must grow through their work over time to develop the

awareness, skills, and knowledge necessary to implement a democratic, pluralist educational programme (Appelbaum, 2002).

Note

1 Germany and Austria under the Nazis were fundamentally undemocratic, and developed a set of racist policies which, far from absorbing different cultural groups, suppressed them to the point of genocide. The USSR (see Gray, Chapter 8 in this volume), despite its monocultural theory of the State, did allow cultural and language retention in many of its diverse ethnic groups.

References

Appelbaum, P. (2002) *Multicultural and Diversity Education: A Reference Handbook.* Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.

Bagley, C. (1973) *The Dutch Plural Society: Comparative Studies in Race Relations.* London: Oxford University Press.

Bagley, C. and Verma, G. (1979) *Racial Prejudice, The Individual and Society.* Aldershot: Saxon House.

Booth, T. and Ainscow, M. (1998) *From Them to Us: An International Study of Inclusion in Education.* London: Routledge.

Dascalopoulos, S. (2003) *Multicultural and 'Plural': The Case of Greece.* School of Social Sciences, University of Aegean. At: www.aegean.gr/culturaltec/dasc/

DES (1985) *Education for All: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (The Swann Report).* London: HMSO. For the Department of Education and Science.

EU (1999) The Text of the Treaty of Amsterdam, www.eurotreaties.com/ amsterdamtext.html.

Furnham, A. and Bockner, S. (1987) *Culture Shock: Psychological Reactions to Unfamiliar Environments.* London and NY: Methuen.

Gagliardi, R. and Mosconi, P. B. (1995) 'Teacher training for multicultural education in favour of democracy and sustainable development: the territorial approach'. In Gagliardi, R. (ed.) *Teacher Training and Multiculturalism.* Paris: UNESCO.

Gay, G. (2000) *Culturally Responsive Teaching.* New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Greene, S. (1994) 'Growing up in Ireland: development in an Irish Context'. *The Irish Journal of Psychology* 15, 354–371.

Kesidou, A. (2004) 'Intercultural education – main aims and practices'. In Terzis, N. (ed.) *Intercultural Education in the Balkan Countries – Balkan Society for Pedagogy and Education, Education and Pedagogy in Balkan Countries 4.* Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Brothers.

Kyuchukov, H., Van Driel, B. and Batelaan, P. (1999) 'The Education of Roma Children', Special Issue of *European Journal of Intercultural Studies,* vol. 10, no. 2.

Makri, V. (2003) 'Intercultural and multicultural educational policy in Greece'. Presented to LSE Symposium on *Current Social Science Research in Modern Greece.*

Pitkänen, P., Kalekin-Fishman, D. and Verma, G. (2002) *Immigration Settlement Policies and Current Challenges to Education.* London: Routledge-Falmer.

Pitkänen, P., Verma, G. and Kalekin-Fishman, D. (2006) *Increasing the Multicultural Understanding of Student Teachers in Europe*. Oxford: Trafford Publishing.

Pumfrey, P. and Verma, G. K. (1990) *Race Relations and Urban Education: Promising Practices.* London: The Falmer Press.

Verma, G. K. (1989) (ed.) *Education for All, A Landmark in Pluralism.* London: The Falmer Press.

Verma, G. K. (1990) 'Pluralism: some theoretical and practical considerations'. In CRE Publications *Britain: A Plural Society.* London: Commission for Racial Equality.

Verma, G. K. (1997) 'Inequality and intercultural education'. In Woodrow, D., Verma, G., Rocha-Trindada, M., Campani, G. and Bagley, C. (eds) *Intercultural Education: Theories, Policies and Practice.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Verma, G. K. (1999) 'Inequality and education: implications for the psychologist'. *Education and Child Psychology,* 16, 6–16.

Verma, G. K. (2002) 'Migrants and social exclusion: a European perspective'. In *Integrated Approaches to Lifelong Learning.* Kuala Lumpur: Asia–Europe Institute, University of Malaysia.

Verma, G. K., Zec, P. and Skinner, G. (1994) *The Ethnic Crucible: Harmony and Discord in Secondary Schools.* London: The Falmer Press.

Zmas, A. (2004) 'Educational dilemma, in the context of intercultural approaches'. In Terzis, N. (ed.) *Intercultural Education in the Balkan Countries – Balkan Society for Pedagogy and Education, Education and Pedagogy in Balkan Countries 4.* Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Brothers.

7 The impact of culture in creating differential learning styles

Derek Woodrow

Introduction

Underwriting any educational system are two alternative principles. The first principle is that of providing the right cadre of leadership and knowledgeable governance for management of the nation's structures. This leads to the provision of a necessary elite group able to move the economy and services forward. This principle is often that needed in the early days of developing an organised society when resources are limited and insecure. This does, however, maintain the dominance of those who have access to the education system and does not encourage the development of a democratic and equal opportunities society. Modern societies need more than a small educated elite if they are to flourish and thus the commitment to universal education has arisen. It was in this context that the second principle of 'education for all' arose and with it the notion of equality of access and opportunity. It is from this second principle that the commitment to educating all citizens to the best of their abilities emerged, and of attempting to combat discrimination in terms of opportunities brought about by class, caste, wealth, religion or hereditary power. It is this commitment which promoted and encouraged the development of comprehensive schooling in the UK and common schooling in India. It also encouraged for a time the introduction of 'mixed ability' classes in English secondary schools, though the wide variations in achievement proved too difficult to manage in some subjects, notably mathematics and foreign languages. Within primary education, however, most classes remain 'mixed ability' and a sense of common community is engendered which can be retained in neighbourhood secondary schools.

Inevitably, however, differential abilities and differential opportunities do arise. This is in part a consequence of Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital' in that those who hold advantage and power generated by certain forms of 'cultural knowledge' tend to increase in power and to sustain that form of knowledge (Apple, 2001; Woodrow, 2001). This cultural capital is gained in many ways, partly by heritage, partly by wealth, partly by ascription of power by the culture in which a person lives. In this analysis the most privileged students do not only owe the habits, behaviour and attitudes which help them directly in pedagogic tasks to their social origins, 'they also inherit from their

knowledge and savoir-faire, tastes and a 'good taste" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1964, p. 30).

In Western Europe the Marxist educationalists of the 1960s and '70s clearly established the role of education as a vehicle for socialisation, for confirming and continuing the social order and for conditioning the population to their varied roles. In more recent times education has been similarly viewed, with fewer overt political overtones, as a vehicle for enculturation by both majority and minority cultures. Of course, this assertion about 'fewer political overtones' is in itself a Western, even perhaps 'Anglo-American', view of education that it should ideally be non-political. For many cultures and societies the interweaving of education with politics and religion represents the ideal, a holistic and comprehensive view of the world and people. Certainly Islam would reject such separation as not reflecting the importance of dedicating to God the whole of one's life-actions. Many Muslim countries are very clear about the significance of education in providing shared values and shared beliefs. The early Catholic invaders of South and Central America found education a powerful tool for conversion. However, education can be a tool of emancipation as well as one of coercion: Gerdes (1985) on Mozambique, D'Ambrosio (1990) on Brazil, and Vithal and Skovsmose (1997) on South Africa, write and talk movingly about the role of education (in these cases mathematical education) in promoting just and fair societies.

Varying cultural and national identities have had a clear impact on formal education and different societies have different informal child-rearing and adult-initiation practices. Formal education is itself socially created and generally only becomes universal with the rise of the urban industrial dwelling. Different societies have different perceptions of authority and respect for elders, different perceptions of freedom (especially for children), and different assumptions about gender roles and gender relationships, all of which have a significant influence on educational practices. Even within a single society these assumptions change over time and within subgroups and lead to changes in educational practices. Clearly the impact of religion is significant. Some religions prioritise social groups and social dependency, in particular, Islam and Christianity both rely upon regular gatherings of the believers whereas other religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism stress more the individual path to enlightenment. These contextual features affect the person's view of the nature of knowledge and learning. Different societies develop differing attitudes to authority and autonomy, and developing a common system of schooling which facilitates all these preferred modes of living is not an easy task. In complex multi-group societies one consequence of state education and common schooling that needs to be addressed is the development of a style of curriculum and assumptions about learning which favour and advantage particular subgroups. These are the issues which this chapter seeks to explore.

Cultural mores and beliefs relate not just to social behaviours and interests but affect assumptions about ways of learning; even the meaning of 'learning' may be different within different social constructs. Bourdieu (1977) with his concept of *habitus* and Kelly's construct theory (1973), both emphasise the impact of cultural

context on thinking and learning, with different communities providing different cultural capital to their offspring. On a macro level the dialectic between culture and learning presents problems in that different societies (often unwittingly) misunderstand each other. On the micro level it can create a mismatch between local subculture and that of the wider society within which that subculture exists, leading individual learners to a sense of dissonance and classroom unease.

There has been a considerable amount of work on individual learning styles, particularly in the USA, the UK and in Australia and Hong Kong. One of the outcomes of this research has been to establish the impact of different cultures on these learning styles, and to explore the tendency for some subgroups of a society to have different styles and means of learning. For a country like India such variations in learning styles are of considerable significance, with different dominant religions, different cultures sustained through its caste system, different ethnic groups, large urban and rural differences and environmental variations which support the development of differential lifestyles, all having their effects. That such variations in individual learning styles exist is beyond dispute, but how the school curriculum should respond to such supposedly innate characteristics is one of the critical issues that needs to be faced. Do you compensate for apparent 'weakness', such as spatial awareness, or do you find ways of revaluing or discarding inappropriate criteria? If the curriculum is biased towards certain intellectual strengths, do you change the curriculum to enable learning to develop through alternative strands, or do you work to strengthen, if possible, the necessary abilities in the individual. At the root of the learning styles' interaction with education and curricula lies this fundamental question, and its response often seems to be rooted in the notions of autonomy and authority, of individual freedom of social responsibility which a society holds.

More recently Western psychologists and academic-curriculum creators have provided new 'process-driven' categories of cognitive style, which mirror the move of the Western school curriculum away from content and facts towards strategy and process. This has been marked in mathematics and science by the concern for problem-solving and other generic skills and in literacy by more respect for oral communication and fluency of expression. Much of the theoretical framework related to these mental processes is reminiscent of attempts during the 1960s and early 1970s to identify and value 'creativity' as a specific domain (see, for example, Guilford, 1967; Gardner, 1993). This involved tests of 'divergent' and 'convergent' thinkers, and other bi-polar measures such as whether a person adopted a 'scanning' approach to a problem or a 'focused' approach, whether people are reflective or impulsive, holistic or serialists, and the development of the learning styles literature (see Riding and Cheema, 1991, for an authoritative overview; Adey *et al.*, 1999, for a good descriptive treatment; and Coffield *et al.*, 2004, for a critical review). The best established general descriptor is that provided by Witkin (1967) of a single 'field dependent' versus 'field independent' cognitive processing style. Once again it is important to recognise the social and historical determinants of much of psychological theorising and the classification of behaviours (Popkewitz, 1998). Thus notions of

'wholistic/analyser, verbaliser/imager' are only meaningful within the constructs derived from recent process-driven curriculum frameworks. The extent to which these categorisations are meaningful with non-Anglo-American students is debatable and these terms need to be exemplified and an appropriate language developed to characterise these students.

A note of caution needs to be made at this point. Since the thrust of the argument presupposes the impact of culture on providing, even understanding, differences in learning and thinking, it follows that research in the USA or the UK cannot be transposed to India. It is indeed very difficult to escape from the assumptions which are built into one's own imagery and experience. We assume, too readily, that since learning is a universal human characteristic it must take the same form everywhere. Recent comparisons of Japanese and Chinese education with that of the USA and the UK illustrate how fundamental are the underlying principles and beliefs which drive the act of learning. The research produced by the West needs to be re-interpreted and re-analysed by Indian educationalists if it is to have significance in an alternative culture. There are at best likely to be parallel outcomes or related concepts which need to be addressed by Indian researchers. It is in this context that the following analysis is offered.

Achievement and strengths of different groups of students

Within most school systems there are groups of pupils who appear to succeed and others who appear, more often, to fail. Within the UK there is currently considerable concern that groups of Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils are not apparently achieving as highly as their peers, and Black male students appear equally disadvantaged by the school system. Conversely, pupils of Indian and Chinese origin appear to perform better than their peers. Some of this is undoubtedly due to economic factors; poverty universally has a depressing effect on educational achievement and there is some evidence for the proposition that Indian immigrants to the UK derive from higher economic and social groups than do the Pakistani immigrants. Research reported below suggests that different learning styles, imposed by different cultures, might also be a significant feature of the problem. It is not just that students have different learning styles, but that the curriculum has embedded within it assumptions about learning, and teachers in their planning often implicitly and unwittingly embed assumptions about learning. If these resonate with an individual pupil's learning styles then the curriculum is a success but where there is a mismatch then problems arise. Black researchers, in particular, have drawn attention to the problems of mismatch between the curriculum and pupils with a different philosophy. Conversely, of course, the success of Indian and Chinese students in the UK might be related to their complementary learning style; the curriculum emphasises group work and constructive psychology whereas their own style is more rooted in practice and memorising, and the alternative styles in this case provide a strength. All educational systems need to take such variations in achievement seriously and particularly any system of schooling which aims for equality of opportunity.

Equally important is the recognition that certain groups of students are attracted differentially to study particular subjects. UK statistics on university entrance (e.g. UCAS (2000) Table 4) shows substantial variations in recruitment to English universities amongst various ethnic groups (these groups are self-declared from a list offered) which have persisted over a number of years. For the percentages of students accepted to study *mathematics and informatics* in UK universities in 2000, see Table 7.1.

This supports a common perception that Asian students, in particular, are drawn to the subject, but so also to some degree are the Black students. In fact, the recent large increases in recruitment to this subject area are almost entirely comprised of applications for computing (informatics) and the rapid growth of computing skills amongst young people in India (currently being attracted by comparatively large salaries into the USA and UK where there are shortages of such skills) would seem to suggest a cultural inclination for the subject as well as a financial incentive. A recent study from the Royal Society of Chemistry and The Institute of Physics confirms the strong ethnic bias in subject choice in students entering university. Students of Chinese and Indian origin are most likely to read science, mathematics and computer science, while those of Afro-Caribbean origins favour arts and humanities. Students from Bangladeshi and Pakistani origins are more likely than others to opt for business studies or law. Asian-origin students, in general, are more likely to opt for medicine and degrees allied to medicine (Garner, 2006).

There are a number of other interesting variations between ethnic groups and genders. Applications by Asian and Black students represented only four per cent of applications for Education (including teacher training) compared to the maths and informatics proportions of about 32 per cent. Differences between the genders in subject choice are similarly clear and equally persistent. Three times as many women study languages as men; six times as many men study engineering. In the UK teaching is a predominantly female profession, whereas in Cameroon (for example) teaching is mainly done by males. It is also noteworthy that Black students are reluctant to take up teaching, whereas they are very keen on social work.

It is tempting to begin to draw speculative conclusions to explain these differences, though the evidence for any particular explanation of these differential recruitment figures is not strong. Some of these were explored in a previous article (Woodrow, 1996) including the suggestion that learning styles might have a significant influence, and recent research by Jarvis (Jarvis, 2002; Jarvis and Woodrow,

Table 7.1 Accepted students for maths and informatics (2000)

	Males %	Females %
Of all the Asian students	33	12
Similarly for Black students	22	8
Whereas for White students	13	3
Overall for all students	16	4

2002) supports this idea. Jarvis has shown that university students in different subjects do indeed exhibit different learning styles, and in particular that the learning styles shown by mathematics students is significantly different from that of students studying many other subjects. It is also clear from research with Chinese students (see below) that the learning style characteristics of mathematics students mirror many of those held by Chinese students, and it is conjectured that Indian students will hold slightly different but comparable learning preferences.

In the Jarvis study, in order to discover if there were distinct disciplinary differences in students' beliefs about knowledge and their learning preferences, a questionnaire was devised, based primarily on Biggs' (1987) Study Process Questionnaire which relates to the notions of 'deep' and 'surface' learning. The questionnaire also incorporated ideas based on work by Schommer (1990) and Vermunt (1996) relating to beliefs about knowledge and the regulation of study strategies. The questionnaire was a fifty-item Likert-style questionnaire with five categories ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. It was multidimensional and factor analysis confirmed the existence of five distinct dimensions concerning the learning preferences of students. Details of the five dimensions derived are given in Table 7.2 with examples of the foci of the related questions.

Altogether, 384 undergraduates from five disciplines were questioned. In a parallel project 483 graduate teacher trainees in twelve different subject areas were also surveyed, and their outcomes followed closely that of the undergraduates. For the purposes of clarity in Table 7.3, the scales have been normalised to provide for each of the five factors a spread of ten points. This shows more clearly

Table 7.2 Five dimensions of student learning preferences

Scale title	Meaning of low score
Interaction and Participation (14 items)	Students are keen to interact and exchange ideas. Examples are that students show enthusiasm for group work and making presentations, and are confident in asking and answering questions in class.
Approach to learning (12 items)	Students show intrinsic motivation and use a 'deep' approach to learning. Examples are that they prefer to learn ideas rather than memorise facts. They do not want to be given exact instructions by their tutors.
Instructional preferences (6 items)	Students favour theoretical work and text over diagrams. They seek knowledge other than that provided by the tutor and are not motivated by a future career.
Beliefs about knowledge (7 items)	Students have a relativist view of knowledge. They do not expect their tutors to be able to transfer a body of knowledge intact to them. Examples are that students like to work on their own ideas and connect them to real-life situations.
Regulation of (8 items)	Students self-regulate their own studies. Examples are that students take control of their own learning by preparing for lessons and reading around the subject.

Reliability was confirmed by a Cronbach's alpha score (value 0.81).

Table 7.3 Ratings on the five scales

Under-graduate subjects	Number of students	Mean score overall	Measure of				
			Partic-ipation	Approach to learning	Instruct-ional preference	Beliefs/ knowledge	Type of study
English Business	75	0.00	0.00	1.00	3.98	0.00	2.85
Studies	75	3.16	0.63	0.00	9.68	4.24	0.00
Art	89	3.69	0.30	9.48	3.36	5.22	8.49
Science	47	4.24	10.00	1.64	0.00	10.00	6.21
Maths	98	10.00	6.44	10.00	10.00	9.84	10.00

the extent to which English and mathematics students are so often at the extremities. As is common with large scale Likert-style questionnaires, the trainees' interpretations of the questions were not probed; exploring meanings requires a different qualitative methodology. However, the way in which students interpreted the questions makes it clear that English and mathematics students respond quite differently to the survey.

Clearly mathematics students, as well as science students to a marked degree, tend to be driven by extrinsic factors and adopt a surface form of learning dependent on memorising and skill development. They like to be given exact instructions by their tutors. They focus narrowly on what is required and are motivated by concerns about their future career. They expect their tutors to transfer a body of knowledge to them. These students like to be disciplined by their tutors in their work. This could well be a factor in the differential recruitment of ethnic groups, and even an issue in gender discrimination.

Culturally imposed learning styles

Little research appears to be available regarding Indian students' learning preferences. The origins of some of the work in Hong Kong and its population's identification as a clearly differentiated ethnic group has meant there is a quantity of research on Chinese students, and this is presented as an example of how distinctive learning styles do reside in subgroups of pupils. In a recent study of Chinese pupils in English secondary schools (Sham and Woodrow, 1998; Verma *et al.*, 1999; Woodrow and Sham, 2001) significant differences were found in the assumptions and learning styles of Chinese pupils, even though many had been in England for a considerable period and many had been born there. The overwhelming conclusion from this research was the extent to which the British-Chinese pupils were conditioned by traditional Chinese behavioural rules. The family context was overwhelming and totally dominant, so that even those who were born in England were immersed (submerged) in their family context. The two fundamental rules of 'respect for superiors' and 'loyalty and filial piety' provide a framework within which they create expectations and attitudes with regard to their education.

One possible reason for this strong familial influence lies in the lack of a centralised religion in Chinese culture. Not only has the communist influence weakened religious aspiration in China, but the tradition is not for religious meetings or for religious 'gurus'. The lack of religious leaders makes it more difficult for the transitions to a local culture to be negotiated and recognised. In addition, Confucianism, the most popular surviving religious tradition in Chinese cultures, emphasizes private rituals honouring ancestors, rather than any kind of temple worship.

Not unexpectedly, British-European pupils have the 'right' cultural capital and have learning styles which seem compatible with the teaching styles they experience. The individual autonomy that is emphasised resonates with the social assumptions of parents and the stress in British society on individual rights and freedoms. There are many opportunities for the pupils to think and work independently, problem-solve and make up their own minds. Generally, the Chinese pupils would much prefer to work on their own rather than in a group and would prefer a quiet classroom. For Chinese pupils the purpose of group work seems little understood, and being questioned in class is embarrassing and makes them nervous. Discussions with their peers, a common feature in English schooling, are to them irrelevant when it is the teacher who holds the knowledge. Solving problems or making up their own minds is the most difficult learning strategy, yet this is at the root of most English classrooms:

> This attention to generalised process skills as the central feature of English education is not true of learners in some other countries, where knowledge is still rooted in facts, and where the investment possible in education makes very large classes inevitable, and teacher knowledge precarious. Where factual knowledge and algorithmic skills are precarious they maintain their central importance. Learning in this situation is inevitably 'book bound' and rote-learned skills are not just valued but found useful and are indeed valuable. Students and teachers believe that success comes from being told what to learn and this can then be memorised for success.
>
> (Woodrow, 1997a, p. 39)

One interesting outcome of a similar study in Hong Kong was that one of the most distinctive differences between Hong Kong classrooms and English classrooms was in how often pupils are praised by their teachers. There are few English teachers who will consider the proposition that praising pupils is irrelevant to learning – even when it is pointed out that most praise given is for qualities over which pupils have no control and which can cause disenchantment and disbelief. Yet when comparing pupils in Hong Kong and Manchester we found that whilst over 80 per cent of Manchester pupils had been praised, less than 20 per cent of Hong Kong pupils had ever been praised – yet their expressed enjoyment of school was higher.

Learning to read with meaning is difficult if the language being learnt is not the mother tongue. This tends to lead to reading being learnt entirely phonically without a concern for understanding. This early introduction to a style of learning is

important, as in a similar way is the learning of Chinese calligraphy, a painstaking and practised art which teaches patience, neatness, visual acuity and motor control as learning virtues. The high value placed on calligraphy promotes by association the use of memory and repetition as a means of learning, and as suggested by Tang and Williams (2000) leads to the development of a more sophisticated (even perhaps different) form of learning method and cognitive style (Bagley, 1996).

Dunn (1990) considered a group of twenty-one elements in a 'Learning Styles Inventory' (LSI) which revealed some interesting differences between Mexican-American, Chinese-American, African-American and Greek-American fourth-, fifth- and sixth-grade pupils. The LSI included personal construct items (such as responsibility/conformity, authority, self-motivation, parent and teacher motivation) together with methodological issues (such as learning alone, preferring a variety of approaches, tactile and kinaesthetic approaches) and contextual issues (such as morning/afternoon working, noise and temperature preferences). The African-American and Chinese-American profiles proved to be consistently opposite, almost perfect mirror images in their preferred learning styles. Aloneness was a strikingly strong positive for the Chinese and an equally strong negative for the African; indeed fifteen of the twenty-one items were statistically significantly different. Chinese-Americans seem to require a variety of instructional approaches, whereas African-Americans prefer established patterns and routines to their learning.

A Black colleague has emphasized to me the importance he feels of 'vibes', intuitive responses that most of White (Greek-derived) academia rejects with distrust. This issue is also discussed by Asanti (1987) and Collins (1990), amongst other Black writers, who stress the 'spirituality' of African thinking and the holistic view of reality this provides. In contrast to Western, either/or dichotomous thought, the traditional African world-view is holistic and seeks harmony (Collins, 1990, p. 212). The myth of objectivity and the use of a methodology of objectification is one aspect of universalism as an expression of the European driving force and as a tool of Western cultural imperialism: 'Objectification becomes a means of claiming universality where there is none. European cultural imperialism is therefore an inherent part of European objectification (scientism)' (Ani, 1994, p. 411).

The factors that create these differences would appear to be culturally or socially based and will lead to the prioritisation by different groups of different descriptions of the learning act as better or worse descriptions of how their learning takes place. Problems only arise when the systems (or the teacher) unnecessarily and discriminatorily prioritise some factors above others, and hence some pupils above others (see Lewis, 2002).

The impact of social contexts

The impact of religion on attitudes and aspirations relating to education was clearly shown by Singh-Raud (1997) in researching young 'British-Asians' and in particular comparing women from the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim religious

communities. It was interesting to note, for example, that the Muslim women pushed hard for separate and single-sex schools whereas the Hindu and Sikh women were against the notion of separate denominational schools and pre-ferred co-educational schools. These different Asian religious groups had differing attitudes towards education, employment, marriage and settlement. Singh-Raud noted that whilst in most cases responses were influenced by reli-gious upbringing, in other cases religion was probably acting as a marker for clearly differentiated cultures. It was, indeed, extremely difficult in Asian com-munities to distinguish between religion and culture, since they were so closely interwoven. Singh-Raud makes the point that variance does exist due to reli-gious faiths in UK education and if these differences are not addressed then there is the danger of being discriminatory on a group level, i.e. *'creedist'*. It is not positive 'discrimination' that is called for here but rather positive 'action'.

Whilst cognitive techniques such as memory are universal, the way they are used to develop concepts and solve problems differs from person to person and group to group. Different societies value and utilise these skills in different ways, with rational, emotional, empathetic and interpersonal skills being differently pri-oritised. When social groups are in effect locally- (family-) based these discrepancies can be accommodated and adjustments made to ensure individual self worth and esteem. Sham (1996) describes how Chinese families manage and cope with children with learning disabilities in a different way from the typical English response, being able to support and contain the needs within the wider family structure; for the Chinese the family will provide a protective overcoat to members with disabilities so that the disability becomes less relevant. The causes, meanings and responses to such disabilities are radically different in different cul-tures and are almost impossible to place in correspondence. As societies have become larger, families smaller and more mobile and structured in more complex ways, they are no longer adaptable to individuals with unusual needs in the same way. The days in which the village 'simpleton' was accepted and socially nurtured by a small supportive community are long gone in England.

As people move from supportive 'villages' to large urban towns so conditions change, and the urbanisation of India, for example, will have consequences. Those with distinctive needs must be assimilated and they can only try to conform as best they can. This need for citizens to conform and live routine lives makes eccentrics and other individuals less acceptable, much as all world markets begin to look the same – the same stores, the same merchandise, and little attempt to localise the product. Thanks to television and impressive marketing, young people all over the world seem to wear the same jeans and tank tops. It probably has quality but does it have character? In Ritzer's (1993) evocative phrase, it represents the McDonaldisation of Society, a complex process of pseudo-individualisation of a unitised universal product.

One consequence of this trend towards uniformity, represented in the UK by the National Curriculum and its consequences, is that different cognitive styles and strengths result in more discrimination and inequity. Schools have always had to cope with the complexity of varying learning styles, and individual pupils have

needed careful support. Clearly, however, where there is a dominant assumption about how the students are learning then any pupil dissonance from that assumption will lead to disadvantage and lack of development consistent with those expectations. As educational valuations in England have become more overt and incontestable so more pupils have been excluded.

Constructivism – a culture-bound theory of learning

Many of the concerns within education lie in conflicting notions of authority and correctness, whether it be in instilling 'morals', establishing the nature of 'proof', following grammatical rules or in decision-making. Cultures which have strong respect for ancestors and elders will tend to have a view of knowledge which is heavily based on the notion of a 'body of knowledge' rather than knowledge as a creative and individual voyage of discovery. The source of authority is critical. Individual identity as contrasted with belonging to a societal group (be it family, ethnic or cultural) will have a fundamental bearing on such issues. The growth of 'constructivist' theories in both mathematics and science education relates to the rejection of 'bodies of knowledge' and extrinsically created truth and authority which challenge the supremacy of the individual and self-determinism. It would appear to be an interesting paradox that this development of 'constructivist theory', with its stress on individual conceptions of knowledge, should have taken place in mathematics and science. These two curriculum subjects are traditionally perceived as being the least related to individual pupil contribution and creative activity, compared with concerns for external truth, facts, rules and objectivity. Yet it was probably the very neglect of individual autonomy that led researchers to focus on this omission from the academic portfolio of these subjects.

In radical constructivist theory it is held that there is no knowledge other than that which is owned by the individual. The role of the teacher is therefore to create situations or experiences that present the learner with new ideas to rationalise. It is a 'teaching for meaning' psychology in which metaphor and language explorations are the vehicles for development. This places enormous emphasis on the images and constructs that the pupil owns, and many of these will be focused within, and derived from, the pupil's own culture rather than that of the teacher or society at large:

> It crucially removes from the teacher the position of arbiter of knowledge, the only person in the classroom with authority. In some societies this removal of authority is unacceptable, or unimaginable, and makes this particular psychology of learning irrelevant and inapplicable.
>
> (Woodrow, 1996, p. 32)

It is related too to the roles and responsibilities accorded to the teacher and pupils. It assumes not only the possibility of a negotiated position between teacher and pupils but also one in which pupils have autonomy and rights. Children appear to have adult rights, and adult responsibilities for their learning. Any such 'negotiations', of

course, take place within cultural assumptions which may leave little room for variance or re-definition; the pupils may simply not allow the teacher to abdicate the role of knowing authority.

It is also perhaps no accident that the 'constructivist' theory should have arisen largely within US and English education as a response to the commitment of the culture and society to capitalistic and self-reliance philosophies. One of the basic outcomes of the right wing 'Thatcher/Reaganite' policies was that the 'state' ('there is no such thing as society' said Mrs Thatcher, talking to *Women's Own* magazine, October 31 1987) was no longer responsible for individuals. The current position of individuals as employed or unemployed, rich or poor, and by implication literate or illiterate is their responsibility and all they need do is to exert their entrepreneurial talents. Guilt is passed onto the individual rather than being the responsibility of collective society. They are not enterprising enough or just do not have the right internal language. It is interesting also to note that in countries where there is a clearer concern for individual rights in learning (i.e. Western countries), blame for failure to learn by an individual pupil is often attributed outside the control of the individual to 'the teacher' or to 'not being clever enough', whereas where more social methods of teaching are the norm (e.g. in Japan and Taiwan) the blame for non-achievement is more often accepted by the pupil who will assert that they did not work hard enough (Stevenson and Stigler, 1992).

Constructivism becomes more problematic as a theory when family rather than self is the identity unit and social responsibility rather than self-aggrandisement is the motivating force. Social constructivism attempts to address this issue by considering the individual pupils within a social context, and looking for social interaction as a support for individual self-concept development. In social constructivism too, however, the premise remains that there is no knowledge except that known by the pupil and it is individual self-exploration which is central. This also becomes a difficult theoretical position when the teacher's role is founded in a culture which values authority and leadership.

The conflicts can be seen in the paradox contained within a recent doctoral thesis in which a Kenyan author expressed a firm commitment to constructivist (and hence individually focused) theory but felt constrained to interview pupils in groups, since it was so abnormal for a Kenyan teacher to talk with a pupil individually (Wanjada, 1996). Where authority, rather than autonomy, is valued then it is likely that traditional approaches to mathematics and science will cause fewer stylistic conflicts and constructivist theories will not find favour. With large classes of pupils and few resources, discourse is problematic. Johnson (1997) tells of teaching in Lithuania where partly because of lack of books, the subjects are taught by lectures where students take detailed notes which they learn to reproduce for formal examinations. He describes 'recitation' as the main teaching mode in Lithuanian schools. In the context of India the variations in the pre-eminence of authority or autonomy will clearly be affected by the local social contexts, by the context of large school classes and limited resources, and above all by the differing religious affiliations.

The imperialism of individualism

The influence of the contrast between individual rights and social responsibility on the fundamental concept of 'democratic' education is discussed further in Woodrow (1997b), but the position is far from clear and paradox is ever present. The notion of democracy would seem to be inimical to isolation and individualism; it is impossible without the interaction of people and without reference to 'society'. The value of radical constructivism is in its contribution to maintaining the debate, and highlighting the conflict, between individuals and society. An interesting early debate about the paradox which must be sustained between 'rights of individuals' and their empowerment contrasted with the 'identification of needs', which more paternal societies try to fulfil, can be found in Rappaport (1981), who maps the move in the USA away from social paternalism in community support to individual responsibility. At the core of current Western dogma lies the notion of individual autonomy, and the promotion of self assertion and self decision, yet democracy depends upon the denial of this (whether voluntary or majority enforced) when social cohesion and the social good are implied. On such contradictions reality is created. This same paradox needs to be sustained (accepted but not resolved!) in learning theories where contradictory notions such as individual construction and bodies of knowledge just have to co-exist. Statements that assert that individuals 'exist' and that individuals 'construct their own thoughts' are rather banal unless they are juxtaposed with other notions such as 'bodies of knowledge' and 'social mores' or 'citizenship'. There is a delicate balance to be held between the autocracy of tradition and the anarchy of existentialism, and it is easy for democracy and justice to vanish or become misrepresented through imbalance towards either position.

Cultural capital and imperialism

The discussion in this chapter provides a rich annotation of the notions of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), whose use of 'cultural capital' to denote the outputs of culture on social power and dominance matches much of the underlying concern. Both home and school provide students with 'capital', forming a richly developing *habitus* in which they operate. Some of their home 'capital' is also valuable within the school economy; the acceptance of authority without overt questioning makes them 'good' pupils. By contrast the attributes of some pupils appears to generate a much less valued cultural capital. The ability/commitment/ application of some to memorising knowledge is positively powerful in the school market and the absence of over-desire for leisure activity and a habit of working are seen as useful school currencies. The late 1990s saw a shift of valuation in the dominant English cultural field towards these currencies and there is now less commitment to the currencies of the 1980s, namely, problem solving, peer interaction and democratic debate within classrooms. It is still evident, however, that the *habitus* of the English classroom is focused around individual rights, individual responsibilities and individual choices as the significant currencies.

Sociability, being liked, 'belonging to the club', are still dominant, to repeat a quote from earlier:

> The most privileged students do not only owe the habits, behaviour and attitudes which help them directly in pedagogic tasks to their social origins, they also inherit from their knowledge and savoir-faire, tastes and a 'good taste'.
>
> (Bourdieu and Passeron 1964 p. 30)

In England it is assumed that as the generations of immigrants pass through, the *habitus* within which individuals exist will be more and more affected by the ambient social milieu and this will provide more usable symbolic currency for the young assimilated people. Indeed, the 'British-Asian' culture is already becoming more assertive in creating its own cultural nexus with a unique set of values concerning self and others. It is assumed that such a strong alternative culture will in its turn affect British traditional culture.

There are, however, two dangers: one, that British Asians remain (or are constrained to remain) within their own field rather than emerging and succeeding within the dominantly White culture (degree courses in mathematics and information technology becoming a cultural home for Asian students); the other is that success comes from real assimilation and the distinctive, and internally valuable, attributes of these minorities are dissipated. Indian society faces its own divisions and subgroups, some of whom are privileged and others under-privileged. It is the aim of common schooling to tackle these issues and to try to provide a more equal opportunity for these different groups. It too must struggle with maintaining or destroying variety and difference.

An idealistic objective would be that what is required is a curriculum that can respond to variety and variation, since there is clearly as much of these within all social and ethnic groups as there is between them. Whilst ethnic origins and family life may affect the *habitus* of an individual, so too do their own characteristics, their extroversion or introversion, their excitability or pacifity, and many other variables which make individuals individual. Assumptions about how students learn almost inevitably discriminate for or against particular learning preferences. Teachers often excuse themselves in terms of 'if only I had known I wouldn't have done that', when in practice you can never know enough and must teach in a way which doesn't depend upon knowing and that allows for individual learning traits.

This assumes, of course, that education really can be an altruistic, empowering agent for all individuals rather than a vehicle for pre-determined enculturation and social control. For example, it is evident that much of the altruistic Western empowerment agenda of social development policies during the 1980s served to empower the powerful more effectively than it did the underclass it was promoted to advantage. The 'headstart' curriculum, introduced in New York in the 1970s to improve the achievement of pupils from ethnic minorities, was also used by the strong middle classes to promote their own offspring, leading not to the catching up but to the falling further behind of the children it was

intended to help. According to Bourdieu (see Grenfell and James, 1999, pp. 20–21) as the subcultures become symbolically richer and have more capital, the governing society will intuitively change the exchange rates and work to devalue the currencies in which the subcultures have saved. Ways of teaching and the messages passed on by curriculum assumptions are an essential part of that maintenance of cultural dominance. Power changes are a slow process without a total collapse in the market. Without appropriate political intervention the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, and without appropriate educational policies the gulf between the 'intelligentsia' and the 'illiterate' also widens.

On the wider stage, assumptions of constructivist principles of learning reinforce Western valuations of individual knowledge, individual rights and individual autonomy compared to 'book knowledge', traditional bodies of knowledge and authority which depend upon social valuations. There is a concomitant commitment to social interaction and debate as the form of academic self-validation and justification, rather than reference to traditional texts, authority and expert opinion. Valuations such as these are determined by the dominant participants in the field of operation. They legitimise the symbolic exchange rates in which the educational economy trades, defining the power and influence which the social capital represents. It is vital, therefore, that India develops its own curriculum, its own theories of learning that tune into, and are resonant with, its own society and its own values.

References

Adey P., Fairbrother R. and William D. (1999) *Learning Styles and Strategies: A Review of Research.* London: King's College.

Ani, M. (1994) *Yurugu, an Afrikan Centred Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behaviour.* New Jersey: Africa World Press.

Apple, M. W. (2001) 'Comparing neo-liberal projects and inequality in education', *Comparative Education,* 37, 4, 409–423.

Asanti, M. (1987) *The Afrocentric Idea.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bagley, C. (1996) 'Field independence in group-oriented cultures: comparisons from China, Japan and North America', *Journal of Social Psychology,* 135, 523–6.

Biggs, J. (1987) *Student Approaches to Learning and Studying.* Hawthorn: Victoria, Australian Council for Educational Research.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Trans. Nice, R., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. (1964) *Les Heritiers.* Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.

Coffield, F., Moseley, D., Hall, E. and Ecclestone, K. (2004) 'Should we be using learning styles? What research has to say to practice', *Learning and Skills Research Centre (online).* At: http://www.lsda.org.uk/files/PDF/1540.pdf (Accessed 08 August 2005).

Collins, P. (1990) *Black Feminist Thought.* London: Routledge.

D'Ambrosio, U. (1990) 'The role of mathematics education in building a democratic and just society', *For the Learning of Mathematics,* 10, 20–23.

Dunn, R. (1990) 'Cross-cultural differences in learning styles', *Journal of Counseling and Development,* 18, 68–93.

Gardner, H. (1993) *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences.* London: Fontana.

Garner, R. (2006) 'Chinese and Indian pupils most likely to pick science', *The Independent Online,* May 9th, 2006.

Gerdes, P. (1985) 'Conditions and strategies for emancipatory mathematics education in undeveloped countries', *For the Learning of Mathematics,* 6, 10–17.

Grenfell M. and James D. (1999) *Bourdieu and Education: Acts of Practical Theory.* London: Falmer.

Guilford, J. P. (1967) *The Nature of Intelligence.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Jarvis, J. (2002) 'Learning preferences of undergraduate and PGCE students in relation to subjects of study', unpublished PhD Thesis. Manchester Metropolitan University.

Jarvis, J. and Woodrow, D. (2002) 'Learning preferences and academic culture', *Proceedings of the 7th ELSIN Conference: Reliability and Validity.* University of Ghent, Belgium, June 2002.

Johnson, M. (1997) 'Classroom relationships in three cultures, comparative classroom ambience in the UK, France and Lithuania', in Woodrow, D. *et al.* (eds) *Intercultural Education: Theories, Policies and Practices.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kelly, G. (1973) *A Theory of Personality.* New York: Norton.

Lewis, L. K. (2002) 'Cultural development group work: an evaluation', unpublished PhD Thesis. Manchester Metropolitan University.

Popkewitz, T. S. (1998) 'Dewey, Vygotsky, and the social administration of the individual: constructivist pedagogy as systems of ideas in historical spaces', *American Educational Research Journal,* 35, 535–570.

Rappaport, J. (1981) 'In praise of paradox: a social policy of empowerment over prevention', *American Journal of Community Psychology,* 9, 1–25.

Riding, R. J. and Cheema, I. (1991) 'Cognitive styles – an overview and integration', *Educational Psychology,* 11, 193–215.

Ritzer, G. (1993) *The McDonaldisation of Society.* London: Pine Forge Press.

Schommer, M. (1990) 'Effects of beliefs about the nature of knowledge on comprehension', *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 82, 498–504.

Sham, S. (Yuen Mei) (1996) 'Reaching Chinese children with learning disabilities in Greater Manchester', *British Journal of Learning Disabilities,* 24, 104–109.

Sham, S. (Yuen Mei) and Woodrow, D. (1998) 'Chinese children and their families in England', *Research Papers in Education,* 13, 203–226.

Singh-Raud, H. (1997) 'Educational attitude and aspirations of Asian girls', Unpublished PhD Thesis. Manchester Metropolitan University.

Stevenson, H. and Stigler, J. (1992) *The Learning Gap – Why Our Schools are Failing and What We Can Learn from Japanese and Chinese Education.* New York: Summit Books.

Tang T. and Williams J., (2000) 'Who Have Better Learning Styles – East Asian or Western Students?' Proceedings of the 5th ELSIN Conference. University of Hertfordshire, UK, June 2000.

Verma, G., Chan, Y.-M., Bagley, C., Sham, S., Darby, S., Woodrow, D. and Skinner, G. (1999) *Chinese Adolescents in Britain and Hong Kong: Identity and Aspirations.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Vermunt, J. (1996) 'Metacognitive, cognitive and affective aspects of learning styles and strategies: a phenomenographic analysis', *Higher Education,* 31, 25–40.

Vithal, R. and Skovsmose, O. (1997) 'The end of innocence: a critique of ethnomathematics', *Educational Studies in Mathematics,* 345, 131–157.

Wanjada, E. K. (1996) 'Secondary school pupils' errors in algebra,*'* Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Leeds.

Witkin, A. (1967). 'A cognitive-style approach to cross-cultural research', *International Journal of Psychology,* 2, 237–238.

Woodrow, D. (1996) 'Cultural inclinations towards studying mathematics and sciences', *New Community,* 22, 23–38.

Woodrow, D. (1997a) 'Social construction of theoretical beliefs', in Woodrow, D., Verma, G., Rocha-Trinidade, M., Campani, G. and Bagley, C. (eds) *Intercultural Education: Theories, Policies and Practices.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Woodrow, D. (1997b) 'Democratic education; does it exist and can it exist for mathematics education?' *For the Learning of Mathematics,* 17, 11–16.

Woodrow, D. (2001) 'Cultural determination of curricula, theories and practices', *Pedagogy, Culture and Society,* 9, 5–27.

Woodrow, D. and Sham, S. (2001) 'Chinese pupils and their learning preferences', *Race Ethnicity and Education,* 14, 377–394.

8 Diversity, inclusion and education

The educational needs of children from severely disadvantaged socio-cultural groups in Europe

Hilary Gray

Introduction

The Salamanca UNESCO Forum (1994) called for inclusive principles to operate in education, and recognised that no matter how dedicated the teachers, there are serious hazards in segregated schooling even for pupils with significant learning difficulties (UNESCO, 1994). In 2000, the Dacca Forum called for national education systems to take account of the poor and most disadvantaged 'including working children, remote rural dwellers and nomads, and ethnic and linguistic minorities, children, young people and adults affected by conflict, HIV/AIDS, hunger and poor health, and those with special learning needs' (UNESCO, 2000). The issue of satisfactory schooling for severely socio-culturally disadvantaged pupils unites various of these agendas. I will discuss two approaches that have contributed to some progress regarding the complex and often stubborn problems of meeting their educational needs.

All modern education systems must respond to the fact that the generation and decay of information are today simply too fast for knowledge mastery to be a sufficient aim of education systems. Effective education must facilitate in younger pupils the skills for simple exploration of information and use of evidence, whether verbal, graphic, personal or artefact. Older pupils need to progress to more complex research skills. This implies a movement away from memorising putative 'facts' and it underlies the satisfactory education of all pupils, but is of particular and direct relevance to the education of pupils from severely disadvantaged and/or excluded groups. Further, it has been recognised for some time in the UK and North America that the educational needs of children from socio-culturally disadvantaged families are often different from those of children with upper or middle class parents, and it was recognised decades ago that children from ethnic minority groups are often caught up in these intergenerational and vicious cycles (Rutter and Madge, 1976). The most severe examples link both race and class, and it is in the ethnic majority–minority forum that many of the principles for improvement have been developed. For some time, the UK government has maintained detailed and publicly available information about the school achievements of pupils. Thus there is objective information that, on average, a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils and

many from the white working class underachieve (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000). The underachievement is particularly serious among Gypsy-Traveller children, children from Bangladeshi families, and refugee children. That the problem is intergenerational and affects certain class and/or ethnic groups more than others does not imply genetic causes, but rather reflects its intergenerational nature, where majority group prejudices are built up often over centuries and where members of the disadvantaged groups come to feel that they and their children will never be among society's successful.

Apart from the human right of all children to develop to their potential (UNICEF, 1989) governments and international bodies have pragmatic reasons for anxiety when severe disadvantage is blatantly linked to one socio-cultural group. This is partly because of risk of social disorder between the more and less privileged, especially when the disadvantaged group is easily visibly distinguished as when there is an ethnic element. Also there is economic loss when a large, unskilled section of the population cannot contribute to the GDP, and because welfare payments such as unemployment benefits absorb large slices of the national income. A current example of such governmental anxiety is the European Union's strong concern regarding the plight of Roma children and families who, all over former communist central Europe, suffer grave educational, health and employment difficulties. Thus the EU has established its only support fund that is dedicated to a single ethnic group (EU, 1999; Sarkar and Jha, 2000).

Traditionally, it was thought helpful for such pupils to join segregated special schools. However, it is increasingly recognised that early categorisation of children is dangerous. Intelligence is 'plastic': children change, often dramatically. For example, Hindley and Owen (1980) found the relative positions of one-quarter of a sample of ordinary London children moved up or down a minimum of one-sixth of the entire range of normal intelligence between the ages of five and eight.[1] A more positive approach was initiated by the 1960s US government. Black American children were massively handicapped vis-à-vis schooling, and in consequence the government made pre-school provision available through the 'Head Start' programme. Monitoring the effectiveness of this provision throughout the schooling of a sample of children showed that good preschool education led to significantly better school performance with a low 'wash-out' factor. In fact, gains tended to last well into their school years, and even into their adult lives, with better employment rates and health, more stable relationships, and fewer crime convictions still discernible in the follow-up statistics at age twenty-seven (Schweinhart & Weikart, 1993). Thus the national investment in their early education was amply recouped via their income taxes and also via welfare savings. Schweinhart *et al.*'s (1986) monitoring of Head Start programmes also identified the characteristics of delivery of a planned, age-appropriate preschool curriculum that predicted best gains. These were experiential, participant learning, and involvement of the parents in their children's education. These two principles will inform the rest of this chapter.[2]

Engaged, participant learning

Universally, children's concentration and their language skills are most critical for their access to the curriculum and their educational progress. How best can we facilitate these characteristics? It might seem obvious that a child who concentrates longer on the content of a lesson will learn that lesson better, but this ignores the quality of the concentration. Effective learning involves learning to use and assess evidence, and also involves flexible mastery over the components of the learned skill so that the learning generalises to contexts other than those in which it was first mastered. Such learning comes via teachers who deliver the curriculum in a way that actively engages the pupils' understanding, rather than requiring that they passively rehearse material whose meaning may be unclear to them.

A year after the 1917 communist revolution in Russia, the Supreme Soviet set out the Basic Principles of Uniform Schooling for Workers, namely that education be free, compulsory, gender- and ethnicity-equal,[3] secular, and 'uniform' (Council of Deputies, 1918). In practice, this concept of 'uniform' education implied teaching the curriculum to whole classes without allowance for individual differences, that is 'undifferentiated', which in any case was then the teaching style in most of Europe and North America.

Teaching through projects or specific topics has been one approach to ensuring that pupils are actively engaged rather than passively exposed to curriculum material. This method also readily lends itself to differentiating the curriculum so that pupils with different learning needs can remain in the same class but still benefit from the curriculum that is delivered. The essence of the approach is that some topic or project is defined which the child or children explore, with the teacher providing relevant source materials in the form of books, artefacts, discussions with relevant persons inside or outside school, and so on. The children actively participate as they accrue and assess evidence about the topic. At the same time they are practising their basic skills of language, literacy, mathematics on the topic material. After the armed conflict that fully established the 1917 communist revolution and a massive, compulsory campaign to redress the extreme adult illiteracy inherited from the Tzars (Tomiak, 1972, p. 13), Soviet pedagogues began to experiment with teaching by project. However, influenced by Marx's typically materialist concept of 'technological education' (e.g. Marx, 1867, Book 1) which later led to the prioritisation of science over the arts and humanities, pupils in these early communist schools literally engaged with technological production of goods and services and their projects were literally within factories. One can, for example, see how projects monitoring operational effectiveness or quality control would help rehearse the mathematics learned in the classroom. But unsurprisingly, managers in industry soon objected on safety grounds, and after a few years Stalin condemned teaching via projects as a 'Pedological Perversion', (Central Committee of the Communist Party, 1936). Soviet education withdrew to its 'uniform', undifferentiated style. A standard lesson plan was developed in which the teacher engaged the whole class with the lesson content, firstly by setting written work, then by following it up with appropriate questions aimed at clarifying the

task and drawing out deeper aspects (Tomiak, 1972, p. 63). The technique involved discussion with individual children, the other class members listening in (Alexander, 2000). The question is the extent to which this uniform delivery lived up to the true communist ideals of providing for each according to his needs. PISA international comparisons (OECD 2000) suggest that the methods were not satisfactory.

This style of curriculum delivery largely remains in Russia and instruction is very similar in the east central European states which became communist in the 1940s. So far as this concerns the severely disadvantaged Roma pupils, they often enter school with some weaknesses in their own Roma language and without skills in the language of instruction which was always the majority language except in the small Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (Poulton, 1998). As well as literacy and mathematics, those countries' national curricula tended to prioritise grammatical correctness, a sure way for teachers who are inclined to criticise to find ways of doing so. The children failed formal tests in or even before school and the slower pace of a very similar curriculum in the special schools failed to stimulate them. Thus the 'mental handicap' of this entire ethnic group appeared to be confirmed (e.g. European Roma Rights Centre, 1998).

Teaching by project and group learning in the UK and US

Teaching by topic or project was widely adopted in the US and the UK in the 1970s and 1980s. Rationales included pupil motivation and the facility for differentiating the curriculum which suited 'comprehensive' classes with wide ability ranges and pupils with different patterns of strengths and weaknesses. Also, the approach represents an example of our collective commitment to empiricism because rote learning is reduced and the children have experience of management of evidence. At one extreme each individual child might work for a month or more on his or her chosen topic that has age-appropriate relevance to history, geography and science, with the reading and writing and maths involved serving as rehearsal for these basic academic skills. At the other extreme, a whole school might adopt the same topic, pupils and classes engaging with it in different ways and at different academic levels. The success of this style of teaching depends utterly on the teacher's input, which includes design of conceptual maps or 'webs' to draw out the learning opportunities of the topic and thus guide the provision of materials, which may be very simple indeed (e.g. UNICEF, 2000). For example, the topic 'water' could be used for volume calculations in mathematics, for the rain cycle and endless explorations of the essentials of life in geography and science, for natural disasters in history, for writing poetry and stories, and depends on collections of graphics, natural or artefactual, to support the children's learning.

The opponents of this teaching method argue that it involves a waste of learning time, e.g. in physically moving around the classroom to consult reference material; unrealistic reliance on the children to manage their own needs, e.g. in group discussions; and neglect of rote learning where automatic mastery is required, e.g. in some literacy sub-skills. Alexander (2000) argues thus in his

large study of the effectiveness of teaching styles in five countries including India, Russia and England. He also argues that the soviet collective social ethos ensured that the whole class were actively (but silently) engaged when the individual pupil was targeted as the teacher's discussant in the standard whole-class lesson sequence (see above) equally as much as English children working on their topics. Certainly the UK's weak scores in the mid-1990s' international comparisons of literacy and mathematics skills (OECD, 2000; IAEEA,1995) suggest caution regarding the topic/project method as a total approach to education, and UK schools sharply swung away from the method following these comparisons. As for the former Soviet Union, there was no educational outcome data (Coolahan 1998; Bakker, 1999) but recent international comparisons of literacy skills (OECD, 2003) suggest that Russian teaching is still far from satisfactory. In any case, it must be repeated that exploration of materials and assessment of evidence will remain vital in modern education. Thus project and topic work continue to play a part in most UK schools, with some primary schools still successfully delivering the entire National Curriculum in this way, though with secure methods in place to ensure that the children efficiently also master the sub-skills of literacy and maths.

Positive role models and working with families and communities

The intergenerational nature of socio-cultural disadvantage implies that pupils from severely affected groups often especially lack the educational support from their families that pupils from more advantaged backgrounds can take for granted. Teachers' understandable frustration at this situation demands highly professional management.

Ethnic minorities and/or children from a rigid class system who are stereotyped because they are easily 'categorised', need to actually witness educational and employment success of adults from their own or a closely related 'category'. Similarly, the old excluding processes will only fade as more privileged groups witness the success of members of the excluded groups. Teachers who are themselves members of the disadvantaged groups can be marvellous role models, but reversing educational disadvantage may often take decades before there are enough graduate members of these groups to have much impact. However, teaching assistants from disadvantaged groups can also act as powerful evidence that educational and employment success is not just a dream. All education authorities that seriously want to reverse the effects of long-term negative categorisation should consider such appointments.[4] The assistants can help the teacher with materials that are culturally more appropriate and support struggling pupils. They can also liaise with families. Very careful selection and training of the assistants regarding teaching methods and curriculum content are needed, and in particular with regard to their position as a delicate bridge between previously hostile cultures.

Relationships with families

The problem of disadvantaged families' support to their children's education has a historic and a contemporary source. The parents themselves were not encouraged by their own families; but weak commitment to their children's education also arises from feelings of inferiority, which can be reinforced, often unintentionally, by the teacher's manner. We should never underestimate how 'ordinary' respect from a professional can lift the spirits of a disadvantaged parent who is without the skills that are currently thought acceptable by society. Nor should we underestimate how negative reports about their children can damage parents' confidence if they are insensitively delivered: if negative information must be given, positive reports should always be included.

Some support schemes for disadvantaged parents aim to empower them through health-care education including contraception and AIDs awareness, and/or general parenting classes, and/or by redressing their deficits in basic literacy and numeracy.[5] Grandparents or other adult members of the disadvantaged community can provide culturally relevant material, artefacts, or stories on an enormous variety of themes ranging from past national disasters to culturally sensitive issues such as the circumstances of exclusion in their own childhoods. Since such oral histories are relevant and understandable to the children, they can powerfully motivate writing or reading practice and they are a rich source of material that can help bridge the inter-cultural and/or inter-class divide so that privileged children understand more about their classmates, and the disadvantaged child feels that his or her heritage is valued. We should, however, remember that children differ, and that some of them may dislike school's attention to their family's social and/or ethnic status; but many children flourish when their families contribute in this or similar ways.

Schools serving disadvantaged communities need to establish good relationships with formal or informal community leaders. In the UK, the expertise of these representatives is often valued by the lay management panel of schools, as they are in the best position to advise about cultural practices that affect the children's education. They may also be well placed to work with particular parents, and they can contribute to the curriculum, for example, by taking classes about cultural issues. Work that involves families and communities as well as children is known as 'Multilevel' work, and frequently the local education authority is the leading partner for such developments. The European Union project – Developing Intercultural Education through Cooperation between European Cities (DIECEC) – explored a wide variety of schemes for multilevel work in its nineteen member cities with their large populations of disadvantaged ethnic minority communities. The DIECEC handbook of community support schemes (Green, 2000) includes many ideas for working with families and communities. Importantly, it also shows the local education authority's leading role in initiating, monitoring and supporting these schemes.

Conclusions

Where do the above approaches leave the severely socio-culturally disadvantaged pupils such as the Roma in central Europe, the Travellers in many parts of Europe, and Bangladeshis in the UK, and many other groups worldwide? When the UK Department of Education 'paid for' the restrictions it imposed by the Commonwealth Immigration Act (UK, 1974) by providing help in school for ethnic minority pupils, there was a great deal for schools to learn, and the very unassertive Bangladeshi community, and constantly moving Gypsy-Travellers, were very low priority. In the 1980s, a few local education authorities began to develop various of the above ways of engaging these children and their families in education, but government recognition that some problems are more difficult to solve waited until the 1990s (e.g. UK Ofsted, 1996). Now some progress is being made, and in their detailed comparison by ethnicity and class of average public examination results, Gillborn and Mirza (2000) report that when education achievements of the UK's main ethnic groups are ranked for each local authority, every group (including the Bangladeshis) have the best average achievements in at least one authority.

The totalitarian, centralised bureaucracies of east central Europe have actively disempowered the entire Roma ethnic group, which officially simply did not exist. At the same time, teaching policy prioritised the learning of rules and facts rather than participant, experiential teaching to which Roma children could have more easily related. As documented above, undifferentiated delivery of an inappropriate curriculum to children, many of whom had some initial weaknesses, led to their exclusion to unstimulating special schools from which there was no return. Since the 1989 revolutions in east Europe, most former communist states are reforming their education systems (Illner, 2001). In the interests of both privileged and disadvantaged children, national curricula are being reformed to reduce memory of facts and rules and to increase participant, engaged learning and assessment of evidence (as above). Increased inclusivity is also an aim, often with the Roma predicament particularly in mind. Teacher training establishments are slowly recognising these priorities; Roma classroom assistants and home–school liaison officers now feature regularly in areas with high Roma populations; post-statutory education is being opened up to adults needing literacy, mathematics and vocational skills.

In these countries, as the DIECEC shows (Green, 2000), the local education authorities are also developing their coordinator techniques so that developments can happen at the most appropriate levels, and/or as opportunity presents. This is crucial because, while many teachers would say that experiential, participant learning and involvement of the parents in their children's education are part of responsible education for most children, and not only the severely disadvantaged, the difference is that to break the mould of centuries often demands more than one of the above approaches, and thus it is necessary for the issues to be treated as among the education system's leading priorities.

Notes

1 Hindley and Owen found a minimum 0.67 SD change in quartile of their ordinary London sample whose scores changed most. Many made larger positive or negative changes.

2 For recent information about the US Head Start programme which was restarted with updated rules see the large collection of policy and evaluation material at: http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/core or: http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/core /ongoing _research/ehs/ehs_intro.html.

3 The Russian Empire and the USSR included well over 100 ethnic minority groups (referred to as 'national minorities' because they had some rights in respect of their ethnicity, e.g. to education in mother tongue and the use of mother tongue in courts. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the USSR Ministry of Education (Narcompros) ordered the translation and printing of some of the centrally published school textbooks into more than 120 languages (Tomiak,1972). The initial intention was that mother tongue be the language of instruction throughout statutory schooling, at that time eight years. However, Russian as the language of the soviet brotherhood and other pressures on schools, e.g. to teach science and technology, meant that mother tongue was used less and less, and often only in primary school (the first three statutory years). By 1990 only eighteen 'national' groups received education in their 'national' language, these mainly being the large groups in the now independent western and southern republics of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, etc.

4 Mentoring schemes are also fruitful. Here, successful young adult members of a disadvantaged group befriend one or more pupils from the same group, helping with homework, providing interesting experiences, etc. 'Buddy' schemes are similar, where children within the school offer support to weaker children from their ethnic or class group.

5 See for example, Save the Children's Women's Literacy Strategy, with classes also in numeracy and health care, at: http://www.savethechildren.org/education/literacy.asp; or Save the Children's Uganda programme which also includes AIDS awareness for parents and adolescents, at: http://www.savethechildren.org/countries/africa/ uganda.asp.

References

Alexander, R. (2000) *Culture and Pedagogy.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Bakker, S. (1999) 'Educational assessment in the Russian Federation', *Assessment in Education,* 6, 291–303.

Central Committee of the Communist Party (1936) *Pedological Perversions* (cited in Tomiak, 1972, p. 18).

Coolahan, J. (ed.) (1998) *Reviews of National Policies for Education.* Paris: OECD.

Council of Deputies, (1918) *All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 16 10: Basic Princi ples of Uniform Schooling for Workers* (cited in Tomiak, 1972, p. 12).

European Roma Rights Centre (1998) *A Special Remedy: Country Series 8.* Budapest: ERRC.

EU (1999) 'European Commission: Support for Roma communities in central and eastern Europe'. At: http://europa.eu.int.

Gillborn, D. and Mirza, H. S. (2000) *Educational Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender.* London: Office for Standards in Education. At:http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/ public/docs00 /inequality.pdf.

Green P. (2000) *Raise the Standard.* Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Hindley, C. B. and Owen, C. F. (1980) 'The extent of individual change in IQ for ages between six months and 17 years, in a British longitudinal sample', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry,* 19, 329–350.

IAEEA (1995) *International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement: Third International Maths and Science Study.* At: http://timss.bc.edu/timss1995i /TIMSS Publications.html.

Illner, M. (2001) *Public Consultation on Educational Policy in the Czech Republic.* Paris: OECD.

Marx, K. (1867) *Das Kapital: Book 1.* New York: Schmidt.

OECD (2000) *Literacy in the Information Age: Final Report of the International Adult Literacy Survey.* At: http://www.oecd.org/publications.

OECD (2003) *Further Results from PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) 2000.* At: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/30/2960583.pdf.

Poulton, H. (1998) 'Linguistic minorities in the Balkans', in Paulston, C. B. and Peckham, D. (eds), *Linguistic Minorities in Central & Eastern Europe.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Rutter, M. and Madge, N. (1976) *Cycles of Disadvantage.* London: Heinemann.

Sarkar, B. and Jha, S. (2002) 'Hungarian minorities: issues and concerns', *International Studies,* 39, 2, 139–164.

Schweinhart, L., Weikart, D. and Larner, M. (1986) 'Consequences of three pre-school curriculum models through age fifteen', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly,* 1, 15–45.

Schweinhart, L. J. and Weikart, D. P. (1993) *A Summary of Significant Benefits: the High Scope Perry Pre-School Study Through Age Twenty-Seven.* Ypsilanti MI: High Scope.

Tomiak, J. (1972) *The Soviet Union.* Newton Abbott: David & Charles.

UK (1974) *Commonwealth Immigration Act.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

UK Ofsted (1996) *Education of Travelling Children.* London: Office for Standards in Education, HMR 12/96/NS. At: http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/public.

UNESCO (1994) *The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education.*Paris: UNESCO Special Education Program. At: http://portal.unesco.org/ education.

UNESCO (2000) *World Education Forum Final Report.* Paris: UNESCO Special Education Program. At: http://www.unesco.org/education/educnews/20_10_16/ report.htm.

UNICEF (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child. At:* http://www.unicef.org/crc/crc.

UNICEF (2000) *Ideas for Active Learning. At:* http://www.unicef.org/teachers/resources/ mod 5.htm #sugarcane.

9 The Greek common school system

Bridges and barriers to inclusion

Adamantios Papastamatis

Introduction

This chapter begins by outlining the general structure and function of the Greek education system and providing information on its administration and management. After that, it provides an evaluation of the system and indicates some proposals and means for its improvement so that it may become more democratic, inclusive and diverse.

Greece occupies the southern end of the Balkan Peninsula and some 2,000 islands (of which about ninety are populated) in the south-east of Europe. The country shares common boundaries with Albania, FYROM (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), Bulgaria and Turkey. The land is so mountainous and stony that out of the 50,147 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent is considered arable. Greece joined the European Union as a full member in 1981 but it is characterized by unique socio-economic, cultural and educational patterns. Social inequality is pronounced in Greece, and the educational system is over-centralized. The official language is modern Greek and about three per cent of the total population consists of linguistic and cultural minorities, mainly Muslim. A considerable number of economic immigrants, mainly from Albania and Eastern European countries, have recently been added to the indigenous population (Terzis and Moutsios, 2000). According to the population census of 2001 there were 762,191 non-Greek citizens of all ages present in a total population of just under eleven million.

General structure of education

The declared aim of the Greek educational system is to contribute to global, harmonious and balanced development of the intellectual psycho-physical abilities of pupils so that, independently of their sex and origin, they have the opportunity to become integrated personalities and live creatively (Greek Ministry of Education, 1985). More specifically, official policy states that education should be aimed at:

- developing independent, responsible and democratic individuals;
- creating individuals who are able to protect their national independence and democracy;

- helping pupils to understand social values and the equivalence of intellectual and manual work;
- the development of creativity and cooperation with other nations.

Education in Greece is divided into three cycles corresponding to primary, secondary and tertiary education. After one or two years of nursery education, the child spends six years in primary school, followed by three years in the Gymnasium (equivalent to Junior High School in other systems). After this the student will attend either a Comprehensive Lyceum, or Technical or Vocational schooling. From the Lyceum a student may proceed to university, or to Technology Institute if they have attended Technological secondary education.

Table 9.1 presents data on the 2000–01 and 2001–02 academic years as regards the number of pupils, teaching staff and the types of educational institutions throughout the country.

Nursery education is optional, while primary education is compulsory. Infants entitled to attend nursery schools are between four and six years of age.

Table 9.1 Educational institutions in Greece

Types of educational institutions	Schools		Pupils/students		Teaching staff	
	Public Sector	*Private Sector*	*Public Sector*	*Private Sector*	*Public Sector*	*Private Sector*
Nursery (2001–02)[a]	5,647	111	138,544	5,024	9,973	322
Primary (2001–02)[a]	5,739	373	594,639	45,775	47,998	3,185
Gymnasium (2001–02)[a]	1,768	112	321,674	19,054	35,221	2,301
Comprehensive Lyceum (2001–02)	1,182	98	219,269	16,814	21,454	1,879
Technical and Vocational Education (2001–02)	413	77	122,581	6,502	15,973	1,399
Institutes of Initial Vocational Training (2000–01)	138	76	36,857	13,232	16,536	1,981
Technological Educational Institutions (2000)	14		129,683		7,686	
Universities (2000)	20		276,902		10,459	

Source: Greek Ministry of Education (2002) Operational Research and Statistics Branch, Education Statistics.

Notes
a Compulsory education

The curriculum is based on cross-curriculum themes. According to the cross-thematic approach to learning the educational knowledge has:

- to be provided in a unified form in order to offer holistic views of reality;
- to be linked with children's experiences in order to be perceived and related to children's daily life; and
- to be constructed gradually through children's relevant research activities.

(Avgitidou and Botsoglou, 2003)

Responsible for the development and introduction of the curriculum is the Pedagogical Institute (a policymaking body).

Primary schooling is of six years' duration and is for all children who are admitted to the first class at six years of age. This means that all children of the same age are exposed to the same materials irrespective of their individual differences. Textbooks are prescribed by the National Pedagogical Institute and they are provided free in the state schools and universities. However, pupils have to pay for other materials, such as notebooks, pens, and pencils. Traditionally, both nursery and primary schools operated for only half a day. However, it is now accepted that the number of women in full time employment has increased dramatically and this has resulted in the increase of child care problems since both parents are often out of the home. Consequently, all-day nursery and primary schools are beginning to operate full-time in order to facilitate parents who both work and who can not afford to pay for child care. Among the various facilities provided is special help for children with learning difficulties. In 2001 the Ministry operated 2,482 all-day nursery and primary schools (Greek Ministry of Education, 2002).

Secondary education covers the age range of twelve to eighteen years. It is divided into two cycles: the lower (Gymnasium) and the upper (Lyceum), each lasting for three years. The former is compulsory, whereas the latter is optional. Textbooks, as in primary schooling, are prescribed by the Pedagogical Institute and a more recently established agency, the Center for Educational Research. In addition to the above, special education and multicultural education are provided. The former is for physically and mentally handicapped children unable to benefit from ordinary schools. It is given either in special schools or in special classes at the normal schools. The function of the special education is to provide an environment which helps children to overcome their learning difficulties and to grow into self-reliant and active members of society in so far as their handicaps allow. In the school year 2001–02 the total number of pupils with special educational needs (SEN) attending separate Schools of Special Education or Inclusion Classes was 18,585 (Greek Ministry of Education, 2002).

Multicultural education is for children from a different cultural origin and/or ethnic minority as well as children of Greek immigrants abroad. The function of multicultural education is to help pupils to recognize and value cultural diversity found in the society. This education is normally provided in separated institutions, called multicultural schools. For these schools or classes the Pedagogical Institute prepares additional rules and learning materials other than the prescribed ones. In

the school year 2002–03 the total number of pupils from a different cultural origin and/or ethnic minority was 98,241 and the total number of pupils of Greek immigrants was 31,873 (Gotovos and Markou, 2003).

There also exists a fourth post-secondary level, consisting of a network of public and private Institutes of Initial Vocational Training (IEK) attended by students who do not follow studies at tertiary education. Studies at IEK have a duration of three years. The aim of IEK is to equip students properly for working life.

The tertiary level includes the universities and the Higher Technological Educational Institutes (ATEI). The latter are oriented toward the application of knowledge as opposed to the former that have academic orientation. Studies in universities last four to six years depending on the subject areas and in ATEI four years. All tertiary education is free as well and students are provided with free textbooks. Tertiary education is the responsibility of the state and thus private tertiary institutions are not formally recognized. Degrees received from private universities and colleges abroad are therefore not formally recognized by the Greek state (Patrinos, 1991). It must be said here that there are no restrictions for the operation of private primary and secondary schools.

For the provision of adult education and lifelong learning, the responsible body is the General Secretariat of Adult Education based in the Ministry of Education. This is concerned with adult literacy, the organization of some vocational courses and other special programmes. However, there is not yet a developed system of adult education integrated into the formal educational system as post-tertiary education. It is also true that adult education has not produced a national pre-service teacher-training scheme. Thus, many who enter adult education have no qualification in the education of adults at all. The Government, however, is planning to establish special institutions for adult education and lifelong learning in universities.

In the academic year 2004–2005 there were ten centres of Adult Education with 10,507 students. There were also thirty-two Second Chance schools. Individuals from low socio-economic classes who fail to finish the compulsory nine years' education because of personal and/or antisocial problems, are offered Second Chance schools which cover the needs of adults who wish to finish their basic education.

Administration and management

The administration and management of the Greek educational system is highly centralized. The curriculum, teaching methods, appointment of teachers, salaries, entrance to university and numbers of students in universities, are all decided by the Ministry of Education. Greece is geographically and administratively divided into thirteen regional divisions, headed by the divisional directors and these divisions are subdivided into fifty-four prefectures headed by the 'director of education'. In each of the fifty-four prefectures there are also a number of educational advisers. The main decision body at the school level is the Teachers' Association which consists of all teachers working in the school, and is chaired by the head.

However, since educational policy is determined centrally and money for educational development is allocated entirely by the central government, Teachers' Associations rarely do little more than implement central government official policy. Universities, however, are exempt from this type of control and have the freedom to decide on key issues such as what will be researched, although they are under tight financial control. A nominally self-governing Senate, elected by the Faculties, is bound by law a of 1932, and its decisions and membership has to be approved by the Ministry of Education.

The organization of the Greek educational system is keyed to academic disciplines, and it is difficult for teachers to develop a sense of personal responsibility for pupils' total development. There is not much room for school-based curriculum development or for its adaptation to the particularity of the local community. Teachers and pupils are expected to meet the demands of a predetermined syllabus within a time limit that assumes the importance of the product rather than the process. As a result it has been the norm to stick with the common curriculum and traditional teaching methods, regardless of the developmental levels, motivation and unique learning styles of particular groups of students. Hence the child is adjusted to the curriculum and not the curriculum to the child.

Programmes should be such that they can be adapted to the needs of the individuals. It would not be surprising therefore if some children, particularly those at the extremes of the ability range or with a different social and cultural background, felt alienated from school. These adverse effects are more significant, because the system is highly centralized and there is therefore little room for teachers to exercise their autonomy in making decisions about how to teach. Yet teaching is in some degree an art and requires an able teacher with autonomy to adapt general instructional principles to his or her classroom situation. Despite this, teachers are excluded from decision-making in curriculum development. However, the content of decisions is perhaps the most important factor in the effective implementation of any innovative changes.

Public spending on education is rather low. As a percentage of the GDP, Greece not only spends less than the average European country, but even less than the average developing country. In the year 2003, public educational expenditure in Greece was estimated at 3.5 per cent of GDP for all educational levels; this was the lowest proportion of the EU countries. This lack of investment fosters demand for selective private schools, which charge high tuition that constitutes their main source of finance since they do not receive state subsidies. This situation benefits the rich to a greater extent as they are more likely to enrol their children in such schools. The size of the private sector, however, is not important, probably because education is free, and there is also a vast number of private institutions ('frontistiria') which aim to prepare students for passing university entrance examinations. In addition to this, a number of teachers who work in the state or private schools give private tuition to prospective university candidates. Only about five per cent of children attend private schools (see Table 9.1).

Proposals for improvement

If education is to be equal for all individuals it must be tailored for them and their needs. This invokes the whole area of relevance of discerning basic needs and re-designing curricula which challenge traditional disciplines and practice. To achieve education for all, it must involve planning *by all* as well. Gone are the days when educational planners had the luxury of selecting all their statistics and inputs, creating data with their computers, with education ministry heads churning out a national plan for education. Today that process must become much more interactive and therefore inevitably less centrally organized, less uniform and less predictable.

There are, of course, many reasons that make this so:

- the change in the role of the state in the face of increasing decentralization to local governments;
- the budgetary restrictions which call for innovative programmes which do more with less, which call for greater community participation and commitment in the delivery of education;
- the more active role of the private sector, non-government organizations; and
- the ubiquity of microcomputers and the dissemination of relevant databases (see Ordonez, 1991).

In Greece, education has been looked upon as the main instrument for individual and economic development and as the major social force for equalization of opportunities. From this point of view the education system has been partially successful in expanding the possibility of making the same opportunities available for more students. However, the rapid growth in enrolments over the past twenty years and increased expenditure have failed to keep pace with the phenomenal social demand for higher education. This growth of resources and the educational innovations have failed to live up to some of the hopes held for them regarding 'equal opportunities'.

Thus, whereas the Greek educational system allows most pupils to flourish, it has also created victims who are systematically excluded from its benefits. For this reason, it is important that the system redistribute resources in a way that will directly challenge intrinsic inequality. That means that we could accept the logic of the need to resocialize individuals who from their early life are marked out for failure and massively enhance the resources for schools operating in demoralized communities. A democracy is served neither by a narrow and legislated national curriculum nor, in the long run, by teachers and pupils who feel unable to take risks, to innovate, to see beyond what counts as convention. In this context, researchers such as Katsikas and Kavvadias (1994) and OECD (1996) argue that the failure of the Greek educational system is due to its uniformity and the Procrustean method which follows. The system should acknowledge cultural diversity in all schools and not just in multicultural ones, and accommodate this diversity in instruction.

Despite this, the curriculum remains firmly within Greek–Christian ideology. Thus, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

(OECD, 1997) the curriculum is excessively 'Grecocentric' and, despite the teaching of the English language, it gives insufficient place to the European dimension and also does not convey much in terms of knowledge and understanding of other people and other cultures.

Unfortunately, despite the efforts of successive governments to revise the curricula and adapt them to the needs of the modern society, the content has not overcome its excessively classical humanistic and literary nature. Of course, Greek–Christian ideology is part of the Greek culture and should be transmitted to new generations. It could be argued, however, that its over-emphasis could lead to undesirable results. Greek children will have to grow into adults able to interact with various other groups, particularly those in the European Community. In order to develop harmonious relationships with other societies it is necessary to include in the curriculum elements which will lead to an appreciation of other societies and the values of cultural pluralism. Yet, over-emphasis of Greek–Christian ideology seems to be an obstacle to the country's attempts to achieve the technology of advanced society.

In order to achieve technological advance there is also a need to educate the whole population to a higher standard than ever before, since there are no longer many unskilled jobs, and schools are expected to play their part in preparing people for employment in a world where there is intense international competition for trade. New technology has transformed most industries and is in the process of transforming schools. It is also important to educate people for living in a rapidly changing world where what happens in one country affects many others, and where societies are increasingly pluralistic (see Dean, 1999, p. 7). In a world of accelerating change, learning must be a continuing process from birth to death and society therefore must provide educational resources and services throughout people's lives.

Despite this, adult education and lifelong learning has often been perceived and created to have a remedial role, signified by the language 'Second Chance schools'. While this aim may be worthy, it is contained within, and perpetuates a discourse of, individual failure. This concept ignores the fact that learning is a continuum and can create a sense of inferiority in an adult who decides to follow further studies.

In addition, the centralized hierarchical system of Greece, contrary to its democratic aims, promotes dogmatism, conformity and subordination, to the extent that teachers do not have the autonomy to organize lessons according to their own particular teaching–learning situations. Thus, the system makes teachers simply agents. However, if the government is really concerned with preparing future citizens for life in a democratic society then it is time that the educational philosophy inherent in the highly centralized system be re-examined in order to put forward the necessary changes for teachers. More specifically, it requires a degree of decentralization (Papastamatis, 1988).

Finally, it is also true that there does not exist any national system for the evaluation of teachers, lectures and administrators that would guarantee standards and good practice in educational institutions, although the development and the

application of such a system is proposed by the operational programme 'Education and Initial Vocational Training 2000–2006'. Evaluation should be inherent in the teaching profession. It is not possible to meet the demands of teaching without planning, organizing, monitoring and evaluating the activities that are carried out. Evaluation is one of the most important tools available to teachers in the development of their teaching and their ability to facilitate their students' learning. Insights gained from evaluation provide teachers with a guide and indication for developing and improve teaching methods since it is possible through evaluation to develop skills and qualities for effective teaching.

Conclusions

It is increasingly being argued that Greece is faced with a crisis that demands radical rethinking of how education is to develop. In particular, multicultural education, lifelong learning, decentralization and evaluation are keys for improvements and so forms of education are required that are capable of fostering such schooling. These forms involve not only administrative and organizational elements of education, but also instructional content and materials, teaching and learning strategies, and evaluation. The Greek education system will need to make adjustments to their pedagogic methods in order to deliver continuing and multicultural education in a flexible and effective way.

The above reality generated much debate in the late 1980s and early 1990s regarding the quality of education provided in schools. In response, a number of new, non-compulsory, educational programmes with a cross-curricular character were introduced. These provided an opportunity to study a variety of modern issues through a teaching and learning process based primarily on field work and involving active experiences in the real world, beyond the traditional classroom boundaries (see Giannakaki, 2004). To be effective, the Greek educational system has to take account of the very varied life experiences, assumptions and interests of different pupils and different groups.

The tensions and problems created by the major changes in the education system have made it easy for the public to feel that standards of education in Greece have declined. It is difficult to provide a definite answer to this in the absence of systematic research, apart from theoretical rhetoric characterized by banality and over-simplification. This is despite the fact that research is very important for the Greek educational system in which schools have to follow a predetermined curriculum imposed by the Pedagogical Institute whose members may have been away from active teaching for many years. More important is the fact that this committee introduced ideas often without testing them in some pilot schools, although such schools have been established.

In concluding this chapter, it may be said that the Greek educational system is in crisis. This may be true in varying degrees of all systems around the world. The Greek system, however, is under stress; its teaching methods are outdated and cannot cope with a technologically-based and multicultural society where high standards of numeracy and technical skills, tolerance and empathy are needed to

do even the most modest jobs. The over-centralized character of the system discourages educational administrators and teachers from taking initiatives and to promote diversity. Neither is there any systematic evaluation to give the relevant feedback. As a result, the Greek education system cannot respond appropriately to the demands imposed on it by society.

References

Avgitidou, S. and Botsoglou, K. (2003) 'Play care and education. Early childhood curriculum in Greece: trends and policies at the outset of a new century', *Researching Early Childhood,* 5, 7–19.

Dean, J. (1999) *Improving the Primary school.* London: Routledge.

Giannakaki, M. S. (2004) 'An examination of the link between school management and curriculum innovations: a comparative study of public and private primary schools in Greece'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Strathclyde.

Gotovos, A. E. and Markou, G. P. (2003) *Greek Immigrants and Foreign Pupils in Greek Education: General Outline* (in Greek). Athens: Greek Ministry of Education.

Greek Ministry of Education (1985) *Education Act 1566/85* (in Greek). Athens: OEDB.

Greek Ministry of Education (2002) Operational Research and Statistics Branch. Athens: Greek Ministry of Education.

Katsikas, C. and Kavvadias, (1994) G. *Inequalities in Greek Education* (in Greek). Athens: Gutenberg.

OECD (1996) *Review of the Greek Educational System.* Athens: Greek Ministry of Education.

OECD (1997) *Reviews of National Policy for Education: Greece.* Paris: OECD.

Ordonez, V. (1991) *The Reform of Educational Systems to Meet Local and National Needs*. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Papastamatis, A. (1988) 'Teaching styles of Greek primary school teachers'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester.

Patrinos, H. (1991) 'Financing higher education in Greece and the privatization option', in Turner, D. (ed.) *The Reform of Educational Systems to Meet Local and National Needs*. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Terzis, N. P. and Moutsios, S. (2000) 'The Greek educational system', in Terzis, N. P. (ed.) *Educational Systems of Balkan Countries: Issues and Trends – Education and Pedagogy in Balkan Countries 1.* Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Brothers.

Part V

Diversity and educational equality in India

10 The right to education

Developing the common school system in India

Madan Mohan Jha

Introduction

This chapter addresses the issue of rights with regard to basic or elementary education in India. Any issue, for example education, can be addressed from a variety of perspectives. We approach basic education from a *rights* perspective in contrast to charity, humanitarian or need-based perspectives. This approach is therefore rights-based (RBA) and not needs-based (NBA). We go onto further examine the policy and structural framework of the Indian school system. Tracing development of the framework, it is argued that a common school, or the common school system in the Indian context, is the only hope for realization of the right to education. A common school is understood to be a school which does not select or sort children on any criteria, and offers equal opportunity to all in terms of admission from the neighbourhood.

What is rights-based education?

Rights in the modern Western conception may be traced to the English Magna Carta, to the US Declaration of Independence, and to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. In the wake of the wartime Holocaust, on 10th December 1948, the UN General Assembly proclaimed a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which included the right to 'life, liberty and security of person', 'freedom of movement', 'nationality', 'freedom of thought, conscience and religion', 'freedom of peaceful association and assembly', and 'freedom to take part in the government'. The Indian concept of rights developed during the freedom movement, with a demand for self-governance and total independence from the colonial rule, and culminated in Part III of the Indian Constitution as 'Fundamental Rights'. The Indian Fundamental Rights are close to the UN's declaration on Human Rights. The most important fundamental right impacting the quality of life of common people in India happens to be Article 21, which guarantees 'right to life and personal liberty'. It declares: 'No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law'.

Historical development of the right to education

The first attempt to regard elementary education as a matter of right, though obliquely, was made way back in 1909 when G. K. Gokhale introduced a Bill under the Indian Council Act of 1909 to make primary education compulsory, with state funding. However, the Bill was defeated by a large majority. While addressing the legislatures Gokhale made the emotional observation that the issue would keep coming back again and again until all children realized their right to free and compulsory education.

In 1950 India gained its own Constitution, which provided Fundamental Rights to equality, to freedom, against exploitation, to freedom of religion, to constitutional remedies and cultural and educational rights. The right to free and compulsory education was retained in Part IV of the Constitution that incorporates Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 45 of the Constitution declares: 'The state shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'.

The distinction between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy is well settled under the Indian Constitution. While the former is absolute and legally enforceable, the latter is a policy directive of the State.

However, the 1980s and 1990s saw a very liberal interpretation of Article 21 of the Indian Constitution by the Indian judiciary. The most relevant of these judgments from an educational point of view was the Supreme Court's Unnikrishnan Judgment (1993). The court ruled that Article 45 of the Directive Principle of State Policy must be read in harmonious conjunction with Article 21 since right to life and personal liberty loses its meaning if a child is deprived of elementary education (*Unnikrishnan* v. *State of Andra Pradesh,* Article 1993 Supreme Court of India 217). Another liberal interpretation of Article 21 relates to environment protection and public health, the right to food and shelter and the right to rehabilitation in the case of bonded labourers. According to the court verdicts these freedoms are vital to life and liberty of a person. In addition to making the right to free and compulsory education as good as a fundamental right, the Unnikrishnan Judgment ruled against state commercialization of education. The Supreme Court also held that economic and financial constraints could be a ground for restricting the state from making provisions of post-basic and higher education, but not in the case of elementary education.

The Unnikrishnan Judgment stimulated several civil society groups to demand incorporation of the right to education as a Fundamental Right in Part III of the Constitution. The government finally agreed to bring a new FR (Federal Right) marked 21A in December 2002, which reads: 'The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age 6 to 14 years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine.'[1]

Notably, the amendment was introduced after Article 21, keeping in view the spirit of interpretation of this article by the Supreme Court of India.

Many activists have, for two reasons, criticized this amendment. First, it is argued that 21A gives power to the state to decide the 'manner' for providing 'free and compulsory education'. Second, it restricts the 'right' to the age group six to fourteen, unlike the original Article 45 of the Directive Principle of State Policy, which referred to 'all children until they complete age 14' (see Sadgopal, 2003, 2004).

I want to revisit both of these criticisms. Many legal luminaries and educationists have emphasized the wide ramifications of the right to education. For example, Justice J. S. Verma, former Chief Justice of India and also former Chairman of the National Human Rights Commission, observes that providing free elementary education is an 'essential sovereign function' of the welfare state.[2] Justice (retd.) V. R. Krishna Iyer (2005) has observed that education is a cardinal component of human dignity, and access to it is enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The right to education is absolutely fundamental and 'judicial construction cannot jettison this right, based on the subconscious impact of the dubious mantra of privatization' (*The Hindu*).

It seems to me that the expert group set up by the Government of India (GOI) after the Unnikrishnan Judgment, with economist Tapes Manmade as chair, chose the rights-based approach or the 'RBA' to elementary education – as the report said. For, being an incremental developmental goal in the process of education for all, universalisation of elementary education has in consequence of the Unnikrishnan Judgment, now become the legal right of every Indian child:

> entitlements sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be deferred by the State at its convenience. The State has to make the necessary reallocation of resources, by superseding other important claims, if necessary, in a manner that the justiciable entitlement can become a reality.
>
> (Unnikrishnan v. State of Andra Pradesh, Article 1993 Supreme Court of India 217)

As regards the perception that the introduction of the phrase 'in such manner as the state may, by law, determine', would give unfettered power to the government to control or dilute the scope of elementary education for all children, it is argued that Article 13 (2) bars the state from taking away or abridging any right contained in Part III of the Constitution. Furthermore, the Supreme Court in the same judgment ruled that, after the age of fourteen years, the fundamental right to education continues to exist but is 'subject to limits of economic capacity and development of the State' as per Article 41. In other words, financial reasons cannot be offered as a fundamental or final excuse for not providing free and elementary education to all children. The essential sovereign duty of each Indian state is to secure 'equality of status and opportunity', 'the dignity of the individual'; social justice laid down in the preamble of the Constitution, is likewise not limited by the financial capacity of the state.[3]

By implication, legislative operationalization of 21A does not give a free hand to the state, and it is fair to expect that the law made in this regard would only extend the right further, rather than restrict it. I hold the view that the introduction

of a new Article 21A in the Constitution provides a renewed opportunity to reduce the increasing inequality in education at the elementary level and achieve the goals of justice – social, economic and political – as pledged in the preamble. However, the import of this new fundamental right has yet to be properly understood by policymakers and academics, and has yet to appear on the agenda of genuine social and political activists. The fundamental right to free education of children aged six to fourteen as granted by Article 21A since December 2002 has yet to acquire the stature of other Fundamental Rights.

It is understandable therefore that those who drafted the recent report of the CABE (Central Advisory Board of Education) committee on the free and compulsory education bill have argued that the right to education which Article 21A seeks to confer, is different from other Fundamental Rights – while the earlier Fundamental Rights had no or insignificant financial implications for the state:

> the Right to Education has major financial implications... such artificial classification and hierarchy in Fundamental Rights is the product of the gaps in the class characteristics of those who control education and those who are being deprived of the equal opportunity.
>
> (CABE, 2005)

But it is difficult to deny that the federal state is spending huge amounts on police and higher judiciary to protect citizens' right to life and liberty, and equality before the law. Therefore, the argument of 'financial implications' for avoiding the obligation by a state to ensure the right to universal elementary education as lower in status than other rights, is flawed. Thus, I would argue that just as police are an important guarantee of Fundamental Rights with regard to the protection of life, and the judiciary is meant to secure justice and equality before the law, so schools and teachers need to be regarded as a guarantee of the right to elementary education. This guarantee seems possible only within the framework of common schooling, in which quality education is offered, without charge, to children of all citizens. Extension of this argument would mean less and less scope for fee-charging private schools, since all children, including those who opt for private schools, should have the right to free education. It is argued that many parents go to private schools because of the absence of, or deficient functioning of, government schools in the neighbourhood.

Institutional framework for realization of the 'Right to Education'

School provides part of the institutional framework for realization of the universal right to quality education. The school as an institution is the product of an industrial age. While the need for mass education to respond to the industrial age remained confined to basic literacy and numeracy for the masses, schooling for enhancing life chances remained confined to the select few even in the West. For

example, in Britain, a full system of vocational and academic post-primary education was not introduced until the early 1950s. Up to that time many British children's only education was in all-age primary schools, which they left for the world of work at age 14.[4]

India had 'indigenous schools' spread over thousands of villages in the nineteenth century that produced 'professionals' required during that period (DiBona, 1983). However, locally relevant education was meant for the masses in Pathshalas. Only a select few belonging mainly to the Brahmins experienced scholarly Sanskrit education in the Gurukuls. A great debate on Indian education began at that time between the anglicists supporting a Western-style education and the orientalists favouring an education system based on Indian values and cultures. The debate ended with the famous minute of Macaulay on 2nd February 1835, intending to create 'a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect' (cited in Fagg, 2002: 19). Over the years, the system became 'hierarchical and elitist, top heavy with higher education at the expense of primary education' (Steele and Taylor, 1994,).

Gandhi's 'Basic Education' and after

Gandhi's 'Basic Education' was the first official policy in India 'to change the established structure of opportunities for education' (Kumar, 1994: 508). It was 'contemporary not modern, ideal not practical, and it might have achieved limited success but ultimately failed' (Jha, 2002). Fagg (2002) has contested these perceptions in his study based on the primary sources on the Basic Education movement, and he argues that the education system unveiled by Gandhi in 1937 influenced government policy for the next thirty years, until the Education Commission (1966) replaced it by 'work education' as a subject for study in Indian schools.

The common school system

The Education Commission (1966), popularly known as the Kothari Commission, coined the term 'common school system' for the first time. While in England, the 'comprehensive struggles' had a larger objective of ending 'two nations in education' divided by grammar and secondary modern schooling (Tomlinson, 2001: 14), in India they were part of a report to improve school administration and remove the 'caste' system in school management; also to reduce bureaucratic control. The recommendations have remained largely ignored.

For equal opportunity the CSS (Common Schooling System) introduced the concept of neighbourhood schools. The Kothari Report said: 'Each school should be attended by *all* children in the neighbourhood irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic condition or social status, so that there would be no segregation in schools' (quoted in Sharma, 2002). If the report were to be written today one would have expected terms like 'disability' and 'special needs' to be included in the "all". Arguing for the neighbourhood school the Commission advanced two arguments. First, a neighbourhood school would provide 'good'

education to children because sharing life with common people would be an essential ingredient of good education. Second, the establishment of such schools would compel rich, privileged and powerful classes to take an interest in the system of public education and thereby bring about its early improvement.

The Commission seems to have given an educational theory behind the neighbourhood school system for 'good' education. However, as Archer (1979: 4) argues, 'There is no such thing as an educational theory ... there are only sociological theories of educational development'. The developments in school education post-Kothari demonstrate that the 'rich, privileged and powerful classes' did not 'take an interest in the system of public education', as Kothari had hoped. The growth of private schools for the privileged, at the cost of public education (or government schools), in recent years confirms another theory offered by Archer (1979: 2) that: 'Education has the characteristics it does because of the goals pursued by those who control it'.

The 1968 national policy on education accepted the Commission's recommendation on the Common School System (CSS) aiming at the implementation of the neighbourhood school concept within twenty years. After some twenty years, however, in 1986 the new policy maintained the rhetoric of the CSS but in reality had abandoned it.

CSS in the National Policy for Education (NPE) 1986/92

The NPE 1992 is a modified version of the original policy announced in 1986. The 1986 policy shifted the CSS from the 'education for equality' chapter to a new chapter called the 'national system of education'. It said the 'concept of a National System of Education implies that up to a given level, all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, have access to education of comparable quality' (MHRD, 1998:5). The Education Commission (1966) chaired by Kothari, however, had recommended the neighbourhood school concept for *all* children irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic conditions and social status. The 1986 policy dropped the phrase 'economic conditions and social status'.

Further, the 1986 policy also promised to take 'effective measures' to implement the CSS. The Programme of Action 1992 meant to implement the policy made no mention of the common school system (MHRD, 1996). Thus dilution of the commitment on 'education for equality' coincided with the direction in the Indian economy towards privatization, and at the international level the rhetoric of 'education for all' from the Jomtien Conference of 1990.

In 1990, the government set up the Ramamurti committee (summarized by Sharma, 2002)[5] to review the 1986 policy. The committee outlined the reasons for the CSS not gaining ground: low investment in government schools because the elites and privileged class were not sending their children to government schools; lack of political will; the 'craze' for English-medium (private) schools; and the growth of institutions like central schools for specified categories of children. The committee expanded and extended the scope of the CSS as 'a first step in securing equity and social justice'. It recommended that the CSS be extended to private

schools and selection of children by these schools even at the primary stage be dispensed with. These recommendations had the potential to change the face of the school education system of India, and could have removed increasing disparities in access to schools. But none of these recommendations was incorporated in the modified policy of 1992.

The CABE committee on policy (MHRD, 1992), while reviewing the Ramamurti committee report, expected the 'privileged schools' to accept 'social responsibility by sharing their facilities and resources with other institutions, and facilitating access to children of the disadvantaged groups' (MHRD, 1992: 16). There is an interesting consequence of this policy, namely, that private schools began running 'centres for the underprivileged' in the afternoon, thereby 'doing excellence in the forenoon and equity in the afternoon'[6] (Jha, 2004a). Skrtic (1991: 233) had argued that 'The successful schools in the postindustrial era will be ones that achieve excellence and equity simultaneously – indeed ones that recognize equity as the way to excellence'.

Non-formal education and equity

The growth and glamorization of non-formal education (NFE) was another design whose net effect was to undermine the implementation of the policy of a common school system providing a quality education for all. The 'non-formal programme'[7] was designed for education of the 'dropouts', children from habitations without schools, working children and girls who could not attend schools for the whole day (MHRD, 1998: 14). These arrangements were expected to be transitory in nature, to be phased out when the formal system could admit all children. However, as many commentators observe, 'some education' was offered through the parallel non-formal system to the majority of the disadvantaged, while the formal system catered to a small minority to prepare them for higher education (Ahmed, 1975; Beare and Slaughter, 1993; Watkins, 2000). The Ramamurti Committee pointed out that even at the time of policy formulation, the population of out-of-school children was half that of the school-going age (MHRD, 1990: 123).

The committee recommended that the formal system itself should be 'non-formalized' to include all children within its fold. However, a committee of the CABE on policy constituted to look into these recommendations commented that it was not 'desirable to overload the [formal] school system with yet another formidable challenge of meeting the educational needs of children with severe para-educational constraints' (MHRD, 1992: 31).

The Indian Planning Commission in its evaluation of the Non-Formal Education (NFE) system in 1998 concluded that: 'The NFE system has not made any significant contribution to the realization of the goal of the UEE' and 'elementary education needs to be delivered primarily through the formal education system' (MHRD, 1998). However, almost at the same time the central government accepted it as a part of its national programme of the *Sarva Siksha Abhian* (universal elementary 'Education for All'), to be offered to groups of children not

necessarily belonging to the categories earlier defined under the NFE. Many attractive names, including the 'education guarantee scheme',[8] have been given across the states, and what were non-formal arrangements earlier are formal arrangements now, parallel and inferior tracks within the public education system for the poor and the disadvantaged.

The rhetoric of the Education for All (EFA) lobby following the Jomtien Conference (1990), and the entry of the international agencies and NGOs into primary education, has distracted government commitment to education for equality in educational policy, and the policy has turned into something like: 'literacy for your children and education for mine' (Jha, 2004b). Shotton (1998: 21) notes that 'literacy' (and not education) is regarded as the need of the 'new era' of the Indian global economy, as multinational companies require literacy in order for people to read the 'labels' of their products.

To sum up, while the policy began with the aim of introducing a common school system of public education in 1968 that could address education for equality, it has since deflected policy into creating a parallel track with unequal categories of a common education system on the one hand, and a contribution to the growth of private sector education on the other.

Private schools

Private schools in India have played a major role in the development of school education in terms of tradition and numbers. The characteristics of private schools from the management point of view and also from the perceptions of the clients they service, are heterogeneous. From the management perspective, they fall into three categories: recognized and aided by the government; recognized but unaided and also called independent or 'public' schools; and unrecognized schools. As noted by many researchers, over the years aided schools have become an integral part of the government school system, because of the conditions laid down by the government on aspects of management, including teacher recruitment and service conditions (see Kingdon, 1996; De *et al.*, 2000).

There is a perception that fee-charging private schooling is an urban phenomenon confined to the privileged class, but evidence from field-based studies in rural and semi-urban areas does not support this (see Kingdon, 1996; PROBE, 1999; Jha and Jhingran, 2002). Casual labourers, members of scheduled castes and slum dwellers have been reported in these studies as sending at least one of their children, preferably the male child, to low-fee-charging private schools. This, however, does not mean that there is no divide between socio-economic backgrounds of children going to private schools and state run-schools. The parents who cannot afford even low fees send their children to government schools, but even then there is no legal requirement for a parent to send a child to school.

A major characteristic of private schools is their independence in matters of student admission, which they invariably manage by tests and selection, fixing the quantum of fees according to market forces, and by hiring the best teachers. The schools, particularly in urban areas, apply selection criteria including interview of

parents even at the nursery stage of admission. Contrary to this, in her study in the rural area schools of Uttar Pradesh, Srivastava (2005, and the next chapter) found parents bargaining for lower fees, with the school often acceding to this as the supply side has apparently outgrown the demand. Recent studies on low-fee-paying private schools in rural and urban areas suggest that their growth is due to an increased demand for education, and the non-expansion as well as inefficient functioning of the government schools (Kingdon, 1996; De *et al.*, 2000; Srivastava, 2005).

Many do not accept the argument that unaided private schools are totally independent of government subsidies. For example, a recent study submitted to the Central Ministry of Education takes note of the benefits accrued to private schools from the government in terms of concessions for income tax, wealth tax and property tax; direct subsidies towards the cost of land allotted; concessions in electricity charges, and other items (Bhatnagar and Omer, 2004). Other hidden subsidies available to private schools, it is argued, are the employment of state-trained teachers, and services from the curriculum and affiliating bodies, most of them being supported by the state.

It should be noted that if private educational institutions in India are to be registered as not-for-profit organizations under the Societies Registration Act, or as a Trust, then profit-making and commercialization in educational provision is not permissible under existing Indian policy. The 1986/92 policy states: 'Non-government and voluntary effort ... will be encouraged ... at the same time, steps will be taken to prevent the establishment of institutions set up to commercialize education' (MHRD, 1998: 35). This policy was further enforced by the judicial verdict,[9] which ruled against commercialization of educational institutions.

The tradition of opening private schools in India was once considered to be philanthropic, even religious, for the larger benefit of the society. However, in recent decades, particularly in the 1990s since the Indian economy 'opened up', the market argument has prevailed over other arguments. Kumar (2003: 5165) notes a new trend of opening elite private schools and advertising 'facilities which are identical to those offered by five-star hotels', and which serve not only children of Indian elites but overseas children as well.[10] This type of school is adding a new layer in the already existing hierarchy of schools.

Some advocate the desirability and growth of private schools on the ground of choice. But ethically the choice has to be available to all, regardless of income level. It should not be restricted only to an elite.[11] Indian society is both heterogeneous and unequal, as reflected in a variety of aspects of educational provision, including schools serving different social, economic, gender and 'special needs' groups. Private schools are contributing to the social and economic divide by 'perpetuating inequalities' in education (Panchmukhi, 1983; Tilak and Sudarshan 2001).

It is argued that any school following the state curriculum and entering pupils for public examinations should not charge fees for the six to fourteen age group of children. This restriction should apply to the private schools also, as they function, in this regard, as an instrumentality of the state.[12] The Supreme Court of India in earlier verdicts has observed that any agency discharging state function

as its 'instrumentality' is bound by the constitutional provision. By a similar logic the Law Commission earlier in 1998 had recommended that private schools should admit 50 per cent of children without charging fees. It is thus seen that while there is a strong constitutional foundation for rights and equity in education, at least at the elementary stage, there is very little appreciation in policymaking to address this question.

In most studies and reports, the growth of private schools is attributed on the one hand to dysfunctional government schools with poor infrastructure and lack of teacher motivation and accountability, and on the other to perceived 'quality' education given by the private schools (Jha and Jhingaran, 2002; Ramchandaran, 2002; MHRD, 2003). However, 'quality' in private schools is not uniform. This is confirmed by PROBE (1999: 104), which did not find any overall difference between the government and private schools, but the 'selling point' of the latter was the fact that English was a medium of instruction.

Private school students often out-perform students in government schools, although this may reflect their middle class backgrounds rather than the quality of the fee-paying schools. This is an acknowledged finding of most of the quantitative studies, in many countries, including India (see Kingdon, 1996; Tilak and Sudarshan, 2001). It is argued, however, that there is no level playing field between the two: private schools have far more autonomy and management flexibility than government schools, and they select students to show better performance at the board examinations (Qamar and Zahid, 2001).

Hierarchy in schools

PROBE (1999) has reported forms of social discrimination operating in the Indian school system. A system of 'multiple tracks' has been identified, which provide different types of schooling opportunities to different sections of the population. The poor and the disadvantaged go to government schools, and the well-off students go to private schools; some children from economically poorer backgrounds go to formal schools, but those for whom the formal system is not 'suitable' are sent to the 'informal' or non-formal educational centres. There is thus a hierarchy of schools catering to the allegedly different groups. Some such school groups are:

- growing numbers of elite schools offering international certifications
- private fee-charging schools for upper middle and rich classes
- schools for the children of staff in central government, public undertakings and defence (heavily subsidized)
- schools for 'talented' rural children
- low-fee private schools in rural areas
- government and municipal schools for lower middle classes
- NFE, EGS (Education Guarantee Scheme), SSA (Sarva Shiksa Abhiyan), alternative schools for the poor and disadvantaged
- schools for child labourers (non-formal type)

- government schools for the scheduled tribes (residential but sub-standard)
- special schools for children with disabilities outside the mainstream education system
- schools offered by Christian missionaries for Dalit and Tribal children, sometimes on a 'low fee' basis.

Conclusions

The existing system of education seems to have been impacting the quality of governance, and not the other way around. The seeds of superiority, hierarchy and discrimination against certain groups, the poor in particular, are sown at a very early age in the existing school system in India, and this is reflected very strongly in the schools' governance, at each level. The system reinforces compulsion, comparison and competition that restrict options, individuality and cooperation. There is, however, evidence to suggest that mixing children of different abilities and socio-economic backgrounds can enhance school standards for all (Kahelnberg, 2001).

In India we are in the information age of the twenty-first century, and in a democracy. The nature of workplaces in particular, and the social system in general, is changing very fast. Hence, the school system needs to change. The three Cs: compulsion, comparison and competition of industrial-age schooling need to be replaced by another three Cs relevant for twenty-first century schooling: choice, consideration and collaboration. The latter group respects the rights of all children, rather than creating parallel systems on perceived 'needs' of the poor and the disadvantaged, decided by those in power. Implementing a common school system that provides quality education for children of all citizens is a major but exciting challenge for India.

Notes

1 The Constitution (86th Amendment) Act 2002.
2 Observation made at the national convention on the Right to Education Bill 2005 organized by the People's Campaign for the Common School System in New Delhi on December 9th, 2005.
3 Observed by Justice Verma in the above convention.
4 Personal communication from Professor Christopher Bagley, who attended such a school in rural Oxfordshire.
5 The Congress government in 1986 had announced the NPE. In 1990, the non-Congress government set up the Ramamurti committee to review the policy, but by the time the committee submitted its report, the Congress had come back to power (in 1992).
6 Many urban private schools in Delhi run learning centres in the afternoon for the disadvantaged as a charity.
7 The centre was to be run in a shed or place provided by the community, where a group of children could be taught for a couple of hours by a local untrained youth engaged at a small salary on contract.
8 The name is given as it claims to guarantee education to a community if they felt their children were not receiving it otherwise. Instead of opening regular schools they are given centres in the NFE pattern.

 9 Supreme Court of India: Unikrishnan v. Andhra Pradesh, 1993.
10 A BBC documentary in April, 2006, gave examples of British parents sending their children to elite boarding schools in India because of the high curriculum standards and levels of discipline. Indian school fees plus airfares meant that costs were often less than sending a child to an elite-level boarding school in the UK.
11 The problem of whether elite schools should offer scholarships only to very able children, regardless of parental income, has yet to be addressed.
12 A submission was made on behalf of the Public Study Group – a Delhi-based group of academics and activists before the CABE meeting on 14 July 2005 to reconsider a draft bill on the 'right to education' on this ground.

References

Ahmed, M. (1975) *The Economics of Non-formal Education.* New York: Praeger.

Archer, M. S. (1979) *Social Origins of Educational Systems.* London: Sage.

Beare, H. and Slaughter, R. (1993) *Education for the Twenty-First Century.* London: Routledge.

Bhatnagar, D. and Omer, K. (2004) *Public Utility of Private Schools.* New Delhi:
Government of India, Ministry of Human Resources Development.

CABE (2005) *Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education Committee on Free and Compulsory Education and Other Issues Related to Elementary Education,* New Delhi: Central Advisory Board of Education.

De, A., Majmudar, M., Samson M., and Noronha, C. (2000) *Role of Private Schools in Basic Education.* New Delhi: NIEPA and Ministry of Human Resources Development.

DiBona, J. (ed.) (1983) *One Teacher, One School: The Adams Report on Indigenous Education in Nineteenth Century India.* New Delhi: Biblia Index.

Education Commission (1966) *Report of the Education Commission, 1964–66: Education and National Development.* New Delhi: Government of India.

Fagg, H. (2002) *Back to Sources: A Study of Gandhi's Basic Education.* New Delhi: National Book Trust.

Iyer, V. R. Krishna (2005) *The Hindu*, 26th November p. 11.

Jha, M. M. (2002) *School Without Walls: Inclusive Education for All.* Oxford: Heinemann.

Jha, M. M. (2004a) 'Inclusive education and the common school in India', in Mohapatra, C. S. (ed.) *Disability Management in India: Challenges and Commitment.* Secunderabad: National Institute for the Mentally Handicapped.

Jha, M. M. (2004b) 'Too many nations in education', *The Indian Express.* New Delhi, November 4th.

Jha, J. and Jhingran, D. (2002) *Elementary Education for the Poorest and Other Deprived Groups: The Real Challenges of Universalisation.* New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research.

Kahelnberg, R. D. (2001) *All Together Now: Creating Middle Class Schools through Public School Choice.* Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Kingdon, G. G. (1996) 'Private schooling in India: size, nature and equity effects', *Economic and Political Weekly,* December 21st, 3306–3314.

Kumar, K. (1994) 'Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi', in Morsy, Z. (ed.) *Thinkers on Education,* Vol. 2. Paris: UNESCO.

Kumar, K. (2003) 'Judicial ambivalence and new politics of education', *Economic and Political Weekly,* December 6th, 5163–5166.

Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) (1990) *Towards an Enlightened and Humane Society: NPE 1986 – A Review.* New Delhi: Government of India.

Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) (1992) *Report of the CABE Committee on Policy.* New Delhi: Government of India.

Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) (1996) *National Policy of Education 1986: Programme of Action 1992.* New Delhi: Government of India.

Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) (1998) *National Policy on Education (as modified in 1992) with National Policy on Education, 1968.* New Delhi: Government of India.

Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) (2003) *Education for All: National Plan of Action.* New Delhi: Government of India.

Panchmukhi, P. R. (1983) 'India: a century of effort', in Simmons, J. (ed.) *Better Schools: International Lessons from Reform.* New York: Praeger.

PROBE (Public Report on Basic Education) (1999) *Public Report on Basic Education in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Qamar, F. and Zahid, M. (2001) 'Cost, equity, quality and resource use efficiency in senior secondary schools: some policy imperatives', in *National Conference: Focus Secondary Education.* New Delhi: NIEPA (National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration).

Ramachandaran, V. (2002) 'Hierarchies of access', in Ramachandaran, V. (ed.) *Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education.* New Delhi: The European Commission.

Sadgopal, A. (2003) 'Exclusion and inequality in education: the state policy and globalisation', *Contemporary India: Journal of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library,* 2, 3.

Sadgopal, A. (2004) *Globalization and Education: Defining the Indian Crisis.* New Delhi: Zakir Husain College.

Sharma, R. N. (2002*) Indian Education at the Cross Roads.* New Delhi: Shubhi.

Shotton, J. (1998) *Learning and Freedom.* New Delhi: Sage.

Skrtic, T.M. (1991) *Behind Special Education: A Critical Analysis of Professional Culture and School Organisation.* Denver: Love Publishing.

Srivastava, P. (2005) 'The business of schooling: the school choice processes, markets, and institutions governing low-fee private schooling for disadvantaged groups in India', unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford.

Steele, T. and Taylor, R. (1994) 'Against modernity: Gandhi and adult education', *International Journal of Lifelong Education,* 13, 33–42.

Tilak, B. G. and Sudarshan, R. M. (2001) *Private Schooling in Rural India.* New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research.

Tomlinson, S. (2001) *Education in a Post-Welfare Society.* Buckingham: Open University Press and McGraw-Hill.

Watkins, K. (2000) *The Oxfam Education Report.* Oxford: Oxfam International.

11 Low-fee private schooling

Challenging an era of education for all and quality provision?

Prachi Srivastava

Introduction

The widespread emergence of what is termed here *low-fee private* (LFP) schooling in India heralds the need to look beyond international and national rhetoric framed by various *Education for All* (EFA) targets and campaigns, in order to closely examine emerging private sectors of schooling in economically developing countries facing the problem of increasing educational demand, constrained public budgets, and the deteriorating actual or perceived quality of state education. The significance of the LFP sector is critical, not only because it is uniquely characterised as a private sector of formal provision targeted to a clientele with persistent schooling gaps and low levels of participation, but also because it necessitates an examination of the changing nature of provision for the schooling of disadvantaged groups. Paradoxically, the increased marketisation and privatisation of the schooling arena for disadvantaged groups point to an alteration in the way that schooling is delivered to and accessed by these groups, in an era of increased outward commitment to the EFA goals of access, equity, and quality in schooling provided by the State.

This chapter is envisioned as a starting point in the analysis of the context in which private provision of schooling for disadvantaged groups is emerging and operating in India, with reference to Uttar Pradesh. Building on a recently completed study of LFP schooling in Uttar Pradesh (Srivastava, 2005), it provides an analysis of the EFA dialogue in India by focusing on two debates that are most closely linked with the changing nature of schooling provision for disadvantaged groups: quality schooling and increased private provision.

Following a presentation of the research strategy, the chapter examines the EFA debate and strategy in India in general, and in Uttar Pradesh in particular. Third, it considers how 'quality' has been addressed in Indian schooling provision and delivery. By applying the under-analysed District Information System for Education (DISE) data to Uttar Pradesh, the chapter then highlights the need for an expanded set of indicators to assess quality for disadvantaged groups. The fifth section is devoted to disentangling the main sectors of formal public and private provision while locating the LFP sector within the broader schooling arena. Sixth is a reassessment of public and private delivery in the new context of

the LFP sector. The chapter ends with a consideration of some implications on the provision and delivery of schooling for disadvantaged groups in this new context.

Defining the low-fee private sector and outlining the research strategy

The emergence of LFP schooling in Uttar Pradesh is not atypical. Recent studies on formal schooling in India have documented the growth of this sector in the country (De *et al.*, 2002; Mehrotra *et al.*, 2005; Tooley and Dixon, 2005). Its potential impact has been noted regarding EFA targets in the context of constrained public resources (De *et al.*, 2002; Panchamukhi and Mehrotra, 2005). However, despite its reported emergence, analysis on the LFP sector is scarce. Furthermore, the sector has neither been officially defined by the State nor operationally defined by researchers.

For the purposes of the study, the LFP sector was defined as occupying a part (often unrecognised) of the heterogeneous private unaided sector. The private unaided sector in India is privately funded and run. LFP schools were defined as those that saw themselves targeting disadvantaged groups; were entirely self-financing through tuition fees; and charged a monthly tuition fee not exceeding about one day's earnings of a daily wage labourer at the primary (grades one to five) and junior levels (grades six to eight), and two days' earnings at the high school (grades nine and ten) and higher secondary levels (grades eleven and twelve).

The discussion in this chapter is based on a household, school, and state-level study on LFP schooling in Lucknow District, Uttar Pradesh (see Srivastava, 2006; Srivastava, forthcoming). Uttar Pradesh along with Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and West Bengal, is classed as one of the most 'educationally backward' states in India. These six states plus Assam account for three-quarters of the country's out-of-school children (Mehrotra and Srivastava, R., 2005). Furthermore, with a literacy rate of 57.4 per cent, Uttar Pradesh was ranked thirty-first of the thirty-five states and territories in the latest census (Government of India, 2001). At the same time, it had the second highest distribution of private school enrolments in elementary education in the country at 57.6 per cent[1] (Panchamukhi and Mehrotra, 2005, p. 236).

Data were collected between July 2002 and April 2003. The study examined the school choice processes and schooling patterns of disadvantaged households accessing LFP schooling; the internal organisational structures of LFP schools and the nature of local school markets in which they operated; and the formal and informal institutions, or regulatory frameworks, which governed their interaction within the LFP sector and the State. Data were collected through 100 formal interviews with sixty households (thirty urban and thirty rural), ten case study schools (five urban and five rural), and government officials; numerous informal interviews with school owners/principals and officials; official and 'grey' school and government documents; and school and state-level observations.

The historical struggle to provide Education for All

To better understand the role of the LFP sector in the new schooling market, it is important to sketch its place within the national policy context for education provision and EFA. The concern with providing free and compulsory elementary education is not new to India. It predates the most recent international initiatives of the 1990 Jomtien Conference and the 2000 World Education Forum setting the EFA agenda, by almost 100 years.

Balagopalan (2004) traces the history of the movement for free and compulsory education in India back to 1893 with an educational experiment that began in Baroda, Gujarat; and then to 1910 when a resolution for free and compulsory education in areas with a male school-aged population of at least 33 per cent was made but rejected. Similarly, in 1909, a bill introducing free and compulsory education was introduced by Gokhale in the Legislature following the Indian Council Act but was rejected in the Parliament (Drèze and Sen, 1995).

The Uttar Pradesh Primary Education Act of 1919 was instituted to introduce compulsory primary education through municipal boards for children aged six to eleven in the state (UPPEA, 2001, p. 623). Two key features of the Act were the introduction of compulsion for parents with a fine if school-aged children were not sent, and the establishment of formal basic education as a distinct system covering a specific age group. Furthermore, Section 4 of the Act stated that boards must satisfy the State Government in making 'adequate provision in recognised primary schools for such *compulsory primary education free of charge*' (emphasis added) (UPPEA, 2001, p. 624). Subsequently, the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act, 1926, was passed to ensure that: 'universal, free and compulsory primary education for boys and girls should be reached by a definite programme of progressive expansion' (UPDBPEA, 2001, p. 628).

In the post-independence period, while adopting the Indian Constitution in 1950, Article 45 of the Directive of Principles of State Policy in Part IV further gave a policy direction to all states with the duty to provide free and compulsory education to all children until the age of fourteen within a period of ten years (Mehta, 1998; Rao, 2002). Two landmark education platforms, the Kothari Commission (of 1964–66) and the Acharya Ramamurthi Committee (in 1990) were launched to identify the best strategies to advance the goals of free education provision. While the Government accepted the Kothari Commission's recommendations and announced the National Policy of Education (1968), the Ramamurthi Committee report was subjected to further scrutiny through the Central Advisory Board of Education committee in 1992. Disconcertingly, most of its major recommendations regarding the Common School System, quality, and equity in schooling were rejected when announcing the latest National Policy of Education (1992).

The concern for free compulsory education has recently been enshrined as Article 21A in the Eighty-sixth Amendment Act 2002 of the Indian Constitution which states: '21A. Right to Education – The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by *law,* determine' (Government of India, 2004). Some

government officials in this study claimed that the insistence of including the term 'by law' was to mark India's outward compliance in the international politics of education agenda-setting, as the Supreme Court had already declared basic education up to age fourteen a fundamental right in 1993.

Following from this, the Free and Compulsory Education Bill of 2004 (the latest at the time of writing), has not been without debate. In its insistence on expanding education provision to meet targets increasingly influenced by international rhetoric, the 2004 Bill enshrined what critics claimed to be a two-tier or parallel system through 'approved schools' and 'transitional schools', both with different standards. For example, while trained teachers would provide instruction in approved schools, instructors who only completed high school and received thirty days' training, were to impart instruction at transitional schools (Balagopalan, 2004, p. 3). The only compulsion in the Bill was that parents whose children did not attend any school had to send them to a transitional school or be penalised. Hence, according to Balagopalan (2004),

> The 'compulsory' provisions in the draft Bill thus serve to institutionalise a parallel system that poor parents have no recourse to reject. The reason that this idea of 'compulsion' does not provoke more outrage is because the middle class strongly believes ... that the primary reason that children are not in school is because of parental encouragement of child labour ... 'compulsion' takes precedence over quality of schooling issues.
>
> (p. 4)

The Bill has since been withdrawn and a Central Advisory Board of Education committee has been delegated the task of drafting a new bill.

India's struggle with achieving free and compulsory education is highlighted above. However, to further the debate, three issues should be considered when assessing persistent schooling gaps in the Indian context. First, there is a lack of focus on the quality of schooling to be delivered in the mass education system. There was no mention in Article 21A or in the draft Bill about minimum quality standards that should be provided at approved or transitional schools, although the implications of having teachers less qualified in the latter do not seem to advance the notion of quality schooling.

Second, the thrust on 'mobilisation' in central campaigns such as *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* and state campaigns such as Uttar Pradesh's *School Chalo Abhiyaan!,* presents disadvantaged groups with homogeneous views on schooling, i.e. they are unable to see its relevance and are in need of 'mobilisation'. This view obscures the fact that for many disadvantaged parents the motivation to access schooling is conditional on a positive assessment of their options (Srivastava, 2006). According to the results of this study, disadvantaged households often did not see the benefit of sending their children to school if their only option was a perceived malfunctioning state school.

Finally, the Indian EFA discourse has focused on state provision and, failing that, on non-formal education or alternative school models (i.e. transitional schools and

Education Guarantee Scheme centres). This obscures a focus on models of formal education delivery outside the state sector, such as the LFP sector. While there is some recognition that disadvantaged groups have begun accessing a segment of the private sector (De *et al.*, 2002; Duraisamy *et al.*, 1997; Majumdar and Vaidyanathan, 1995; PROBE, 1999; Tilak and Sudarshan, 2001), an examination of the LFP sector is largely ignored when assessing EFA strategies.

This is not to say that LFP schools will necessarily be better providers than the state sector or will address the schooling needs of disadvantaged groups in the long run; there is currently insufficient evidence to support such a view despite claims to the contrary (e.g. Tooley and Dixon, 2005). But without concerted examination of the LFP sector, it is not possible to accurately understand the schooling behaviours of disadvantaged groups, and the new schooling arena within which schooling is increasingly being delivered to and accessed by them.

Examining 'quality' in the provision and delivery of schooling

Quality provision and delivery of schooling assumes importance as one of the key issues framing the larger educational debate in India. The proliferation of LFP schools has been attributed to a very low level of quality in the state sector (De *et al.*, 2002; Tooley and Dixon, forthcoming). Govinda (2002) stresses that: 'government schools were never marked as of especially poor quality in comparison with their private counterparts as is done today with little exception' (p. 11). This is despite the State's focus, in principle, on increasing quality provision in state schooling. However, a closer examination of what 'quality provision' constitutes, reveals an inadequate definition of quality fraught with competing goals and target levels within the same policy.

Part 3.2 of the National Policy for Education 1992 states: 'The concept of a National System of Education implies that, up to a given level, all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location, or sex, have access to education *of a comparable quality*' (emphasis added) (Government of India, 1998, p. 5). While there is an insistence on some level of comparable quality throughout the policy, 'quality' itself is not defined. Instead, several measures (summarised in Table 11.1) are proposed in the National Policy and its Programme of Action to minimise the level of variance in such a large education system.

Nonetheless, while Part 3.13 of the National Policy states that the Central Government should 'promote excellence at all levels of the educational pyramid throughout the country' (Government of India, 1998, p. 7), elsewhere in the same policy, the level of quality drops to 'satisfactory' (Part 5.12), or rests at 'substantial improvement' (Part 5.5).

Perhaps the most important measures in the National Policy (highlighted in Table 11.1) can be seen as attempting to address quality by setting certain standards to be met in priority areas. These areas can be extrapolated from the National Policy for Education 1992 and its Programme of Action as: universal elementary education (grades one to eight), matching skills in the labour market, and equality of opportunity for various disadvantaged groups.

Table 11.1 Compilation of key proposed measures in the National Policy for Education 1992 and Programme of Action 1992

Proposed measures	Summary
Common educational structure	• 5 years of primary; 3 years' junior; 2 years' high school • Recommendation to incorporate the + 2 (intermediate) level as part of 'school education'
Common curricular core in addition to other flexible components	• History of India's freedom movement; constitutional obligations; components nurturing national identity • Promotion of common values: common cultural heritage; egalitarianism, democracy and secularism; equality of the sexes, protection of the environment; removal of social barriers; observance of the small family norm; and inculcation of a scientific temper
Provision of equal opportunity	• Equal access and conditions for success • Awareness of equality of all through the core curriculum • Although not stated in the NPE 1992, the national norms of 1 km radius for primary and within 3 km radius for junior as well as a maximum teacher–student ratio of 1:40 may be indicators here
Minimum levels of learning	• To be laid out for each stage of education
Essential school facilities	• To provide 3 all-weather, reasonably sized classrooms under Operation Blackboard • Blackboards, maps, charts, toys, and other necessary aids • Minimum of 3 teachers increasing to one per class as soon as possible • At least 50% of teachers recruited should be women
Education for equality	• Various provisions for women and girls and schedule caste, scheduled tribe, other backward caste, and minority groups • Incentives for families to send children to school; scholarships for specific groups; recruitment of teachers from scheduled caste groups; establishing residential schools; focusing on indigenous languages

Sources: Government of India, 1996; Government of India, 1998.

However, the notion of educational quality is confounded with standardisation in the area of achievement. A continuing debate in more economically advantaged countries such as the USA and the UK, this concern is emerging in the Indian context because of a number of increasing factors, partly due to the new Indian economy and an increasingly competitive labour market. Labour market forces have intensified in addition to existing competitive selection procedures in many professional fields through public exams. Furthermore, parents of all socio-economic groups are increasingly sending their children to private tuition centres because they feel that teachers are not imparting the required instruction in state schools (Majumdar and Vaidyanathan, 1995). These concerns have emerged as public confidence in education (particularly the state sector) is decreasing (De *et al*., 2002; PROBE, 1999).

The introduction of 'minimum levels of learning' in the curriculum cloaked as 'a strategy for improving the quality of elementary education [in] an attempt to combine quality with equity' (Government of India, 1996, p. 41), can be interpreted as an attempt to address that lack of confidence by establishing basic 'competencies' that all students should acquire regardless of the sector they access. According to the Government of India, a minimum level of learning: 'Lays down learning outcomes in the form of competencies or levels of learning for each stage of elementary education' (Government of India, 1996, p. 41). However, focusing on basic competencies without addressing other areas of quality or equity in the curriculum, treatment of children at school, or broader issues of access particularly regarding the state sector, has been criticised as being rigid and promoting teachers to 'teach to the test': 'The slogan of "competency-based learning" has made little difference to curricula and textbooks, which have religiously followed the unrealistic list of "contents", only flimsily disguised as "competencies"' (PROBE, 1999, p. 79).

If India is to address quality concerns in its three priority areas in the state sector, raising public confidence in a sector which is increasingly being characterised as malfunctioning should be of paramount importance. As found in this study and others (Aggarwal, undated; Balagopalan and Subrahmanian, 2003; Bashir, 1994; PROBE, 1999), parental perceptions of inferior state school quality; an iniquitous system rife with issues such as teacher absenteeism; little public accountability; teachers over-burdened with other state duties resulting in frequent school closures and minimal teaching activity; and teachers ridiculing lower caste children, all undermine notions of educational quality.

Ironically, the perceived growth of these 'inequalities and dysfunctions' (Datt, 2002; Govinda, 2002) come at a time when the focus on EFA and access to and quality of schooling have officially been the utmost guiding concern. As stated in the National Policy for Education 1992:

> The new thrust in elementary education will emphasise three aspects: (i) universal access and enrolment, (ii) universal retention of children up to 14 years of age and (iii) a *substantial improvement in the quality of education* to enable all children to achieve essential levels of learning (emphasis added).
>
> (Government of India, 1998, p. 13)

In this regard, the Government of India launched *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* in 2000, a national EFA campaign with 'its central objective of mobilising all resources, human, financial and institutional, necessary for achieving the goal of UEE [universal elementary education]' (Government of India, 2002a, p. 55). Its main goals are to ensure completion of elementary school by children aged six to fourteen and to bridge gender and social gaps in elementary education by 2010, with a 'focus on elementary education of satisfactory quality' (ibid.). Significant financial outlay has been released to all states according to their District Elementary Education Plans for items such as the construction of new schools and the establishment of Education Guarantee Scheme centres. Nonetheless,

while *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* officially affirmed the State's commitment to universal elementary education, it simultaneously threatened the quality of schooling by reducing the minimum required number of teachers in a school from three in the 1992 Programme of Action, to two.

Assessing quality using Uttar Pradesh as a case

The recent establishment of the District Information System for Education (DISE), an educational management information system, is one attempt at advancing quality assessment. The DISE database is to be updated on a yearly basis to collect time-series data on three groups of indicators: school, enrolment, and teacher-related. It is the result of a government effort to improve on existing surveys used for educational analyses (e.g. All India Education Survey, National Council of Educational Research and Training [NCERT]) which are not updated at regular intervals; and on household survey data (e.g. National Sample Survey Organisation data) which reportedly present relatively more accurate accounts of household school enrolment than the NCERT surveys, but do not report much on the characteristics or numbers of schools in a given area.

At the time of writing, DISE data were collected across eighteen Indian states, resulting in the 2003 DISE report (Mehta, 2004). Disappointingly, however, while data from unrecognised schools were gathered at the village level (Mehta, 2004, p. 3), only data from recognised schools were reported in statewide analyses of the DISE report.[2] This has serious implications when considering results about the private unaided sector, since it is estimated that a good proportion of private unaided (and LFP) schools are unrecognised (e.g. Tooley and Dixon, 2005). Nonetheless, the report yielded some interesting results.

The total number of schools was 853,601 in the eighteen states. While Uttar Pradesh is officially characterised as one of the most educationally backward states in India, due to its size it had the highest number of schools at 119,443 (Mehta, 2004, p. 32). Construction efforts under *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan,* in combination with the long-running District Primary Education Programme (from 1994 to 2003), were attributed to the opening of 161,279 new schools across the country since 1994 (Mehta, 2004, p. 53). Uttar Pradesh saw the second highest number of new schools at 33,452. The percentage share of all schools in rural areas was 87 per cent nationally, and 91.5 per cent in Uttar Pradesh. Table 11.2 presents some DISE data extracted from the report to assess quality across the three categories of indicators.

School-related indicators on facilities reveal that the picture for Uttar Pradesh may not be as bleak in certain areas as expected, relative to other states. The indicators show that it ranks quite highly (within the top three) for the percentage of primary schools with access to drinking water, separate girls' toilets, book banks, and playgrounds. However, in absolute numbers, particularly regarding girls' toilet facilities, the percentage of schools was low at only 40.9 per cent. Nonetheless, it seems that compared with other states, Uttar Pradesh invested some money into its schools as only 9.9 per cent of primary schools had classrooms in need of major repair, and 66.3 per cent and 65.5 per cent of primary schools received

Table 11.2 Quality comparison of schools in Uttar Pradesh and nationally [a]

	National (All districts in the 18 states)	Uttar Pradesh	Rank[b]
School-related indicators			
Total number of schools	853,601	119,443	1
New schools built since 1994	161,279	33,452	2
Ratio of primary to upper primary	3.18 Prescribed norm: 2[c]	5.24	17
% Private unaided schools	6.74	10.12	3
% Share of schools in rural areas	87.0	91.51	4
% Share of private unaided schools in rural areas	4.6	7.93	3
% Schools with 3 or more classrooms	36.89	51.48	5
Level of highest enrolment as a per cent in primary education	26.91% schools with 21–60 children enrolled	32.26% schools with 141–220 children enrolled	n/a
% Schools > 3 teachers	35.85	42.38	5
Average number of instructional days in elementary schools/sections	215	209 State norm: 220 days[c]	Tied at 14
% Schools with a pupil–teacher ratio >100	8.94	24.2	3
% Schools with pupil–teacher ratio >60	25.5	49.1	2
% Single-classroom schools	15.7	2.7	17
% Single-teacher schools	19.1	15.9	10
% Schools with drinking water facility	71.9	91	1
% Schools with separate girls' toilet	15.64	40.88	2
% Schools with book bank	40.76	63.98	3
% Schools with playground	42.22	59.22	3
% Schools with classrooms needing major repair	27.3	9.9	10
% Schools received School Development Grant	48.81	66.3	5
% Schools received Teaching–Learning Material Grant	39.69	65.47	2
Enrolment-based indicators			
Gender parity in enrolment (primary)	0.89	0.90	12
Gender parity in enrolment (junior)	0.79	0.71	14
% Enrolment in single-teacher schools	12.2	13.2	5
% Enrolment school classroom ratio > 60	25.7	49.1	2
% Under-age children in primary	10.16	6.56	14
% Over-age children in primary	5.52	2.01	18
% Transition rate from primary to junior	Male: 65.96 Female: 62.73	Male: 40.22 Female: 36.30	16 17

	National (All districts in the 18 states)	Uttar Pradesh	Rank[b]
Teacher-related indicators			
Average number of teachers in private schools	4.88	4.41	10
Average number of teachers in government schools	2.47	2.51	10
% Female teachers	34.4	27.5	Tied at 13
% Trained teachers	44.4	57.3	5
% Of para-teachers to total teachers	11.03	9.71	6
Pupil–teacher ratio	46	67	2

Source: DISE data for 2002–2003 reported in Mehta (2004), *Elementary Education in India, Where do we stand?*

Notes

a These were the latest DISE data available at the time of writing. Data combine all school types, unless otherwise stated. All data are for primary schools unless otherwise stated. Primary schools comprise grades one to five. Junior schools comprise grades six to eight. Elementary education in India refers to the combined primary and junior cycles.
b Ranks added by the researcher to enable general comparison with the eighteen states in the DISE report.
c Researcher's comments.

School Development and Teaching–Learning Grants respectively. However, while the percentage of single-teacher and single-classroom schools was quite low, improvement in physical access to schools was required. The ratio of primary to junior schools/sections was 5.24:1, even though the prescribed norm was 2:1, placing it seventeenth of the eighteen states.

Examination of school-related indicators on classroom activities and enrolment and teacher-related indicators for primary schooling also reveals a less rosy picture. While the gender parity index for Uttar Pradesh was higher than expected at 0.90, it only ranked twelfth out of eighteen states on this measure. Furthermore, Uttar Pradesh was fourteenth in the country for the average number of instructional days, which at 209 days was lower than the 220 prescribed by the State. Also, while the percentage of single-teacher primary schools was comparably lower than in other states, the percentage of enrolment in those schools was 13.2 per cent, the fifth highest. Transition rates in elementary education for boys and girls from primary to junior were also among the lowest in India, at 40.22 per cent and 36.30 per cent. Interestingly, however, the failure rate for Uttar Pradesh decreased across elementary education as grade level increased.

Finally, teacher indicators revealed that female primary teachers accounted for only 27.5 per cent of the total primary teaching pool in Uttar Pradesh, placing it thirteenth. Furthermore, while Uttar Pradesh ranked fifth highest on the percentage of trained primary teachers, this only corresponded to 57.3 per cent of the teaching force. This is surprising, given the clear insistence in state norms against hiring

untrained teachers in state and recognised private schools, but it indicates a possible lack in the availability of trained teachers in Uttar Pradesh and nationally. The relatively high rank in the percentage of primary para-teachers according to DISE data is in line with data collected from state officials and principals in this study who claimed that there was an insistence in Uttar Pradesh to hire *shiksha mitra*[3] to cover teacher shortfall, particularly in rural areas.

Most disturbingly perhaps, Uttar Pradesh ranked second in the country for the largest average pupil–teacher ratio at 67:1 for the primary level. When combined with the fact that 49.1 per cent (second highest) of the total enrolment was accounted for in schools with a classroom ratio greater than 60, this highlights issues of real concern over adequate delivery at the classroom level. This is further stressed as the percentage of schools with a pupil–teacher ratio greater than 100 was 24.2 per cent, the third highest among the eighteen states.

The variability in the different quality measures (i.e. Uttar Pradesh's relatively high ranks in facilities versus its low ranks on classroom–teacher ratios or enrolment), highlights the importance of employing an array of indicators. The DISE school-based, enrolment, and teacher indicators are a first step. While a valuable contribution to providing an overview of the state of schools in India, the DISE report examined only how recognised schools measured against these derived indicators and not how they fared against prescribed norms. The depth of analysis could be greater if comparisons were made with state or central-level norms. Furthermore, including data on unrecognised schools is of utmost importance for a more complete examination of the sources and types of variation across schools.

Finally, there is a need to expand the set of indicators currently employed. Aggarwal (2002) suggests examining the internal efficiency of India's education system through retention, transition, completion, and drop-out rates. While this is a necessary area of analysis, indicators relating to children's *lived experiences* at school, or Stephens' (1991) notion of 'something more' beyond efficiency and relevance, cannot be ignored as they may be primary factors encouraging families of first generation learners to enrol their children at all.

Lloyd *et al.* (2000) assert that: 'Few studies of school quality have examined those aspects of schooling that are most conducive to *encouraging initial enrolment and retention*' (emphasis added) (p. 113). For example, indicators focusing on household–school relationships or students' experiences at school beyond achievement should also be considered. If lessons are to be learned from studies documenting parents' level of dissatisfaction and the preferential treatment of students according to gender or caste particularly in state schools (e.g. Balagopalan and Subrahmanian, 2003; Duraisamy *et al.*, 1997; PROBE, 1999), then a more encompassing notion of quality is required. Furthermore, with the expansion of the private sector and the emergence of the LFP sector in particular, examining schooling provision for disadvantaged groups must extend beyond new methods of quality assessment to include analyses of the recognised and unrecognised private sectors.

Disentangling public and private sectors of education in India

Complicating private sector analyses in India is a continued conflation in the identification of the specific school types within the broad sectors of education provision. The boundary within and between public (traditionally Central Government and state) and private (traditionally private-aided and private unaided) provision is blurred. Data from this study suggest that this is partly because of the funding mechanisms associated with public and private provision, and also because of the practical modes of classification by government officials in their administrative work. In an effort to broadly map out a typology of formal schooling provision (with reference to Uttar Pradesh), Table 11.3 is provided as a starting point.

The table presents a typology of the three overarching school types by their primary financing, management, and accountability structures. Admittedly, the construction of such a broad typology is problematic (and will likely be contested) as the specific school types subsumed under the different 'public' and 'private' sector classifications are highly heterogeneous.

For example, the common usage of the term 'government schools' in Indian education discourse, obscures their heterogeneity. Typically, the term is used to refer to schools run by state governments through their Departments of Education or local bodies.[4] However, some Central Government departments also operate a small number of schools such as the Department of Tribal Welfare (for tribal groups), the Ministry of Labour (targeted for child labour), the Ministry of Defence (*Sainik* schools), and the Ministry of Social Justice (for children with disabilities).

The Central Government has also established three types of schools located in most states: *Kendriya Vidyalayas* or Central Schools mainly for employees of the Central Government, *Navodaya Vidyalayas* for talented rural students regardless of socio-economic status, and Tibetan Schools for Tibetan refugees. These are all centrally-funded and administered. In practice, however, state officials in this study explained that most statistics collected by them either did not differentiate between government school types, or that data collected at the district level on government schools only included schools run by the Department of Education and local bodies. Thus, when 'state schools' are referred to in this discussion, they are conceptualised as those run by the state's Departments of Education and local bodies.

When assessing the private sector, the issue is further complicated owing to the system of private-aided and private unaided schools. Private aided schools are classified here as public–private hybrids. While they are privately managed, the majority of their funding comes from the state government. Up to 95 per cent of a school's budget could be through state government grant-in-aid (Kingdon, 1996a; Tilak and Sudarshan, 2001). Most state funding covers teachers' salaries equivalent to those in state schools, as well as recurrent spending on non-teacher inputs (Panchamukhi and Mehrotra, 2005), while management must ensure that teachers meet state qualifications. Private-aided schools must raise their own funds for initial

Table 11.3 Typology of school sectors by primary financing, management and accountability structures

	School Type			
	Government and State	*Private-Aided*	*Private Unaided*	
			Recognised	*Unrecognised*
General Classification	• Public	• Public–Private Hybrid	• Private	• Private
Financing	• Central and state governments (directly and through centrally or state-sponsored schemes) • Very slight parental contributions	• State government (up to 95%) • Private (typically parents through parent–teacher associations)	• Private sources: e.g. parents, individuals, charitable trusts, NGOs and other agencies • Some state scholarships for children from scheduled caste, scheduled tribe, and other backward caste groups (in principle)	• Private sources: e.g. parents, individuals, charitable trusts, NGOs and other agencies
Management	• Central/State government structures • Relevant boards	• District and state-level committees • School committee • Relevant boards	• Owners (in practice) • School Committee of Management and managing society (in principle) • Network if part of a chain	• Owners (in practice) • Managing society if registered (in principle) • Network if part of a chain
Accountability Structure	• District State and Central governments (as applicable) • Relevant board	• District • State government • Boards • Parents (secondary) (in principle)	• Parents (market) • Network if part of a chain • District office and State through the concerned Board (in principle)	• Parents (market) • Network if part of a chain

Note: This typology was constructed using data from the study and from existing literature on Uttar Pradesh. Specific regulations and structures will vary according to state.

and ongoing costs, typically through parents' contributions to schools' parent–teacher associations. Because of the nature and amount of state intervention in the management and funding of private-aided schools, Kingdon (1996a) and

Tilak and Sudarshan (2001) assert that they could be called 'semi-government' or 'government-aided' schools.

Owing to the public–private hybrid, there is some confusion in the literature on some of the finer administration issues of private-aided schools. For example, concerning recruitment procedures and staff management, Kingdon (1996a) states that private-aided schools 'cannot recruit or dismiss their own staff' and that in Uttar Pradesh, the 'U[ttar] P[radesh] Government Education Service Commission selects and appoints their staff' (p. 3306). However, according to Panchamukhi and Mehrotra (2005), 'the decision to hire teachers lies with the management [of private-aided schools], who can also finance additional teacher posts and other recurrent expenditure from their own funds' (p. 230). Like Kingdon, the researchers also comment on the existence of a recruitment board or committee, but seem to accord a different balance of power to private-aided and government representatives. Kingdon does not mention the role of private-aided members, implying that they have little say in the recruitment process of staff. Panchamukhi and Mehrotra (2005) on the other hand, describe the private-aided recruitment committee as having only one government representative (ibid.).

Private unaided schools are autonomous, privately managed, and free of state financing, though in principle, recognised schools are more accountable to the state and their respective boards than unrecognised schools. If the private sector is conceptualised as comprising schools that are both financially independent of the state and privately managed, then the true private sector is composed only of recognised and unrecognised private unaided schools. To reiterate, LFP schools, as defined here, are part of this sector. Private unaided schools span a range of varying fee structures that are run by voluntary organisations, missionaries, philanthropic bodies, or individual owners as business enterprises (Tilak and Sudarshan, 2001). This is despite a 1993 Supreme Court ruling (*Unnikrishnan PJ and Others* v. *State of Andhra Pradesh and Others*) that schools should not be run for profit. LFP school owners in this study unofficially claimed profits from their schools.

Typically, the literature has accepted the claim that private schools start off as part of a cycle from unrecognised private unaided to recognised private unaided schools, en route to achieving private-aided status due to the appeal of state funding (Kingdon, 1996a; Panchamukhi and Mehrotra, 2005). However, this study revealed that owing to the complexity of individual state regulations governing grants-in-aid and private unaided schools, a more nuanced understanding is required when examining private school sectors. While the cycle described above may have earlier been the case, it no longer holds in principle, at least in Uttar Pradesh. As of 1996, officially, the State Government stopped disbursing grants-in-aid for an indefinite period because of insufficient state funds. Furthermore, LFP school owners in this study asserted that they would not avail themselves of this provision because of the severe restriction of autonomy through stringent state control by becoming a private-aided school.

Under the Indian Constitution, private unaided schools may exist regardless of whether or not they are recognised (Balagopalan, 2004; De *et al.*, 2002;

Majumdar and Vaidyanathan, 1995). However, state legislation applies in governing private schools on this point. In principle, for a private unaided school to be recognised it must conform to regulations of the board with which it seeks affiliation. Recognition criteria for state boards vary on the particulars but cover such areas as norms for infrastructure, teacher qualifications, language of instruction, and fees. The main incentive for LFP schools (like other private unaided schools) to seek recognition is that only recognised schools can issue official documentation such as 'transfer certificates', or officially send their students as 'regular candidates' for exams. This increases a school's credibility and reputation in local school markets. The results of this study showed that, in practice, LFP schools were able to obtain recognition without meeting norms due to corrupt practices (Tooley and Dixon, 2005, had similar findings). Furthermore, like other unrecognised LFP schools, case study schools followed complex informal norms and procedures to circumvent official recognition norms, ensuring that their students gained benefits similar to those at recognised schools (Srivastava, 2005).

Assessing the size and nature of private provision in India and Uttar Pradesh is also compounded by the difficulty that much of the literature refers to both private-aided and unaided schools when speaking of the 'private sector'. There are further inaccuracies in statistical data due to a lack of regularly updated time-series and the exclusion of unrecognised private schools in most data sets. However, when examining the LFP sector, further complications arise. In addition to the exclusion of unrecognised schools in educational databases, no household survey or educational database disaggregates the private unaided sector by level of fees. Since the sector is highly heterogeneous, this presents a subtle yet crucial methodological point.

Anyone familiar with the educational context in India will agree that there has been an increase in the number of LFP and private unaided schools. However, since traditional statistical data show increases in the total number of private unaided schools, this increase cannot be as easily attributable to increased LFP provision alone, as some may suggest . This is because available databases *do not present data on the private unaided sector by level of fee charged.* Therefore, until new datasets include unrecognised private unaided schools and disaggregate private-unaided sector data by fee-level, it is impossible to accurately assess the amount of variation across the sector by high-, medium-, or low-fee sub-sectors. This makes accurate assessments of each sub-sector's growth over time and the proportion of enrolment claimed by each, difficult at best.

Reassessing public and private education delivery

Colclough (1993) argues that the main case for the public provision of education, particularly in economically developing countries, is due to the following concerns with market provision:

(a) private provision would result in under-provision of schooling because of externalities which are social as well as individual;

(b) 'merit goods' such as education may be under-supplied if left to the market;

(c) investment in education has a long gestation period which the market may not be able to adapt to, leading to inefficiency;

(d) a concern with economies of scale that mass provision can meet;

(e) *increased equity costs* since the private purchase of schooling is beyond the means of the disadvantaged;

(f) further *aggravating household cost-benefit analyses* which may compel even lower participation by disadvantaged communities; and

(g) *low private demand particularly for disadvantaged groups* facing social and cultural barriers to enrolment, calling for increased subsidies, and not increased costs.

<div align="right">(emphases added) (pp. 1–2)</div>

While not specifically focusing on private sectors serving disadvantaged groups, earlier studies have examined the prevalence of private provision at all education levels in economically developing countries. James (1993) noted that:

1 there were systematically higher proportions of private secondary school enrolments in economically developing countries compared with more economically advantaged countries, and

2 there was a seemingly random distribution of private and public enrolment in economically developing countries at a given educational level and state of development.

<div align="right">(p. 574)</div>

James's data showed that the percentage of enrolment in private primary schools in economically developing countries ranged from 100 per cent in Lesotho to one per cent in Algeria and Kenya, and 25 per cent for India.[5] The spectrum for more economically advantaged countries ranged from one per cent in Japan and Sweden, with England and Wales at 22 per cent, and the USA at 10 per cent. Thus, according to James's data, India shared a larger percentage of its enrolment at the primary level in private schools than England and Wales and the USA.

Such findings have led some researchers, mainly economists, to focus on the relative efficiency of public and private schools in economically developing countries (Cox and Jimenez, 1990; James *et al.*, 1996; Jimenez *et al.*, 1989; Jimenez *et al.*, 1991; Jimenez *et al.*, 1988; Salmi, 2000). Proponents of the expansion of private schooling counter arguments for further public education by insisting that private schools are more cost-effective, leading to greater efficiency of the education sector as a whole. Another argument is that private expansion will allow countries with constrained public resources to meet increasing educational demand. Some studies on India have looked at the possibility of the private sector meeting increased educational demand in view of universal elementary education goals (De *et al.*, 2002; Mehrotra *et al.*, 2005; Tilak and Sudarshan, 2001).

More recently, studies have reported on private models of schooling specifically for disadvantaged groups in a number of economically developing countries. While such private schooling models may be different from the LFP sector in India, reports on Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria (Tooley and Dixon, forthcoming), Haiti (Salmi, 2000), Indonesia (Bangay, forthcoming), and Pakistan (Alderman *et al.*, 2001; Kim *et al.*, 1999) examine expanding private sectors for disadvantaged groups. This suggests the merits of analysing such forms of private provision to ascertain its different models, the school choice behaviours of disadvantaged households, and the implications for EFA targets in wider international and national policy contexts.

While some studies on private schooling in India acknowledge the heterogeneity of the private sector (De *et al.*, 2002; Kingdon, 1996a; 1999b; Panchamukhi and Mehrotra, 2005; Tilak and Sudarshan, 2001), assumptions about the nature of private schooling in most of the published literature on schooling in economically developing countries are less clear. In fact, Colclough (1993) noted that most studies suffer from two inadequacies: the first is the paucity of data available, not allowing a full analysis of value-added elements; and the second is that they do not account for the heterogeneity in the private and public sectors. Thus, claims of relative efficiency or effectiveness (Cox and Jimenez, 1990; James *et al.*, 1996; Jimenez *et al.*, 1988; Jimenez *et al.*, 1989; Jimenez *et al.*, 1991) should be treated with caution.

The present analysis would add two further caveats taking the LFP sector into consideration. First, as previously noted, value-added measures from the school effectiveness framework without quality assessments based on an expanded set of indicators encompassing 'something more' (e.g. similar to those used by Lloyd *et al.*, 2000, and Lloyd *et al.*, 2003), will add to incomplete analyses of the private sector (both at different levels of schooling and how it is accessed by different socio-economic groups). Second, merely noting the heterogeneity of the private sector is an insufficient condition for a more complete analysis. A more focused and detailed emphasis on models of private schooling accessed by disadvantaged groups, such as the LFP sector, is necessary for two reasons.

First, it is necessary to distance the private schooling debate from traditional assumptions that it is accessed only by the elite, and to focus on the schooling preferences and choices of disadvantaged groups as they actually are. Second, it is necessary to refocus the debate on how the existence of private schooling for disadvantaged groups can compel and challenge existing public systems to better meet the needs of the most disadvantaged.

Private schooling models targeting disadvantaged groups, and specifically the LFP sector as examined in this study, seem to challenge Colclough's assertions (e), (f), and (g) (see p. 153 above) critiquing private provision. Increased equity costs due to the inaccessibility of private schooling for disadvantaged groups, a low private demand for it among this group, and aggravated household cost-benefit analyses, seem to apply only to a limited extent in relation to the LFP sector. This is because these critiques are made on assumptions that

apply to high-fee models of private schooling and their associated concerns for disadvantaged groups in contexts where low-fee options do not exist. Furthermore, they do not take into account the fact that low-fee models exist in the context of a (perceived or real) malfunctioning state sector, which itself raises issues of equity, low demand, and aggravated household costs for disadvantaged groups.

For example, the share of enrolment in government schools[6] in Uttar Pradesh shows that it ranked among the lowest in the country at every school level (see Table 11.4). While not focused on the LFP sector, results from the 2003 DISE report (Mehta, 2004) show that the share of recognised private unaided schools in Uttar Pradesh ranked the third highest of the eighteen states at 10.1 per cent of its total schools. Furthermore, contrary to traditional assumptions, the prevalence of private unaided schools was not just an urban phenomenon. The report showed that 7.9 per cent of all rural schools in Uttar Pradesh were private unaided, again ranking the third highest.

This points to the necessity of reassessing traditional analyses of private schooling applied to economically developing countries. While certain elements of older analyses may be applicable, studies working from a new set of assumptions must be undertaken to adequately assess the possible contribution of private schooling and its interface with public provision (see papers in Srivastava and Walford, forthcoming, for some new studies on this topic).

Table 11.4 School and enrolment-based indicators on private unaided and government schools

	National (All Districts)	Uttar Pradesh	Rank[a]
School-Related Indicators			
Total number of schools	853,601	119,443	1
% Private unaided schools	6.74	10.12	3
% Share of schools in rural areas	87.0	91.51	4
% Share of private unaided schools in rural areas	4.6	7.93	3
Enrolment-Based Indicators (*% Enrolment in government schools*)			
Primary	89.9	87.5	13
Primary with junior	77.6	17.4	18
Primary with junior and secondary/high school	34.9	23.4	17
Junior only	80	77.7	11
Junior with secondary/higher secondary	60.1	14.7	15

Source: Extracted from Mehta (2004)

Note
a Ranks were added by the researcher to enable general comparison with the eighteen states in the DISE report.

Implications for the schooling of disadvantaged groups

Increased marketisation and privatisation targeted to groups with historically low participation rates in schooling necessitate examination in the context of EFA and quality provision, because they question the State's fundamental responsibility of upholding children's universal right to education. In the case of India, this is mandated by its own constitution. The issue, scaffolded by the EFA framework of increased access, equity, and quality in schooling, is one of an outward affirmation to this commitment by the State on the one hand, and increased private provision on the other. Since LFP schools as defined in this study target groups earning between one to two dollars a day, the question is: what does the increased segmentation of the schooling market mean for them and for those earning less than one dollar a day?

First, while traditional arguments favouring privatisation hinge on raising the public sector's efficiency and effectiveness through increased competition, they do not take into consideration systems where the public sector has no incentive to compete. While EFA Goals 2, 5, and 6 focus on increasing the quality of schooling offered to vulnerable groups (UNESCO, 2000), most international and national funding mechanisms are not contingent on quality performance. Thus, if the state sector continues to be funded under the international EFA banner without conditionalities of quality improvement, it has no incentive to compete to increase its performance. Ultimately, in this scenario, LFP schools have to be only marginally better than 'malfunctioning' state schools (e.g. Balagopalan and Subrahmanian, 2003; Datt, 2002; PROBE, 1999) to be considered 'better', leaving disadvantaged parents with few real options for quality schooling.

Second, according to Hirschman's (1970) classic identification of 'inert' and 'alert' clients, those accessing the LFP sector would be classed as quality-conscious alert clients in relation to the state sector. This has fundamental implications for the future of children whose parents either cannot or do not access the LFP sector. If the state sector is as malfunctioning as it is perceived and documented to be, and there is cream-skimming of clients from among disadvantaged groups, then the future of schooling for the most disadvantaged does not seem promising. From this perspective, while in the short run, the LFP sector may be desirable for some disadvantaged children faced with only malfunctioning local state schools, in the long run it is likely to be highly iniquitous for the most disadvantaged if it has no recuperation effect for the state sector.

Further analyses should examine the extent to which the LFP sector is considered by the State when developing policies or initiatives for disadvantaged groups. If these groups are increasingly attracted to the LFP sector, it is critical to understand its implications for EFA. Currently, EFA initiatives such as *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* are either centrally-sponsored or have a strong external funding component to them. Dyer (2000) notes that such centrally-funded schemes are: 'A very powerful way of setting the direction of the development of education' (p. 19). It seems that the government's response to EFA goals has been a push towards meeting targets of quantity rather than a combined approach addressing

quality issues as well. This would best be done by adequately assessing disadvantaged households' changing schooling choices and behaviours. For example, even though Uttar Pradesh's *School Chalo Abhiyan!* was geared to attract children who had never been enrolled, it did not incorporate disadvantaged parents' conceptions of quality or assess their reasons for not enrolling their children in the first place (see Srivastava, 2006). Thus, government officials in this study estimated that half of those enrolled through the initiative in June and July withdrew by September.

It is clear that systematic quality comparisons between state and LFP schools are needed. If these are the two sectors most accessible to disadvantaged groups then it is crucial to assess what, if anything extra, parents get for their money. Such inquiries should assess 'quality' by employing indicators beyond expenditure and results to include, for example, students' gendered school experiences, facilitation of home-school support, and teachers' attitudes. Furthermore, future statistical analyses should include data on unrecognised private unaided schools and disaggregate private unaided sector data by level of fees, so that more detailed characterisations can be made of the LFP sector. As the analysis here showed, available statistical data are insufficient as, at best, they can approximate growth, enrolment, and expenditure trends in the recognised private unaided sector as a whole without specifying variation across this heterogeneous sector, or pinpointing the LFP sector's position. Given the changing nature of the schooling arena, research agendas excluding such analyses will ignore the reality of schooling conditions for the most disadvantaged children.

Notes

1 This refers to elementary education enrolments (primary and junior) in recognised and unrecognised private unaided schools through a survey carried out in eight states by Panchamukhi & Mehrotra for UNICEF. They compared UNICEF survey figures with data for a further eight states from the 1998 National Sample Survey Organisation household survey.

2 Since the time of writing two more DISE reports have been published (see Mehta 2005a; Mehta, 2006) covering more states. Also, since the time of writing, the first report on unrecognised schools has been released using 2005 DISE data for Punjab (see Mehta, 2005b).

3 These are para-teachers on ten-month temporary contracts qualified at higher secondary level and provided with one month's training. In principle, *shiksha mitra* are hired to teach children in the lower primary grades.

4 Local bodies are institutions developed for local governance at district, sub-district, and village levels created under the Indian Constitution.

5 James's data do not specify whether the reported private sector corresponded to private-aided plus private unaided schools, and, further, whether it includes recognised and unrecognised schools. The corresponding figures for secondary enrolment in the study are 52% for India, 16% for England and Wales, and 9% for the USA. Note the big jump in private enrolment from primary to secondary in India and the larger gain over England and Wales and the USA. Tooley's (1999) data show 42% enrolment at the private secondary level. He claims this to be from middle schools including private-aided, but does not state whether or not unrecognised schools are included. 'Middle schools' are also not defined.

6 The term 'government schools' is used when speaking of secondary data reporting on public sectors since it is unclear if the data combine figures from schools run by state governments and local bodies and Central Government.

References

Aggarwal, Y. (2002) *Regaining Lost Opportunity: The Malaise of School Inefficiency.* New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy and NIEPA. Available online at: http://www.dpepmis.org/downloads/lost.pdf (retrieved August 20, 2004).

Aggarwal, Y. (undated) *Quality Concerns in Primary Education in India: Where is the Problem?* Available online at: www.dpepmis.org/downloads/quality1.pdf (retrieved August 23, 2004).

Alderman, H., Orazem, P. F. and Paterno, E. M. (2001) 'School quality, school cost, and the public/private school choices of low-income households in Pakistan', *Journal of Human Resources,* 36, 304–326.

Balagopalan, S. (2004) 'Free and Compulsory Education Bill 2004', *Economic and Political Weekly,* August 7, 2004.

Balagopalan, S. and Subrahmanian, R. (2003) 'Dalit and Adivasi children in schools: some preliminary research themes and findings', *IDS Bulletin,* 34, 43–54.

Bangay, C. (forthcoming) 'Cinderella or ugly sister?: What role for non-state education provision in developing countries?', in Srivastava, P. and Walford, G. (eds), *Private Schooling in Less Economically Developed Countries: Asian and African Perspectives.* Didcot, Oxon: Symposium Books.

Bashir, S. (1994) 'Public versus Private in Primary Education: comparisons of school effectiveness and costs in Tamil Nadu', unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, UK.

Colclough, C. (1993) *Education and the Market: Which Parts of the Neo-Liberal Solution are Correct?* Florence: International Development Centre, Innocenti Occasional Papers, Economic Policy Series, No. 37.

Cox, D., and Jimenez, E. (1990) 'The relative effectiveness of private and public schools: evidence from two developing countries', *Journal of Development Economics,* 34, 99–122.

Datt, R. (2002) 'Educational policy and equity', in Rao, K. (ed.) *Educational Policies in India: Analysis and Review of Promise and Performance.* New Delhi: National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA).

De, A., Majumdar, M., Noronha, C. and Samson, M. (2002) 'Private schools and universal elementary education', in Govinda, R. (ed*.) India Education Report: A Profile of Basic Education.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Drèze, J. and Sen, A.K. (1995) *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Duraisamy, P., James, E., Lane, J. and Tan, J. P. (1997) *Is there a Quantity-Quality Trade-Off as Enrolments Increase? Evidence from Tamil Nadu, India.* Washington, DC: World Bank, Working Paper No. 1768. Available online at: http://econ.worldbank. org/docs/466.pdf. (retrieved August 17, 2004).

Dyer, C. (2000) *Operation Blackboard: Policy Implementation in Indian Elementary Education.* Didcot, Oxon: Symposium Books.

Government of India (1996) *National Policy on Education 1986: Programme of Action 1992.* New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India (1998) *National Policy on Education 1986: As Modified in 1992 with National Policy on Education 1968.* New Delhi: Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India (2001) 'State of literacy', *Provisional Population Totals:* Census of India. India, Series 1, Paper 1 of 2001. Web edition. Available online at: www.censusindia.net/results.html (retrieved September 2003).

Government of India (2002a) *Annual Report 2001–2002* New Delhi: Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, and Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development.

Government of India (2004) *Free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2004, Revised.* Available online at:http://www.education.nic.in/htmlweb/ssa/free_compulsory _edu_ bill_2004_intro.htm. (retrieved July 20, 2004).

Govinda, R. (2002) 'Providing education for all in India', in Govinda, R. (ed.) *India Education Report: A Profile of Basic Education,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Hirschman, A. O. (1970) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

James, E. (1993) 'Why do different countries choose a different public–private mix of educational services?' *The Journal of Human Resources,* 28, pp. 571–592.

James, E., King, E. M. and Suryadi, A. (1996) 'Finance, management, and costs of public and private schools in Indonesia', *Economics of Education Review,* 15, 387–398.

Jimenez, E., Lockheed, M., Luna, E. and Paqueo, V. (1989) *School Effects and Costs for Private and Public Schools in the Dominican Republic.* Washington, DC: World Bank, Policy Planning and Research Working Papers 288.

Jimenez, E., Lockheed, M. and Paqueo, V. (1991) 'The relative efficiency of private and public schools in developing countries', *World Bank Research Observer,* 6, 205–218.

Jimenez, E., Lockheed, M., and Wattanawaha, N. (1988) 'The relative efficiency of private and public schools: the case of Thailand', *The World Bank Economic Review,* 2, 139–164.

Kingdon, G. G. (1996a) 'Private schooling in India: size, nature, and equity effects', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 31, 3306–3314.

Kingdon, G. (1996b) 'The quality and efficiency of private and public education: a case study of urban India', *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics,* 58, 57–82.

Kim, J., Alderman, H. and Orazem, P. (1999) 'Can private schools subsidies increase schooling for the poor? The Quetta Urban Fellowship Program', *World Bank Economic Review,* 13, 443–65.

Lloyd, C. B., El Tawila, S., Clark, W. H. and Mensch, B. (2003) 'The impact of educational quality on school exit in Egypt', *Comparative Education Review,* 47, 444–467.

Lloyd, C. B., Mensch, B. and Clark, W. H. (2000) 'The effects of primary school quality on school dropout among Kenyan girls and boys', *Comparative Education Review,* 44, 113–147.

Majumdar, M. and Vaidyanathan, A. (1995) *The Role of Private Sector Education in India: Current Trends and New Priorities.* Thiruvanthapuram, Kerala: Centre for Development Studies.

Mehrotra, S. and Srivastava, R. (2005) 'Elementary schools in India: producing human capital to unleash human capabilities and economic growth?', in Mehrotra, S., Panchmukhi, P., Srivastava, R. and Srivastava, R. *Universalizing Elementary Education in India: Uncaging the 'Tiger' Economy.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Mehrotra, S., Panchmukhi, P., Srivastava., R. and Srivastava, R. (2005) *Universalizing Elementary Education in India: Uncaging the 'Tiger' Economy.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Mehta, A. C. (1998) *Education for All in India: Enrolment Projections.* New Delhi: NIEPA.

Mehta, A. C. (2004) *Elementary Education in India, Where Do We Stand? Analytical Report 2003.* New Delhi: Government of India and NIEPA. Available online at: www.eduinfoindia.net/Report/ar2003/ar2003.pdf. (retrieved 23 August, 2004).

Mehta, A. C. (2005a) *Elementary Education in India: Analytical Report 2004.* New Delhi: NIEPA. Available online at: http://www.dpepmis.org/webpages/reports &studies.htm.

Mehta, A. C. (2005b) *Elementary Education in Unrecognised Schools in India: A Study of Punjab on 2005 DISE Data.* New Delhi: NIEPA. Available online at: http://educationforallinindia.com/study%20on%20unrecognised%20schools%20in%20india%20a%20case%20study%20of%20punjab.pdf.

Mehta, A. C. (2006). *Elementary Education in India: progress towards UEE. Analytical Report 2004–2005.* New Delhi: NIEPA. Available online at: http://www.dpep mis.org/Downloads/AnalyticalReport2005/AnalyticalReport2005.pdf.

Panchamukhi, P. R. and Mehrotra, S. (2005) 'Assessing public and private provision of elementary education in India', in Mehrotra, S., Panchmukhi, P., Srivastava, R. and Srivastava, R., *Universalizing Elementary Education in India: Uncaging the 'Tiger' Economy.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

PROBE Team (1999) *Public Report on Basic Education in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Rao, K. S. (2002) 'National education policy: analysis and review', in Rao, K. (ed.) *Educational Policies in India: Analysis and Review of Promise and Performance.* New Delhi: NIEPA.

Salmi, J. (2000) 'Equity and quality in private education: the Haitian Paradox', *Compare,* 30, 163–178.

Srivastava, P. (2005) *The Business of Schooling: the School Choice Processes, Markets, and Institutions Governing Low-Fee Private Schooling for Disadvantaged Groups in India,* unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, UK.

Srivastava, P. (2006) 'Private schooling and mental models about girls' schooling in India', *Compare,* 36 (4), 497–514.

Srivastava, P. (forthcoming) 'For philanthropy or profit? The management and operation of low-fee private schools', in Srivastava, P. and Walford, G. (eds) *Private Schooling in Less Economically Developed Countries: Asian and African Perspectives.* Didcot, Oxon: Symposium Books.

Srivastava, P. and Walford, G. (eds) (forthcoming) *Private Schooling in Less Economically Developed Countries: Asian and African Perspectives.* Didcot, Oxon: Symposium Books.

Stephens, D. (1991) 'The quality of primary education in developing countries: who defines and who decides?', *Comparative Education,* 27, 223–233.

Tilak, J. B. G. and Sudarshan, R. (2001) *Private Schooling in Rural India.* New Delhi: National Centre for Educational Research and Training, Working Paper Series, No. 76.

Tooley, J. and Dixon, P. (2005) 'An inspector calls: the regulation of 'budget' private schools in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India', *International Journal of Educational Development,* 25 (3), 269–285.

Tooley, J. and Dixon, P. (forthcoming) 'Private education for low-income families: results from a global research project', in Srivastava, P. and Walford, G. (eds) *Private Schooling in Less Economically Developed Countries: Asian and African Perspectives.* Didcot, Oxon: Symposium Books.

UNESCO (2000) *The Dakar Framework for Action. Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Needs.* Paris: UNESCO. Available online at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ images /0012/001211/121147e.pdf.

United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act, 1926 (UPDBPEA) (2001) in R. K. Jain (ed.), *H. S. Nigam's Uttar Pradesh Education Manual: An Encyclopaedia of Education Laws in U P from Primary Education to Higher Education* (5th ed.), pp. 628–633. Allahabad, India: Alia Law Agency.

Uttar Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1919 (UPPEA) (2001) in R. K. Jain (ed.) *H. S. Nigam's Uttar Pradesh Education Manual: An Encyclopaedia of Education Laws in U.P. from Primary Education to Higher Education* (5th ed.) pp. 623–627. Allahabad, India: Alia Law Agency.

12 Inclusive education for working children and street children in India

Mohammed Akhtar Siddiqui

Introduction

Progress in society affects individuals differently and unequally. For many, the globalizing economy can herald substantial changes in countries such as India, with improvement in the lives of citizens through increased access to socio-economic opportunities. But for substantial numbers in the developing world increased economic prosperity remains an irrelevant process and sometimes for minority groups it even enhances difficulties and hardships, particularly for their children. The very poor remain very poor, in a country where the majority may become moderately prosperous. The children of the very poor are the most vulnerable, and continue to face the most difficult circumstances in the form of hunger, poverty, insecurity, high infant and child mortality, illiteracy, and exploitation and abuse of varied kinds. India is no exception, and the most vulnerable include working children, street children, those living in slums and resettlement colonies, children of sex workers, children of prisoners, children living in institutions, and children of construction workers and other migrant labourers.

Fast-paced and unplanned urbanization in the recent past, often without commensurate increase in services, has only multiplied the numbers of these children and further aggravated their sufferings, particularly in terms of their general educational deprivation. It is they who deserve the most immediate attention of the planners, administrators and educationists. In this chapter I confine an overview to educational rights and deprivations of the two largest and most important sections of deprived Indian children, namely, working children and street children. Despite some policy declarations in the past for out-of-school children, the Government has not been able to ensure their constitutionally guaranteed right to education. In democratic India the State has a constitutional duty to ensure that they are able to develop into healthy, efficient, responsible and productive adults, and thus may effectively contribute to the development and healthy survival of society in a highly competitive globalized world. Education is the single most powerful medium that can help people achieve this cherished goal.

However, it is not the need for growth and development of society alone which calls for proper attention to the education and training of its children and future

citizens; rather, in a civilized world, it is the human entity of the child who in his or her own right deserves full and equitable attention by society's institutions. Today's human rights-conscious society is obliged to recognize this aspiration and the fundamental right of each child in terms of education and social welfare. Neglect of children not only arrests their growth and development but that of the nation as a whole (Bhagwati *et al.*, 1987).

Indian society, like many others, has failed to fully realize these twin values associated with the optimizing of children's development, and this is evident from the fact that in India there are perhaps the highest number of out-of-school children in the world, most of whom are working or street children, at the mercy of the exploitative adult world that surrounds them. In commenting on this situation, Justice Krishna Iyer appropriately quoted the Nobel Laureate Gabriel Mistal of Chile, who says that:

> Many of the things we need can wait. But the child cannot. Right now is the time his bones are being formed, his blood is being made and his sense being developed. To him, we cannot answer, 'Tomorrow'. His name is 'Today'.
>
> (Iyer, 1979)

Elementary Education for All

As a democratic society, having subscribed to the principles of equality and social justice, the Indian State over the past five decades has been consciously trying to provide education to the masses and particularly elementary education to all children aged six to fourteen. The first notable step was taken by the Constitution framers in 1950 by incorporating Article 45 in the Directive Principles to the State Policy of the Constitution which declared that 'the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from this Constitution for free and compulsory education to all children until the age of 14 years'. To realize this constitutional goal and to universalize elementary education, massive efforts were launched. One finds that in the period from 1950 to 2001 there has been a tremendous growth in elementary education: in 1950 22.3 million children aged six to fourteen years were enrolled in schools; by 2001–02 that figure had risen to 158.7 million, a quantum leap in as far as enrolments are concerned.

But this 'quantum leap' is illusory: when one compares enrolment figures with completion rates of elementary education, the real picture emerges. According to the Government of India enrolment for grades one to eight in September 2003 was initially 84.9 per cent of the eligible population, but this was seriously marred by a high dropout rate of the order of 52.2 per cent in 2003. That a major part of this dropout occurred in grades one to three only makes the situation more serious. Thus by the age of fourteen more than half of all children have dropped out of school – many well before the nominal school-leaving age. Either they have never joined any school or they have dropped out permanently.

Out-of-school-children

It is difficult to say with certainty how many children below fourteen years have dropped out of school. Lieten (2006) points out that the estimates of Government and NGOs vary. According to government figures the number has decreased over the past two decades from approximately 21 million in 1980 to 9 million in the year 2000. Lieten estimates, however, that in India around 80 million children who have not been counted in government child labour statistics do not go to school. They have either never attended school or have dropped out permanently. These children cannot be found amongst the statistics of working children nor amongst the statistics of school-going children.

According to the Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD) statistics for 2000–01, at least 24 million children in the age group six to fourteen years are out of school, of whom 60 per cent are girls. The National Plan of Action for Education for All (EFA), formulated in 2003, estimated the number of out-of-school children in this age group at 35 million (Kanth, 2005).

Zutshi (2000) has computed the out-of-school children population in the age group five to fourteen years, using population projections for 2000 prepared by the Expert Committee of Census of India for this purpose. According to the census of 1991, India recorded a child population (five to fourteen years) of 209.98 million. Of these, around a half (105.72 million) were out of school. The estimated child population in the year 2000 was 242.11 million. It was then projected that the proportion of out-of-school children in 2000 would come down from 50 per cent to about 30 per cent, and so the estimated population of out-of-school children would be some 72.63 millions (Zutshi, 2000).

Out-of-school children include those who stay at home to care for cattle, look after younger children, collect firewood, work in fields, cottage industries, restaurants, roadside tea stalls, motor mechanics' workshops, or as domestic servants in middle class homes. They may also become prostitutes or live as street children, begging or picking rags and bottles from trash for resale. Many are bonded labourers and work for local land owners (Weiner, 1991).

Those children in urban areas endure the most difficult circumstances. The urban population has grown from 159 million in 1981 to about 315 million in 2005, one-third of whom live below the poverty line, and lack access to basic facilities and services. It was also estimated that in 2005, children aged six to fourteen in urban areas would number 65 to 70 millions, of whom almost 20 millions were children experiencing extreme poverty (Kaushik, 2005). However, the National Plan of Action for Education for All (EFA) (2003) puts the figure of out-of-school children in India in the age group six to fourteen years at 35 million, with 10 million of them being in urban areas. Even if this most conservative estimate of out-of-school children is accepted, the magnitude of the problem is profound.

The problem of large populations of street and working children is accentuated by other problems of continued rural to urban migration: the mushrooming of slums and unauthorised habitations in subhuman conditions; gross socio-economic

inequalities; exploitation of various kinds; slow and unbalanced development of the disadvantaged classes and their children; lack of helping resources and their unequal distribution; and an inefficient and haphazard management of educational programmes. Extreme poverty, the main reason behind expanding slums and urban populations, remains largely responsible for the increase in the population of street and working children.

A substantial section of out-of-school children consists of those who live in the most difficult circumstances, and they need more urgent and special attention. They include working children, street children, children in slums and resettlement habitations, children of sex workers and prisoners, children of construction workers who live within the shell of the buildings they construct, and migrant labourers.

Working children

Defining 'working children' is problematic. Experts have tried to draw a distinction between household work and economic labour, since some activities of the child may not fall in the category of labour but may still be called work within a household where economic activity takes place. Some experts have classified working children into six categories, based on distinct features of activities children are made to undertake.

These include:

1   domestic work
2   non-domestic and non-monetary work
3   bonded child labour
4   external wage labour
5   commercial and sexual exploitation
6   child combatants – a new type of child exploitation and a difficult challenge of the current century.

(Kaushik, 2005)

However, Burra (1995) has simplified this classification into four categories:

1   those children who work in factories, workshops and mines
2   children under bondage in agriculture or industry
3   street children mostly found in service sectors
4   children who work as a part of family in agriculture, industry or home-based work.

However, many children may be classified in more than one category.

There are several determinants of that status of 'working children' which may include demand- as well as supply-side factors. Abject poverty of the family is the main reason. Poor people tend to send their children out for work to supplement a meagre family income. As many as 25 per cent of people living below the poverty

line force or require their children to engage in economic activities. Poverty also leads to pledging of children as security for a loan. Socio-economic factors like female literacy, family size, adult wage rates, diversification of the rural economy, and female work participation are also important determinants of child labour. Lack of educational facilities in an area may also increase the supply of child labour. Working children or child labour may increase in number due to demand-side factors also. Employers' preference for children due to their favourable physical features, low wages, ease of discipline, etc. are demand-side factors. Economic development and better access to schooling is a supply-side factor which may reduce the supply of working children.

Child labour deprives children of the opportunity for education, play and recreation which in turn arrests their physical as well as emotional growth, and thwarts their preparation for adult responsibilities. It also causes physical hazards to children. Absolute abolition of child labour in India will, however, take many years, and requires a multi-pronged strategy. There are two schools of thought on how to address the problem. The first school argues that it is the abject poverty of parents which is the main cause of children being withdrawn from school, and entered into the labour market. Proponents of this school advocate regulation of labour, progressively eliminating the possibility of child workers. Thus by regulation of employment in selected industries, improving working conditions, reducing working hours, ensuring minimum wages, and providing adjunct health and education facilities, the plight of child labourers can be eased. These advocates feel that sudden elimination of child labour would further bring down the standard of living of already impoverished families.

In contrast, the second school argues that it is due to lack of both access to quality education and rewards for education that children are working; therefore child labour should be completely prohibited, with steps taken to provide compulsory primary education of adequate quality. This group does not distinguish between child labour and child work and also does not believe in non-formal education, which it sees as an illusion. In its policy statement, a multi-focused strategy is the best answer to the problem of child labour which includes legislative measures, educational interventions and social mobilization for children's rights.

Street children

The term 'street children' identifies those who spend considerable time on the street in connection with a job, or without it. They live on the street with or without a family. UNICEF (2004) has defined street children as those for whom the street (in the widest sense of the term, i.e. unoccupied dwellings, wastelands, etc.) has become their real home, a situation where there is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adults.

UNICEF has classified street children into three groups:

1   Children on the street: these are children who have family connections of a more or less regular nature. Their focus in life is still the home. Most of them

return home at the end of each working day and have a sense of belonging to the local community where their home is situated.

2   Children of the street: this group is smaller but more complex. Children in this group see the street as their home, and it is there that they seek shelter, food and a sense of family among companions. Family ties exist but are remote and their former home is visited infrequently.

3   Abandoned children: this group may appear to be a part of the second group and in daily activities is fairly indistinguishable from it. However, by virtue of having severed all ties with a biological family these children are entirely on their own not just for material but also for psychological survival.

These three categories are found particularly in all developing countries but more so in South Asian countries including India. Children of the street have been divided further into two groups, firstly, 'Roofless' who live and work on the street (i.e. in abandoned buildings, under bridges, railway stations, bus stands, in doorways, in public parks) yet maintain occasional contacts with the families who may live in the same city or in other cities or rural areas. They see the street as their home. The second type, 'Rootless' children, live and work on the street (in the widest sense of the term) and have no family contacts.

Street children are susceptible to drug/alcoholic addiction including the use of inhalants, such as cobbler's glue, correction fluid, gold/silver spray paint, nail polish, rubber cement and gasoline – which offer them an escape from reality and take away hunger. In return they risk a host of physical and psychological problems including hallucinations, pulmonary oedema, kidney failure and irreversible brain damage. They sniff glue because it also gives them the 'courage' to steal and engage in survival sex. These children are routinely detained illegally, beaten and tortured by police and by employers, to extract maximum labour out of them (Human Rights Watch Asia, 1998). This is a consequence of several factors including the inadequacy and non-implementation of legal safeguards, and the level of discretion that police enjoy in administering welfare legislation. These children invite such extreme reaction only because they are viewed as vagrants and criminals. No doubt, street children are sometimes involved in petty thefts, drug trafficking, prostitution and other criminal activities, yet very few attempts are made to examine the root cause for such activities, or to provide care and rehabilitation. They are, on the contrary, easy targets of police atrocities. These children are young, small, poor, alone and ignorant of their rights and often have no family members who will come to their rescue or defence. It does not take much time or effort to detain and beat a child to deter any formal complaints about these atrocities.

The issues and needs of the children living on the streets of the cities have attracted worldwide attention. The most effective response to this, of course, is prevention through general support to families in poverty, creating broad-based awareness among the parents and society, addressing the factors underlying family disintegration. Other preventive measures may include employment for adults, support in times of crisis, strong childcare programmes, relevant schooling, and

efforts to address the roots of domestic violence to keep families intact so that they are able to fulfil responsibilities towards their children.

Children on the street need psychological support, relationships and a role in society, along with other basic issues related to their survival, security, and protection of their civil rights like food, money, shelter, clothes, health care, and education. They should have the right to live in dignity, to health and education, to protection from abuse, exploitation and violence and to voice their own feelings and sufferings (UN, 1998).

Street children (as opposed to working children) are an exclusively urban phenomenon. There are no exact data on their numbers. According to one estimate 18 million children live and/or labour in the streets of Indian urban centres (*International Herald Tribune,* 26th June 2005). An updated estimate by the UN (2003) indicates that there is a population of street children worldwide numbering 150 million in the age range of three to eighteen years, with the number still rising. About 40 per cent of them are homeless. The other 60 per cent work on the street to support their families. They are unable to attend school. India has the dubious distinction of having the largest population of street children. In urban areas alone there are at least 11 million children 'on the streets' (Kaur, 2003).

This survey in ten cities of India found that a sizable number of street children includes abandoned children who are the direct consequence of the rapid advance of industrial growth and persistent rural and urban poverty. The cycle of events leading to abandonment begins from the migration of a family to the city, abject urban poverty, then disintegration of the family, which often begins with the father's abandonment of it. Pressures on deserted mothers in maintaining their families, dependency of abandoned mothers on new partners, and rejection of these mothers' children by stepfathers can lead to the final abandonment of children.

India's street children, both 'on the street' and 'of the street' face a myriad problems which include lack of religious socialization and moral development, malnutrition and exposure to infection, drug addiction, loss of personal development, forced involvement in theft, pickpocketing, child sex, being trapped in crime rings, early entry into labour markets with physical, mental and psychological hazards, high risk of catching HIV/AIDS, police torture and illegal confinements (Zutshi, 2000). During the course of illegal detention and torture, police even murder some of these children without being subject to any action or censure. In fact the most common complaint mentioned by the street children is that they live in a state of continual fear of the police who often round them up, lock them up and torture them on the pretext of suspicion which is always unfounded. Police do this to fill the 'quota' they are expected to achieve (Kaur, 2003). According to estimates, 50 to 80 per cent of these street children are school dropouts and that too before completing their first grade. Police detention also results in dropout of street children who are, against the odds, enrolled in primary schools (Lieten, 2006).

Like working children, street children also need both preventive and supportive initiatives. The most important need is to prevent them from falling into the

trap of the street by alleviating the poverty of their families, addressing the factors underlying family disintegration that leads to life on the street with preventive measures leading to some check on child abandonment. These preventive measures include: increased adult employment, support in times of crises, containing domestic violence, strong child care programmes, and effective schooling. Supportive steps for those who are already street children include security and health care of children on the street, protection of their civil rights, respecting their sense of freedom as members of street peer groups and providing them with a secure and supportive environment. Their rehabilitation is a greater need than restoration to their family which may often not be willing to take back their responsibility, and the children may also have developed close peer bonds on the street. Their education, health care, shelter and regular counselling, in fact, need greater and more immediate attention.

Educational issues

The educational issues of street and working children in the Indian context may be analyzed in various ways:

1   Children's access to good quality and relevant education remains a lead issue.
2   There are several barriers to access, enrolment, continuation and transition from one class to another. For example, for immigrating families a persistent demand for identity proof, birth certificate, transfer certificate, etc. continues to block their children's easy access to education.
3   Quality of education is a very serious issue that is directly responsible for creating the large number of working and street children. This issue demands immediate attention. Quality of education does not merely mean providing infrastructure, water and toilet facilities, buildings, etc. The measure of quality needs to be clearly understood. Its scope extends beyond learning outcomes. Thus, quality has also to be seen in terms of students' happiness, relevance of their education, capacity building, confidence development and concrete skill development.
4   Teachers' inappropriate, indifferent and rather hostile attitude towards students is another serious issue which causes distance between them and their students and makes them less effective in guiding students in learning and personality development. There also exists a social distance between teachers and their students. Teachers generally come from middle class backgrounds, and municipal school students are generally drawn from very poor families, from lower and 'untouchable' castes.
5   There is a conspicuous absence of any teaching manual that could guide innovative ways of educating this disadvantaged group, and which is contextualized and friendly to these children.
6   These children often suffer from very low attention levels, especially those who have experienced sensory damage through addictions. It is often difficult to gain the concentration of the child for more than fifteen minutes. They

need a different pedagogic approach through which their attention can be engaged for longer teaching–learning encounters.

7   There is a high dropout rate due to high demand of child workers in the employment market, poor quality of education and educational environments, insecurity, police round-ups and irregular attendance. Work alongside studies can undermine the child's concentration and effort in school.

8   Simply rounding up 'out of school (working) children' and forcing them into formal schools results in illegal confinement, compulsion and trauma for the children involved, and their families (Reddy, 2004).

9   In mixed population schools in cities the question of the medium of instruction is raised which requires deployment of multilingual teachers. Teacher deployment and preparation is a critical issue.

10 Getting dropout students back to school after a Bridge course is a crucial but difficult task. However, getting them back to school is not enough. These mainstreamed children often tend to drop out quickly for various reasons.

11 Urban schools have diverse groups coming from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. A large number of street and working children in many urban slums are Dalits and Muslims. They have diverse educational needs as special groups.

12 Often the quality of learning in urban municipal schools is low due to overcrowding in classes and poor quality of teaching.

13 Street and working children need to acquire employable skills early in life owing to their peculiar socio-economic background. Yet we find that there is little or no arrangement for vocational education at elementary school level.

14 Non-formal education (NFE) and alternative schools are poorer and weaker options for children.

15 The dichotomy between private fee-paying schools and local government schools is another factor for keeping deprived urban children out of school. The former are seen as a hub of quality and better than the latter, though this may not always be true (Kaushik, 2005).

16 It is often difficult to make the child realize the importance of education for his/her development. This feeling is mainly due to the attitude of the parents towards education. Hostile attitudes of parents who would prefer their child to work the whole day rather than study for even one hour contributes to children's lack of interest in education.

In search of solutions

Several measures have been undertaken to deal with the problem of street children and working children, which include legal approaches and state policies for the more than 90 million working and street children in India (Lieten, 2006). Distinctions will have to be drawn between demand-side and supply-side factors of child labour. While on the one hand, attention will be paid to educational factors, it is equally important to pay attention to poverty alleviation, female literacy, fertility rate, adult wage rates, diversification of rural economy, female

work participation rate, better opportunities for adult labour, etc. to check the supply of child labour (Dev, 2004).

Some policy advocates feel that education is a well established alternative strategy to finally deal with the problem of working and street children. But this strategy will work only if we are able to ensure full enrolment and retention in the formal education system. As long as poor enrolment and high dropout persist, there is the chance that a high proportion of child labour will persist. This is due to several reasons including non-availability of proper schools, poor and irrelevant course curriculums, lack of teachers and other relevant infrastructure like buildings and furniture, non-availability of text books, teaching material, lack of employment opportunity and of further education after completing elementary education (Aggarawal, 2004). Poor or little training of teachers, their indifferent and rather hostile attitude towards children from stigmatized groups such as Dalits, is also responsible for poor quality of education and high dropout of children. Scholars like Burra (1995), Weiner (1991) and Satgopal (2003) who believe that the answer to the problem of working and street children lies in compulsory elementary education, assert that non-formal education which implies education with work (earning while learning) is a myth as it is neither feasible nor desirable. Satgopal rightly observes that there has been a dilution of the policy commitment to the principle of 'education of equitable quality' in the last fifteen years, by instituting parallel layers of educational facilities. He feels that recourse to the multi-layered education system will only ensure maintenance of social hierarchies of class, caste, culture and gender (Satgopal, 2003). What needs to be done is to put in place the Common School system with neighbourhood schools as envisaged in the Kothari Education Commission's Report (1964–66) and committed to by Parliament in approving the national education plans in the years 1968, 1986 and 1992.

It is the pressure of increasing privatization and commercialization of education that is continuously pushing the implementation of the concept of the Common School system to the margins and delaying implementation of the principles of quality education for all (Annan, 2001). While emphasizing proper formal education, in 1994 the UNESCO Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education had resolved that ordinary schools should accommodate all children regardless of physical, intellectual, emotional, social, linguistic or other conditions (Annan, 2001).

Steps taken to address the issues

Several measures have been initiated during the last few decades to address the problems faced by children in difficult circumstances. Some have begun to see fruition. Soon after India's independence, the country invoked State Constitutional support for the cause of children's educational rights. Article 45 in the Constitution was the first manifestation in independent India of the State's will to provide elementary education to all children irrespective of their conditions and background. The recent attempt of the Ninety-third Constitutional Amendment contained in

Article 21A has strengthened the Constitutional commitment of the State, since it is now recognized that education is a fundamental right of the child. The amendment is in line with the school of thought which asserts that proper provision of universal elementary education of good quality will attract children to education and this might solve the problem of working and street children. However, there are certain other provisions of law which due to their restrictive approach are withholding the benefits of this amendment to reach all children. The Child Labour Act (1986) is one such example in point; it prohibits employment of children only in hazardous industries. The Act does not prohibit child labour completely and by implication permits child labour in 'non-hazardous industries'. Two provisions, Article 21A of Constitutional Law (1993) and the Child Labour Act of 1986, do not seem to be fully compatible; they cannot both go together so far as education of equal quality for all children is concerned.

Looking at the international minimum age standards for employment we find that they are also directly linked to schooling. The ILO Minimum Age Convention 1973 (No. 138) which was built on the ten instruments adopted before the Second World War, expresses this tradition by stating that the minimum age for entry into employment should not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling (UN, 2000). This link was clearly aimed at ensuring that the child's human capital is developed at least to its minimum level of potential. The ILO Minimum Age Convention 1973 (No. 138) was declared (if not enacted by many countries) on 19 June 1976. Paragraph two of its Article 2 further clarified that the minimum age of beginning full-time work shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling, and in any case not less that of fifteen years. Only in exceptional cases may the governments of the member states be allowed to specify a minimum age of fourteen years.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1989, and the Government of India acceded to it on 11 December 1992. Article 32 of the UN Convention recognises the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be 'hazardous' or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

In the 1990s it was increasingly debated whether there were certain forms of labour that were so inhumane that they could no longer be tolerated, and so in Convention 182 of ILO in 1999 it was finally proposed that many types of child labour should be done away with immediately. Recommendation 1990 of UNICEF (UNICEF, 2005) also recommended priority attention to preventing children from undertaking hazardous work (Lieten, 2006). This suggests that even the UN does not find it immediately feasible to completely abolish child labour in all forms.

Educational policies and programmes

Educational initiatives are recognized as among the best strategy to protect working and street children from all kinds of social, moral, emotional, and economic

exploitation and deprivation (Weiner, 1991). The initiatives for education of street and working children were incorporated in the National Policy on Education 1986 and its revisions carried out in 1992. In the Programme of Action (1986) it was envisaged that in order to provide special support for the education of children in urban slums, working children and children in under-served areas, hill areas and tribal areas, Non Formal Education (NFE) centres should be opened with state support from both government and NGOs. These NFE centres were to have features of organizational flexibility, relevance of curriculum, diversity in learning activities to relate them to learners' needs, and decentralization of management (MHRD, 1986). While expressing its satisfaction over the opening of 272,000 NFE centres with an enrolment of 6.8 million children in 1992, the Revised Programme of Action (RPOA) declared that NFE schemes must be strengthened further and will serve those children who cannot attend formal schools (MHRD, 1992).

The Eighth Five Year Plan also placed greater emphasis on opening non-formal education centres for out-of-school children and children with special needs. As a result, by the turn of the century the country had as many as 297,000 NFE centres covering 7.42 million children in twenty-four States and Urban Territories. Of these, 238,000 NFE centres are being run by the State Governments and 58,788 centres are being run by 816 NGOs (Kanth, 2005). In the year 2000 the Government launched a massive scheme of 'Education for All' called *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) in mission mode, which also incorporated many important strategies for out-of-school children with special circumstances. It included the idea of Alternative and Innovative Education (AIE) centres, Education Guarantee Scheme centres (*Balika Shivirs*), and back-to-school camps for bridge courses for children who had dropped out of school (MHRD, 2001). A ten-year programme of University Elementary Education (UEE) was to be completed in 2010 with the hope that all children, including working and street children, would be enrolled in schools or alternative education institutions. Many alternative education centres, have been opened in rural and urban areas, but the infrastructure and teaching resources in them are not comparable with formal schools by any reckoning.

Special action for street children

In 1993 the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment of the Government of India launched an Integrated Programme for Street Children 'for full and wholesome development of street children without homes and family ties and for prevention of destitution and withdrawal of children from a life on the street and their placement into national mainstream'. The essential components of the programme include provision of shelter, nutrition, health care, sanitation and hygiene, safe drinking water, education, recreational facilities and protection against abuse and exploitation to destitute and neglected street children (MSJ, 1993).

The scheme includes a wide range of programmes and initiatives:

- contact programmes offering counselling, guidance and referral services to destitute and neglected children;
- establishment of 24-hour drop-in shelters for street children with facilities for night stay, safe drinking water, bathing, latrines, first aid and recreation;
- non-formal education programmes imparting literacy, numeracy and life education;
- programmes for reintegration of children with their families;
- programmes for enrolment of these children in schools including full support for subsistence, education, nutrition, recreation, etc.;
- programmes providing facilities for training in meaningful vocations;
- programmes for occupational placement;
- programmes aimed at mobilizing preventive health services and providing access to treatment facilities;
- programmes aimed at reducing the incidence of drug and substance abuse, HIV/AIDS and STIs and other chronic health disorders;
- programmes aimed at providing recreational facilities;
- programmes for capacity building of NGOs, local bodies and state government to undertake related responsibilities;
- programmes for advocacy and awareness-building on child rights.

The scheme is already operational in thirty-seven cities across the country. In 1999–2000 there were 32,451 beneficiaries of the scheme through 103 NGOs and voluntary organizations which have been provided with a 90 per cent grant. The Ministry has provided grants of 69.50 million Rupees to the NGOs to provide non-institutional and institutional support to the 32,451 street children (MSJ, 2000). Excellent though these initiatives are, they are thinly spread and inadequately funded, and reach only a small minority of street children, although further funding with US aid is promised (ILO, 2006).

Special project for working children

The Government of India passed the Prohibition of Child Labour Act in 1986 which was followed by the National Child Labour Project, begun in 1998. This initiated several action-oriented programmes in order to withdraw children from hazardous work, prevent them from entering again into the labour market and to rehabilitate them successfully. The following responsibilities under the project have to be taken up:

- effective enforcement of child labour laws;
- identification of areas for starting NFE centres through opening new schools/centres;
- creating public awareness through adult education, and income generation;
- creating employment opportunities for the target families.

Under the project, ten hazardous industries[1] were identified with a high incidence of child labour. By June 2000 the scheme was being implemented in ninety-three districts of the country. Special schools under this scheme are run in two types, one with fifty students and the other with 100 students. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment has opened such centres in 2,571 schools with an enrolment of 155,250 children under the NCLP scheme (MoL, 2000; ILO, 2006). Welcome as these initiatives are, they clearly meet the needs of only a small number of the many millions of street and working children in India.

Initiatives by NGOs

The following are a few examples of the involvement of NGOs and the sharing of responsibility by them in this area (Butterflies, 2001, 2003):

- *Child in Need Institute* (CINI) has the mission to improve the life of urban disadvantaged children through education and mobilization. This group establishes Child Centres in co-operation with the community to educate out-of-school children, mainstreaming them into age-appropriate classes in formal schools. Their experience suggests that a sartorial approach does not bear much fruit unless it is coupled with the activities of other sectors such as night shelters, protection from abuse, food and health care. CINI operates through community-based preparatory centres, residential camps for working children and also coaching centres for children studying in formal schools.
- *Pratham* is another NGO established in 1994 in Bombay and has since branched out to twenty-six other cities including Delhi, Patna, Ahmadabad, Pune, Bangalore and Vadodra, and five rural districts in nine states. Pratham's interventions are with pre-school children, out-of-school children, in-school children and working children. Pratham has also started an out-of-school children's programme called *Akhar Setu.* This was set up in response to the difficulties faced in mainstreaming particular groups of children: those who are working or supporting their parents economically and are therefore unable to attend school; older children who cannot be admitted to their age-specific classes; and those who have no schools nearby.
- *Balajyothi,* a part of the National Child Labour Project, was one of the first in Andra Pradesh to address the issue of child labour and education in an urban context covering 9000 children in 150 slum clusters.
- *Naandi Foundation* has been supporting elementary education in Hyderabad city through its schemes of Support our Schools (SOS) and the Midday Meal scheme involving 60,000 government school children. The efforts have boosted attendance rates by 25 per cent which has significantly reduced health-related absenteeism (Kanth, 2005).
- *Prayas* is another large NGO which believes that for working children Alternative Education is the first step towards mainstream schooling; in the process it weans children away from any form of child labour. Annually,

they educate and mainstream about 3,000 children. Prayas also has an out-reach programme that provides educational opportunities to working children, street children, pavement dwellers, and children in conflict with the law. Teaching and learning happens in places of work on streets, pavements, railway platforms – wherever children want to learn. To supplement efforts for mainstreaming it also provides supplementary nutrition and health care facilities to all children enrolled in its AE centres. Prayas has been identified by the Government of India as one of only twenty NGOs in the country to implement vocational education and training of twelve to sixteen-year-old street children and working children, including girls and sometimes women also. Girls and women are also encouraged to form self-help groups. To help and facilitate its vocational students as well as surrounding communities to get placements it liaises with corporate houses, and small and medium sized business units. Prayas also arranges funds for those starting their own ventures. Thus it also helps in vocational preparation of street and working children and their placement in society.

Excellent though these various initiatives are, they still reach only a minority of the estimated 90 million street and working children.

Suggestions for improving education of deprived children

Although several steps both by the State and civil society have been taken to address the educational issues concerning street and working children, they nevertheless continue to face complex social, economic, developmental, security, and other problems (Weiner, 1991). Further attention needs to be paid to the following aspects in order to improve the educational status of these deprived children:

- Teachers' roles are extremely important in both retaining the children in schools and non-formal education (NFE) learning centres and in helping them acquire a desire for learning. So teachers need to be fully sensitized towards the special features, problems and needs of these children during their pre-service training as well as during in-service training programmes, and be encouraged to empathize with these children in order to understand their problems and needs.
- Teachers and NFE instructors should also be trained for preparing need-based teaching – learning material, keeping the socio-emotional context of deprived children in mind and organizing learner-centric learning experiences in and outside the classroom.
- A school's whole appearance and teaching–learning equipment and facilities require additional allocation of funds for improving infrastructural and working conditions.
- Preventive and creative approaches of supervision in schools and learning centres have to be adopted and expert guidance to teachers in a friendly

environment have to be given, so as to bring qualitative improvement in learning and achievement of these children.

- The government should arrange for education of all children in a locality in the neighborhood schools through the common school system. This is a long-pending recommendation and resolve of the national education policy.
- Professional development of schoolteachers and NFE/AIE (Non Formal Education/Alternative and Innovative Education) instructors should be accepted as an ongoing activity. This will keep them informed and motivated and will have favourable effects on their performance.
- Ambience and infrastructure of NFE centres should offer basic facilities and attractive learning environments to learners. This will make the much-criticized NFE centres more acceptable and useful for children attending them.
- NFE instructors need to be better oriented in making teaching–learning more interesting. Their training, salaries, use of teaching aids and methodology of teaching also need a serious review in order to ensure their better and more motivated participation in their responsibility.
- Students attending NFE/AIE centres merely acquire literacy and numeracy whereas they really need to learn life skills also. It is important that an alternative curriculum for NFE/AIE centres is developed keeping the socio-economic and emotional needs of street and working children in mind, and that instructors are properly oriented to this curriculum.
- Locally relevant teaching–learning material has to be developed to make teaching–learning more interesting and meaningful and compatible with the socio-cultural situation of the learners.
- There is an urgent need for integration of programmes of different ministries for working children and street children into a single well-resourced programme so as to increase the collective impact of these initiatives and programmes. This should be done through some joint committee with representatives from all concerned ministries and some experts.
- Special emphasis on girls' education has to be made for their self-sufficiency, independence and self protection. It may be done by organizing corner meetings, campaigns, media presentations and discussions, etc.
- A partnership between employers, government departments and NGOs needs to be promoted, as has been required in a 2001 order by the Supreme Court, so that their concerted efforts lead to better results (Sharma, 2003).
- Improving and strengthening the monitoring of State-sponsored programmes and schemes meant for these children should be emphasized for their better and timely implementation. Monitoring mechanisms, norms and procedures at different levels should therefore be evolved and enforced.
- For better returns of non-governmental participation in the education of deprived children it seems necessary for networking NGOs to establish resource centres for teachers at strategically located points in the cities. These could provide technical, academic and professional support to teachers of NFE centres and regular schools.

- Funding for NFE/EGS (Education Guarantee Schemes) centres also needs to be enhanced to improve the quality of the teaching–learning environment in these centres.
- Gradually all formal and non-formal centres should be developed into fully fledged formal schools so that the deprived children joining them are also able to acquire education of a comparable quality.
- By involving NGOs in organizing mass contact programmes for parents of working children they should be persuaded to help their children join education centres and spare them for studies.

Conclusions

The goal of universal elementary education in India which was to be realized in 1960 has yet to be achieved. Although many state-level and non-governmental initiatives have been taken and constitutional and legal provisions have been made, many millions of children are still out of school and many millions educationally deprived. Despite some policy announcements and the launch of heavily funded, centrally sponsored schemes for 'education for all' these children have generally remained out of the ambit of education. Either they don't have access to education as yet or they have dropped out of it. Education for them is often irrelevant, unattractive or actively rejecting. These out-of-school children are dominated by two major categories, namely, street children and working children who are forced by family, social, economic and educational circumstances to survive on the streets or remain heavily engaged in different kinds of work. Despite a constitutional amendment which grants the Right to Education as a Fundamental Right of the child, not much seems to be moving in the direction of the kind of inclusive education which encompasses all categories of deprived children, and provides education that is relevant and of acceptable quality. In fact, the Child Labour Act 1987 still permits child labour in 'non-hazardous' industries. The deprived street and working children are predominantly found in urban areas where migration of the rural poor and their destitute families is taking place continuously. An additional problem is that of child labour in rural areas in which children are hidden away in locked workshops working from dawn to dusk – making, for example, matches, which involves skinned and blistered fingers and breathing sulphur, in children as young as five (Dhariwal, 2006). One danger of increased legislation against child labour is to drive it either underground or out of the cities.

Handling the educational problems of these children in a vast country like India is a major challenge. There is little possibility of controlling or curtailing the pace of urbanization. It is only a thoughtful and imaginative multi-focused handling of the problem of out-of-school children, implementation of the long-pending state-supported common school system and concerted efforts to deal with the educational problems of working and street children in their own socio-economic contexts, that India may achieve the goal of basic education for all children. An empathic and humane approach to the education of deprived children is the need of

the hour. There is an urgent need that all concerned with organization and delivery of education have to be thoroughly reoriented and sensitized towards the special circumstances and peculiar needs of these children so that they approach them with a true sense of concern and commitment to improve their educational lot and thereby empower them socially and economically.

At the same time the pending Compulsory Primary Education Act has to be passed without any further delay. To protect children from economic exploitation, suitable amendments to the Child Labour Act 1987 need to be expedited. Similarly, the draft Bill of Offences Against Children Act 2006 has to be passed immediately, with more comprehensive provisions than those currently proposed. All these and other similar initiatives must ensure and translate the *de jure* equality of educational opportunity into *de facto* equality, and help realize the long cherished dream of universal elementary education. A lengthy and important ILO report (2006) was entitled *The End of Child Labor Within Our Reach.* This is possible in many countries, but as the ILO data show, the demand for child labour will only end when average incomes in a country exceed $500 per annum for the majority of workers. While India has in statistical terms passed this critical income level in terms of GDP per head, national wealth is distributed very unequally, and the large majority of workers earn less than $500 per annum. Until the majority of workers achieve this crucial income level, the use of children as an income supplement for their parents will continue. While we expect the situation to improve year by year, up to 2003 the situation was one of 'small change' with millions of children still employed in 'hazardous' industries (HRW, 2003).

Note

1　These 'hazardous industries' include the manufacture of fireworks, footwear, cigarettes, matches, bricks, silk and glass as well as work in building and mining (ILO, 2006).

References

Aggarawal, S. K. (2004) 'Child labour and household characteristics in selected states', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 38, 173–185.

Annan, K. (2001) *We The Children.* New York: UNICEF.

Bhagwati, P. N. Justice, N. and Pathak, R. S. (1987) 'The Children's Aid Society', *Supreme Court Journal,* 1, Part II, 12.

Burra, N. (1995) *Born to Work: Child Labour in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Butterflies (2001) *In Search of Fair Play.* New Delhi: Mosaic Books.

Butterflies (2003) *My Name is Today,* Vol. II. New Delhi: New Delhi Butterflies.

Dhariwal, D. (2006) 'Child labour – India's cheap commodity', *BBC News Online,* June 30th, 2006.

Dev, S. M. (2004) 'Female work participation and child labour', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 39, 736–744.

Human Rights Watch Asia (1998) *Police Abuse and Killings of Street Children in India.* New York and New Delhi: Human Rights Watch.

Human Rights Watch (2003) *Small Change: Bonded Labor in India's Silk Industry.* New York: Human Rights Watch.

ILO (2006) *The End of Child Labor Within Our Reach.* Geneva: International Labor Organisation, Report I (B). At: www.ilo.org/declaration.

Iyer, K. V. R. Justice (1979) *Law and Life.* New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

Kanth, A. (2005) 'Education of urban deprived children', in Banerji, R. and S. Surianarain, S. (eds), *City Children, City Schools.* New Delhi: UNESCO.

Kaur, P. (2003) 'The statistical story of Indian street children', *My Name is Today,* Vol II. New Delhi: Delhi Butterflies.

Kaushik, A. (2005) 'Elementary education in urban areas,' in Banerji, R. and Surianarain. S. (eds), *City Children, City Schools.* New Delhi: UNESCO.

Lieten, G. K. (2006) 'Child labour: what happened to the worst forms?' *Economic and Political Weekly,* 41, 103–106.

MHRD (1986) *Programme of Action – 1986.* New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India.

MHRD (1992) *Revised Programme of Action – 1992.* New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India.

MHRD (2001) *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan – A Programme for Universal Elementary Education.* New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India.

MoL (2000) *Ministry Document 6.6.2000.* New Delhi: Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

MSJ (1993) *An Integrated Programme for Street Children.* New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice, Government of India.

MSJ (2000) *Annual Report 1999–2000.* New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice, Government of India.

Reddy, N. (2004) 'Working with children', seminar proceedings, January 2004, 104–109. New Delhi: UNESCO.

Satgopal, A. (2003) 'Political economy of education in the age of globalization', in *My Name is Today,* Vol. I, 30–45. New Delhi: Delhi Butterflies.

Sharma (2003) 'Widespread concern over India's missing girls,' *The Lancet,* 362, 1553.

UN (1998) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948–1998.* New York: The United Nations. At: www.un.org/Overview/rights.html.

UN (2000) *Minimum Age Convention (1973) No 138,* New York: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

UNICEF (2004) *Wheel of Change.* Kathmandu: UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia.

UNICEF (2005) *One in Twelve of the World's Children are Forced into Child Labour.* London: UNICEF, UK.

Weiner, M. (1991) *The Child and The State in India: Child Labor and Educational Policy.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Zutshi, B. (2000) *Situational Analysis of Education for Street and Working Children in India.* New Delhi: UNESCO.

13 Dalit children in India

Challenges for education and inclusiveness

Christopher R. Bagley

Introduction

Like many Western observers, I regard the cultural richness of India with affection and awe. In Britain, Indians form a major pillar of a plural society and are important supporters, through their professional commitment, of Britain's medical services. They are also major contributors to Britain's economic prosperity. For overseas Indians caste seems to have little relevance.

Caste is a relatively recent institution in the long history of Indian civilization. But at one time caste was said to form the basis of an ideal, harmonious society in which functional tasks were performed in a co-operative manner by individuals born into various vocational roles. Nevertheless, in its most venerable form, Hinduism did not incorporate a caste system, as Gandhi emphasized in advocating a modern, Hindu state in which caste as the basis for a proscribed occupational career was abolished, and all religions were given both freedom and equal status within a modern, democratic society (Dumont, 1970). Caste may have been introduced as a concept which consolidated the power of an elite group, and was then cloaked in a metaphysical idea concerning alleged sins in a previous existence, so-called fate or karma (Ramaiah, 1994).

Hinduism's most venerable philosopher, Shankara (c. 800CE), was a preacher and mystic who was influenced by the Buddha's teachings, and denounced caste divisions as both foolish and meaningless. Shankara declared that all human beings, regardless of caste, could acquire *Brahman,* the singular basis for understanding the divine, through a combination of religious contemplation, asceticism and good works. Individuals, he insisted, were not born into a *Brahman* state, but could achieve this within their lifetime through the spiritual exercises that he prescribed (Isaeva, 1993).

Although caste divisions have been formally abolished in the post-independence Indian constitution, the organization of life by caste remains powerful. In particular, the large group of Dalits (formerly 'Untouchables') below the four-fold caste system (Priests and Scholars; Soldiers and Leaders; Craftsmen; General Workers) endure lives of profound poverty and deprivation. Some modern scholars have compared the situation of Dalits in India to the slavery and segregation endured by African Americans in previous centuries, notably in the

classic American text by Oliver Cox (1948) on *Caste, Class and Race.* The comparison with 'racial segregation' of African Americans with Dalits is not exact, however. Segregated they are, but colour lines are complex. Usually Dalits have darker skin than upper-caste Hindus, but this varies by region within India's vast continent.[1] Particularly in southern India higher caste groups may have very dark skin. More recently Rajeshekar (1997), in a study published in America, entitled his book *Dalit: The Black Untouchables of India,* and in sociological terms the comparison with African Americans, who still experience huge economic disadvantages often based on living in involuntary segregation, is apt.

The struggle of Dalits can be compared to that facing African Americans in post-war years, and the struggles for voter registration and integrated schooling. The State of Rajeshekar offers a typical scenario of murder which can be compared to America. In 1955, in Mississippi, a fourteen-year-old African American boy was beaten to death for whistling at a white woman. In 2000, a Bihari Dalit teenager was beaten to death for picking flowers on land owned by an upper-caste member. Press reports of the murders of Dalits appear occasionally in the West, but these events are mostly ignored. In 2002 the London *Daily Telegraph* reported that the Ranvir Sena, a private army raised by landowners in Bihar, had killed at least 500 Dalits in the previous year, with numbers in excess of 6,000 in the previous decade in Bihar (Bedi, 2002). In one event in 1997 sixty-one Dalits, including children and pregnant women, were hacked to death by agents of landowners. In 2006 in Bihar six members of a family, including five children, were burned to death because they would not withdraw their claim that a landowner had stolen their buffalo (Foster, 2006). Mungekar (2001) in a pessimistic analysis, compared the status of Dalits with that of slaves in post-bellum America – liberated in name but, in fact, cut off from virtually all mainstream institutions, and with little legal protection.[2]

Dalits, within the occupational hierarchy of traditional Hinduism, are allocated the roles of digging graves and rubbish pits, disposing of dead animals, sweeping and cleaning streets and rubbish dumps, and disposing of faeces. In rural areas especially, Dalits live in segregated zones, although even in Mumbai there are Dalit colonies. Dead animals and faeces are often dumped into Dalits' living space (Sainath, 1996). Most Dalits in rural areas are landless peasants, working as day labourers, earning less than one US dollar a day. There are frequent reports of Dalits being required to dig graves without payment (HRW, 1999). Anyone who refuses is likely to be beaten. Each year more than 1,000 Dalits are murdered by members of higher castes, although such violence is frequently unreported because of police apathy, connivance or corruption (HRW, 1999).

Dalit is a term meaning 'crushed' or 'stepped on', and the concept owes much to the civil rights pioneer Dr B. R. Ambedkar, himself an 'Untouchable'. Dr. Ambedkar was a unique individual who obtained his degree from Columbia University, and many advocates of Dalit emancipation draw on his writings. In 1955 Dr Ambedkar, along with millions of Dalit followers, converted to Buddhism (Omvedt, 1994). Since the Buddha's Enlightment in what is now the State of Bihar, many Buddhists have left for countries elsewhere in Asia. In recent

times many Dalits have renounced their affiliation within Hinduism, converting mostly to Buddhism, but also in large numbers to Islam and most recently to Christianity. This means that a large but unknown proportion of religious minorities in India are still regarded as untouchable, despite their conversions (Sainath, 1996).

Estimates of the numbers of Dalits in Indian society vary from 150 to 250 million out of India's one billion inhabitants. The varying numbers in estimates given apparently reflect the fact that sometimes numbers for Scheduled Tribes (descendants of aboriginal people in remote rural areas – see Joshi and Kumar, 2002) are included in their numbers, as well as some members of scheduled caste groups such as 'untouchable' labourers employed in 'unclean' tasks such as dying and curing leather. In addition, some estimates may include Dalits who have converted to other religions, but who are nevertheless still recognized by caste labels (Shahabuddin, 2002). However, in the most recent census 'untouchables' and 'Christians' were counted as mutually exclusive categories (Trapnell, 2004)[3]. 'Untouchability' as a practice was outlawed in 1989, but like many enactments this has never been enforced: the segregation and oppression of Dalits continues apparently unabated (Borooah and Iyer, 2002).[4]

The political situation of Indian Dalits

Before the problems of education facing Dalits can be analyzed, the political problems of Dalits and the numerous acts of everyday violence and discrimination that they face must be understood. For this understanding we rely strongly on the profoundly important analysis carried out by the international organisation Human Rights Watch (HRW, 1999). I rely heavily on the HRW accounts, being acutely aware that a Westerner in India, besides having restricted access, can actually endanger the safety and even the lives of individuals if he is observed making obvious 'human rights' inquiries within a larger community which practises a totalitarian system of social control over stigmatized groups. Human Rights Watch, a New York based organization, has used local workers to produce hundreds of case histories detailing human rights abuses against Dalits. One I found particularly compelling was this: although Dalits in cities are usually less persecuted than those in the rural areas, in 1997 a statue of the great Dalit civil rights leader Dr Ambedkar, standing in the Dalit 'colony' of Mumbai, was desecrated. Dalits marched in protest, straying outside their colony. Police shot dead ten unarmed protesters, and injured twenty-six more.

Dalits in rural areas often must walk miles to obtain drinking water, being forbidden to use local water taps which they would allegedly pollute. They usually work as day labourers in addition to the imposed tasks of handling the filth that the more prosperous Hindus produce. It is difficult for them to register to vote in the face of massive intimidation. Women and children are frequently mishandled and raped, and HRW present numerous case histories of women who are sexually mutilated following rape. Untouchable they may be, but this does not prevent the frequent rape of Dalit women.

At least 50,000 Dalit girls are removed each year (or are surrendered by their impoverished parents) to serve in brothels, and a large but unknown number of Dalit children (probably in excess of 15 millions) endure conditions of slavery as bonded workers, given up in exchange for family debt. Complaints to police are unlikely to be successful, and are often counterproductive. Complainants about sexual assault or other violence can be imprisoned for years as material witnesses, or are beaten by police for complaining (HRW, 1999).

India's most impoverished state, Bihar, is apparently the scene of some of the worst outrages of violence experienced by Dalits. Past governments of Bihar have failed to implement Acts regarding land reform and minimum wages for day labourers which could have aided impoverished Dalit communities. Mainly in this State a group known as Naxalites has developed (with some Dalit membership). This is a quasi-Marxist group practising violent insurrection. It has achieved no political success for Dalits. Instead private militias (e.g. *Ranvir Sena*) predominantly recruited and armed by upper castes, raid Dalit colonies in villages, killing and mutilating without mercy or fear of legal sanction, the excuse being, apparently, that 'a dead Dalit child can never become a Naxalite' (HRW, 1999).

Corrie (1995) has developed 'a human development index for the Dalit child in India' which measures progress on health and welfare indicators. There is wide variation across Indian states, and progress is 'slow and uneven'. While Bihar has poor scores on this index, there are now grounds for some optimism, given the change of government in Bihar in 2005–6, and its declared aim of improving the education, welfare and economic progress of its citizens. Nevertheless, we must also record the fact that India's new prosperity based on global trade has actually, according to economic analysts, diminished the occupational advancement of Dalits in relative terms since the 1990s (Mungekar, 2001). Benefits of international trade enabled 'the educated unemployed' (Verma *et al.*, 1980) from groups other than Dalits to obtain newly-created jobs. But educated Dalits remain unemployed (Jeffrey and Jeffery, 2004), and despite obtaining high school diplomas or degrees the only forms of employment usually available are the traditional menial tasks, and day-wage labouring. According to Rodrigues (1999) the growing consciousness of their oppression and political attempts to counter it, have resulted in an increased number of physical attacks (including murders) against them, both by the authorities and by private groups of caste Hindus and their hirelings.

The dramatic rise of the Hindu nationalist party (BJP) since the 1980s is connected to the continual oppression of Dalits. Although the BJP's formally declared philosophy offers an inclusive vision of Hinduism in which all have dignity within a religious framework, it is also true that the BJP has attracted many violent and right-wing elements who are particularly opposed to the rights and advancement of Muslim and Dalit minority groups. Some elements within the BJP have argued that it should be illegal for Hindus to convert from the religion into which they were born – meaning, of course, Dalits. The BJP through cross-alliances has held power in the Indian parliament, the Lok Sabha. Today the more moderate Congress party holds power. It is possible that some Muslims (some 12.5 per cent of all Indians) and those Dalits registered to vote, placed

their votes strategically in favour of the Congress party in order to undermine the BJP's position.

The influence of Hindu nationalism can be judged by the passing of laws at the State level which require any Dalit wishing to convert from Hinduism to another religion, to appear before a magistrate to make sure he or she has not been 'coerced' in making this decision. Missionaries can be imprisoned if they are judged to be offering inducements or pressure in seeking conversion. Madhya Pradesh is the latest State to introduce such a law (Nelson, 2006). Dalits appearing before magistrates when they want to convert are marked individuals, and run the risk of intimidation and violence from fundamentalist Hindus. It is not coincidental that these laws have paralleled the large increase in Dalit conversions in the past decade, a reflection of the increasing movement for Dalit self-identity and freedom from the oppressions of the caste system.

The educational position of Dalits

The patterns of violence and segregation experienced by Dalits lead to a better understanding of the educational deprivation of this group. When enrolled in school they are likely to be segregated, must eat separately, often have no access to toilets and drinking water which other pupils can access, and are subjected to bullying and violence in school yards. Fifty per cent of Dalit children who enter state primary schools drop out before the age of fourteen (Ramachandran and Saihjee, 2002). Teachers often negatively label Dalit and Tribal children as backward, dull and poorly motivated. Given the profound discrimination which these groups suffer, this is likely to be a self-confirming prophecy. Dalits experience what Shiva (2003) calls 'apartheid in education', reflecting the failure of India's 'Education for All' policies as set out in the National Plans for Education of 1968, 1986 and 1992. Shiva observes that the elites who should have implemented these plans are likely to have sent their children to private schools, ignoring the realities of low-quality public schools. Most Dalits attend one-roomed rural schools with poorly trained teachers. Where there are higher ability groups in the school, Dalits are often purposefully excluded, whatever their ability level. Ambedkar (1992) referred to the lot of Dalits in education and in other areas as 'dungeons of exclusion'; while official apartheid has been superseded in South Africa, it remains strong in India. Mendelsohn and Vicziany (1998) argue that the Indian government is indifferent or hostile to Dalit aspirations for equality, and tacitly tolerates their persecution.

Given the political analysis of the position of Dalits, it comes as no surprise to find that their education status is depressed, compared with all other groups in India (with the exception of Scheduled Tribes). In rural Bihar which has one of the highest proportion of Dalits amongst Indian States, teachers were until recent times often absent from school for ten months in a year, a reflection of their very low pay, and the lack of administrative systems ensuring the quality of education (OWSA, 2006). In Bihar the overall pupil–teacher ratio in publicly-funded primary schools (for six to fourteen-year-olds) was until recently 122:1, three times

the national average of 40:1. There is a shortage of classrooms in the poorest States, and even those available are of very poor structural quality with drinking water and toilets atypically available. There has been some improvement in primary education in the 1990s with the implementation of the national government's *Sarva Shiksa Abhiyan* (Education for All) programme (see Chapters 10 and 11 in this volume by Jha and Srivastava), but this seems to have helped Dalit children little (Ramachandran and Saihjee, 2002). The problem remains one of lack of funding for rural primary schools.

Borooah and Iyer (2002) analyze data from a survey of 33,000 rural households in 1,765 Indian villages, predicting from statistical modelling the likelihood of a female child being enrolled in primary education. The proportion of Dalit families, the proportion of Muslim families, and the proportion of Scheduled Castes (i.e. lower castes) were statistically significant predictors, the prediction of low enrolment for females being strongest in the smallest communities. This finding underscores the work of Gobinda and Diwan (2003) which argues that movements for Education for All must be locally based and adapted to local conditions. The campaign in Bihar, for instance, must be different from that in Kerala.

Jeffrey and Jeffery (2004) describe how Dalit pupils are shunted into the lowest quality state schools, and are discouraged from taking any kind of advanced or examination course. Dalits who do succeed in overcoming multiple educational barriers, and make it through secondary school and even to college, face discrimination which becomes evermore rigorous at each stage. The Dalit who graduates from college is unlikely to find commensurate employment, or indeed any employment at all (Jeffrey and Jeffery, 2004; Jeffrey *et al.*, 2004). The Jefferys in their anthropological research based on a semi-rural community 150 km north east of New Delhi describe a situation of 'Degrees without Freedom' in which Dalit graduates without jobs, lacking the social connections which higher castes use to obtain professional employment, translate their grief and frustration at their status into non-violent political rhetoric which nevertheless rejects the Fabian-type approach of the BSP, the main Dalit political party. It is salutary that this is a study of young men: the Jefferys could not find enough Dalit women graduates to study.

The position of Musahars, the Tribal peoples of the Gangetic Plains, is significantly more depressed than that of most Dalits within whom they are sometimes counted (Joshi and Kumar, 2002). Tripathi (2002) argues that Tribal groups such as Musahars require a culturally appropriate educational medium. However, it is likely that the large majority of Dalits prefer an English-medium education which could give them the potential for entering the mainstream of Indian life.

English-language education for Dalit children: the network of voluntary religious schools

For many years Christian missionaries have worked with Dalit communities practising both conversion and the setting up of schools, primarily for Dalit children but open to children of all faiths and backgrounds on a low-fee payment basis. The Christian movement has a dual role: it offers Dalits an ideological escape

from their oppressed position within Hinduism; and it offers a solution to the Dalit Freedom Network's demand for English-language education, as opposed to education in local languages (Dalit Freedom Network, 2006). Education in the English medium is likely to offer better economic advancement than literacy in a local language.

The Christian-endowed schools each serve between fifty and 250 children taught by qualified teachers with class sizes of less than forty. These schools are well built and equipped and are heavily subsidized by voluntary donations, mainly from America (DaySpring International, 2005). The larger of these schools can also serve as teacher training institutions for Dalit students aged eighteen to twenty-five (OM India, 2004). Excellent though these schools are, only a fraction of the millions of Dalit children in India have the opportunity of attending them. They could, however, provide an excellent model of 'low-fee private' schools for *all* Indian children regardless of denomination, provided that fees are kept to the level of about one day's pay of a day labourer, per month of schooling. It is to India's credit that she does allow foreign missionaries to work in India, often converting those for whom they provide education. Bhattacharya (2003) comments positively on the work of Christian missionaries with Dalit and Tribal groups, providing educational resources not otherwise available to them. But the number of such schools in India is probably less than 5,000, while the population of Dalit children of primary school age is at least 30 millions. Thus if they attend primary school at all, at least 90 per cent of Dalit children must attend poor quality government schools. Unfortunately, some mission schools attended by Dalits have experienced the same kind of violence experienced by Dalits themselves, with schools being wrecked and burned. Christian missionaries themselves have been attacked and murdered (Nelson, 2006).

The educational position of girls and women in India

In addition to the disadvantaged educational position of minority groups such as Dalits and Moslems, girls in general are educationally disadvantaged in India. Compared with other Asian countries (including Indonesia, Malaysia and China) the proportion of females who acquire the skills of literacy is low, except in Kerala (Borooah and Iyer, 2002). Between 1993 and 1999 the overall proportions attaining literacy in India rose from 68 per cent to 79 per cent (UNESCO, 2003). But the large gender gap remains, and overall only 34 per cent of females had completed education to age fourteen in Bihar (compared with 88 per cent in Kerala). In India as a whole, literacy rates are lowest in Dalit girls and women (Sreedhar, 1999). Poor families are likely to enrol sons rather than daughters in primary school, despite the goals of India's formal Education for All policy (One Country, 2004). Only in 2001 did India's national government formally implement its policy for universal, free primary education (to age fourteen), and it comes as no surprise that implementation is uneven, with boys more likely to be enrolled in primary school (Borooah and Iyer, 2002).

The hidden oppressed: Nepalese Dalit girls in Indian brothels

Each year thousands of young girls aged twelve to seventeen from Nepal are tricked or sold into the slavery of prostitution in India. They are robbed not only of education and career aspirations, but of their dignity and health as well, and when they become infected with HIV they are shipped back to Nepal, where they live out stigmatized lives (Simkhada and Bagley, 2006). According to our research, about half of these girls are of Dalit origin, the other half being mainly of 'Mongoloid' appearance, for which some Indian men seem to have a sexual fetish. Christian ministers who have attempted to 'rescue' these sex workers (some as young as ten) have been physically attacked by Hindu militants (Reynolds, 2006).

Policy solutions?

The disadvantages and persecution experienced by Dalits are both profound and deeply rooted in Indian social structure. Despite the abolition of untouchable status (in Acts of 1955 and 1989), these laws like so many others in India are unevenly administered, and often ignored at the local level. If the status of Dalits in India is to be improved, then profound changes in Indian society must take place. The prospects for such change are not good and Hindu nationalism, which sees Dalits as profoundly inferior and absolutely untouchable, is on the rise rather than on the decline. But if the educational status of Dalit children is to be improved there must be fundamental political changes in India. The 'Education for All' proposals of The Kothari Commission of 1964 were enthusiastically relaunched in 2004, after many false starts. Now is certainly the time for the implementation of quality schooling for Dalit children. Kothari's proposal that India should spend six per cent of its GDP on education has never been implemented, and this may account for the fact that many teacher posts in rural primary schools remain unfilled, because of lack of money for their salaries.

The Christian schools aimed at Dalits provide excellent models of quality education. However, for sensitive political reasons (their funding from America and Europe), and their evangelistic nature, they will remain an option for only a minority of Dalit communities. But the quality of these primary schools can offer a model for education for all of India's children. India currently spends about four per cent of its GDP on education; increasing this to six per cent in a climate of increasing prosperity through international trade could provide funding for the increase in quality of Indian primary schools. Teachers and teacher training are crucial in providing a non-discriminatory climate for delivering education in schools with children from varied social and religious backgrounds.

Should Dalits continue their tradition of converting to religions (Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam, Christianity) which, formally at least, do not discriminate on grounds of 'untouchability'? This traditional movement away from the oppressive forces of Hindu nationalism would be spiritually and ideologically satisfying. But Hindus themselves should defer to the teachings of Shankara and Gandhi for a renewal of Hinduism's core spiritual values which disavow the determinism of

being born into an occupational caste. In a truly democratic society, merit should be achieved and earned, and should not be endowed by birth. India claims to be 'the world's largest democracy'. But India will not be a true democracy until the privileges bestowed by caste, and the persecution of certain Hindu groups on the basis of their birth, are abandoned.

The Human Rights Watch Report (HRW, 1999), after their detailed analysis of several hundred cases of human rights violations (including many cases of murder and rape) against Dalits, makes some crucial recommendations:

1   A concerted effort to direct policy measures to alleviate these injustices must be made by the national government of India, making sure that human rights legislation is enforced at the state level.
2   The 'Prevention of Atrocities Act' should not simply lie on the statute book, but should be fully implemented, with police and other officials training at the local level, to ensure enforcement.
3   There should be reform of police procedures and personnel so that violence against Dalits is properly investigated, and laws enforced. More women police officers should be recruited and trained, to investigate the many cases of rape against Dalit girls and women. Dalits themselves should be recruited as police personnel.
4   The practice of bonded labour should be ended through the enforcement of Acts already passed.
5   The right of Dalits to register to vote should be strictly protected.
6   Dalits should not be arbitrarily detained, on minimal excuses. India has extensive legal powers to detain suspected terrorists for lengthy periods. These powers should not be used simply because police suspect a Dalit might harbour negative but non-violent views of existing political systems. It is incumbent on Dalits, of course, not to engage in violence or terrorism of any kind. Private militias recruited by Caste Hindus such as the *Ranvir Sena* should be vigorously prosecuted.
7   Discrimination against women in education and employment should be diminished; this would aid not only Dalit women but women from all economically disadvantaged groups in India.
8   India should ratify and enforce the 1984 UN Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.
9   World Bank loans and various other international loans and forms of aid to India should be conditional upon the ending of discrimination against groups such as Dalits, Tribal Groups and Muslims. India has a poor record of allowing UN Special Rapporteurs access to minority groups, and the informal research methods used by HRW have had to be employed.

Parallels have been drawn between attempts in India to guarantee government positions and college admission places to educated persons from minority groups, with efforts in the US. As in the United States, this has been a controversial policy, with backlashes and legal challenges (Weisskopf, 2004). But if goals of social

justice are to be served, such policies should guarantee Dalits the levels of educational and economic success that they merit.

As HRW (1999) concludes, without major determination by the Indian government the caste system 'in practice relegates millions of people to a lifetime of violence, servitude, segregation, and discrimination'. Mendelsohn and Vicziany (1998) see no end to Dalit poverty, and no end to the widespread continuance of violence expressed against them. It is crucial that scholars and politicians outside of India continually monitor the situation of Dalits. A new Human Rights Watch report should be issued every five years. The Human Rights and Law Unit in New Delhi does continue to issue valuable, updated accounts of 'atrocities' experienced by Dalits (HRLU, 2006).

Conclusions

India is a complex plural society with many cross-cutting lines of ethnicity, power, status and religion, with frequent points of social tension at the intersection of the blocs of this plural society (Bagley, 1979). Given India's social complexity, its huge population size, its great inequalities of wealth, and the crowding of its cities, it is actually surprising that episodes of murder and violence are relatively rare, rather than relatively frequent (Bagley, 1989). Sociologically, it appears that certain minority groups such as Dalits and Muslims are singled out as 'whipping boys' or scapegoats to enable the tensions of communal violence to be temporarily purged, with occasional bouts of mass murder and daily acts of lethal and sub-lethal violence costing only a few thousand lives each year, in a population of one billion.

However, as India enters a new phase of development based on globalization and international trade, it is essential that the national government ensures that social justice reaches all of its citizens in a newly social democratic state. A new government-corporate partnership plans to provide scholarships for 50,000 Dalit and Tribal university and college students by 2009 – approximately 0.2 per cent of the estimated 30 million Dalit and Tribal children eligible to enter primary school. Prasad (2006a) is pessimistic, however, of industry employing the Dalits and Tribals who graduate from these college-level programmes.

Commenting on tardy progress in fulfilling official quotas for recruiting Dalits to government positions, Prasad (2006b) cites Dr Ambedkar, the Dalit equivalent of Martin Luther King, who argued that rights are protected not by law but by the social and moral conscience of society. 'If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognize the rights which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe ... if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no law, no parliament, no judiciary, can guarantee them ...'

Ambedkar was writing in the 1950s. Unfortunately, his observations are still relevant today. The 'social and moral conscience' of India has yet to seriously consider the issue of Dalit equality, and inclusion in mainstream social institutions. Until that time, Dalits remain one of the most brutally oppressed ethnic groups anywhere in the world.

Notes

1 There is some evidence that higher caste Hindus in Northern India are genetically related to European invaders from Central Asia (Bamshad, 2001).
2 Violent attacks, rape and murder of Dalits continue on a daily basis. The most recent case in my file is the fatal beating of a fourteen-year-old Dalit boy in Bihar, accused of theft in September, 2006: www.DailyIndia.com/show/56932.php/Dalit_boy_beaten_to_ death/
3 Effectively, this meant that Dalits who had converted to Christianity were, unwillingly, classified by the Census as Hindus.
4 For a comprehensive bibliography on sociological studies of Dalits see Charsley (2004).

References

Ambedkar, B. (1992) *Writings and speeches: Volume 2.* Mumbai: Government of Maharashtra.

Bagley, C. (1979) 'Social policy and development: the case of child welfare, health and nutritional services in India', *Plural Societies,* 10, 3–26.

Bagley, C. (1989) 'Urban crowding and the murder rate in Bombay, India', *Perceptual and Motor Skills,* 69, 1241–1242.

Bamshad, M. (2001) 'Genetic evidence on the origins of Indian caste populations', *Genome Research,* 11, 994–1004.

Bedi, R. (2002) 'Caste war will go on', *The Daily Telegraph Online,* 31st August, 2002.

Bhattacharya, S. (2003) *Education and The Disprivileged.* New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Borooah, V. and Iyer, S. (2002) *Vidya, Veda and Varna: The Influence of Religion and Caste on Education in Rural India.* Coleraine: School of Economics and Politics, University of Ulster.

Charsley, S. (2004) *A Dalit Bibliography.* Glasgow: Dept of Sociology, Anthropology and Applied Social Sciences, University of Glasgow.

Corrie, B. (1995) 'A human development index for the Dalit child in India', *Social Indicators Research,* 34, 395–409.

Cox, O. (1948) *Caste, Class and Race.* New York: Doubleday.

Dalit Freedom Network (2006) *Abolish Caste, Now and Forever.* Accessed 14th June, 2006, at: www.dalitnetwork.org.

DaySpring International (2005) *The Challenge of India.* Accessed 16th June, 2006, at: www.dayspringinternational.org.

Dumont, L. (1970) *Homo Hierarcus: The Caste System and its Implications.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, India.

Foster, P. (2006) 'Family of six burned alive by caste killers', *The Daily Telegraph Online,* 4th January 2006.

Gobinda, R. and Diwan, R. (2003) *Community Participation and Empowerment in Primary Education.* London: Sage.

HRLU (2006) *Human Rights of Dalits.* New Delhi: Human Rights and Law Unit, Indian Social Institute.

HRW (1999) *Broken People: Caste Violence Against India's 'Untouchables'.* New York: Human Rights Watch. At: www.hrw.org/reports/1999/India.

Isaeva, N. (1993) *Shankara and Indian Philosophy.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Jeffrey, C. and Jeffery, P. (2004) 'When schooling fails: young men, education and low-caste politics', *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* 39, 1–38.

Jeffrey, C., Jeffery, R. and Jeffery, P. (2004) 'Degrees without freedom: the impact of formal

education on Dalit young men in Northern India', *Development and Change,* 35, 963–986.

Joshi, H. and Kumar, S. (2002) *Asserting Voices: Changing Culture, Identity and Livelihood of the Musahars in the Gangetic Plains.* New Delhi: Deshkal Publications.

Mendelsohn, O. and Vicziany, M. (1998) *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and State in Modern India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mungekar, B. (2001) *Dalit Human Rights,* lead address to Human Rights Conference, University of Mumbai, 4th November 2001.

Nelson, D. (2006) 'Missionaries face jail in India', *Sunday Times Online,* 30th July 2006.

OM India (2004) *Dalit Education Centers.* Accessed 4th May 2006 at: www.usa.om.org/omIndia.

Omvedt, G. (1994) *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India.* London: Sage.

One Country (2004) Proceedings of UNICEF Conference on Education for All. Accessed 4th May 2006 at: www.onecountry.org (Bahai Online).

OWSA (2006) 'Schools in Bihar', *One World South Asia,* 2nd May 2006.

Prasad, C. (2006a) 'Corporate schools', *New Delhi Pioneer Online,* 3rd September 2006.

Prasad, C. (2006b) 'Hail CII proposal', *New Delhi Pioneer Online,* 20th August 2006.

Rajeshekar, V. (1997) *Dalit: The Black Untouchables of India.* New York: SCB Distributors.

Ramachandran, V. and Saihjee, A. (2002) 'The new segregation: reflections on gender and equity in primary education', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 27th April, 1600–1613.

Ramaiah, A. (1994) 'The Dalit issue: a Hindu perspective', in J. Massey (ed.) *Indigenous Peoples.* New Delhi: ISPCK.

Reynolds, J. (2006) 'Ministers attacked who help keep teens out of prostitution'. Lake Forest, CA: Assist. News Service. At: www.assistnews.net.

Rodrigues, E. (1999) 'Dalit assertion and casteist retaliation', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 9th October, 411–412.

Sainath, P. (1996) *Everybody Loves a Good Drought: Stories from India's Poorest Districts.* New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Shahabuddin, S. (2002) 'Comments on Yoginder Sikand's article on Dalit Muslims', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs,* 22, 479–481.

Shiva, A. (2003) 'A kind of apartheid in education', *Times of India Online,* 11th November 2003.

Simkhada, P. and Bagley, C. (2006) *The Sexual Trafficking of Nepalese Girls and Women: Health and Policy Issues.* Manchester: The Manchester Educational Research Network.

Sreedhar, M. (1999) 'Reaching the unreachable: enabling Dalit girls to get schooling', *Manushi: Women and Society in India,* 111, 10–20.

Trapnell, J. (2004) *The Indian Census, Hindu-Christian Dialogue, and Perceiving the Religious Other.* Accessed 4th June 2006, at: www.infinityfoundation.com/mandala/s _es_trapn_census.htm.

Tripathi, G. (2002) 'The desire for education', in H. Joshi and S. Kumar (eds) *Asserting Voices: Changing Identity and Livelihood of the Musahars in the Gangetic Plains.* New Delhi: Deshkal Publications.

UNESCO (2003) *UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report.* New York: UNESCO. Accessed 7th May 2004 at: www.efareport.unesco.org.

Verma, G., Bagley, C. and Mallick, K. (1980) *Illusion and Reality in Indian Education.* London and New Delhi: Gower Press.

Weisskopf, T. (2004) *Affirmative Action in the United States and India: A Comparative Perspective.* London: Routledge.

Part VI

Conclusions

14 Crisis, rhetoric and progress in education for the inclusion of diverse ethnic and social groups

Christopher R. Bagley

> The assumption of this chapter is that racism in Western societies is a sub-system of societies whose basis is the exploitation of human beings through capitalism. A society based on the accumulation of capital through profitable entrepreneurship needs a stable and largely acquiescent work force, as well as a reserve army of labour which can be laid off in slack times without problems of social unrest. This latter role is usefully filled by assimilated migrant workers, women, and degraded ethnic minorities.
>
> (Bagley, 1985, p. 49)

The values which underpin the practice of inclusive education for diverse individuals and groups are changing – a reflection of diverse social forces – and the naïve Marxist model implied in the quotation above needs to be amended, or developed. The global economy calls for a more educated workforce, but these demands require an education system that is subordinated to the needs of international capitalism. This is strangely reminiscent of the Acts of Parliament in nineteenth-century Britain which provided universal primary education on the ironic premise that 'we must educate our masters'; the newly emancipated voters had to be educated to a minimal standard (Brock, 1978). Today, it is pressures of globalization which have persuaded the Indian economy to finally introduce a policy of Education for All, see Chapters 3 and 10 (Jha) and 11 (Srivastava) in this volume. Even then Dalits, children of the 'untouchable' caste, seem unlikely to gain educationally in ways which could lead to occupational advancement (see Bagley, Chapter 13, in this volume). Marx had characterized the underclass as 'a reserve army of labour' to be called on in times of economic expansion. Unfortunately, this Marxian model does not fit modern-day India, in which Dalits' caste status relegates them to that comparable with African Americans 150 years ago. Ironically, an educated elite of Dalits is emerging, facing both permanent unemployment and greater degrees of relative deprivation than their landless labourer parents (Jeffrey *et al.*, 2004).

Rizvi and colleagues (Chapter 1, this volume) suggest that although the forces of globalization are creating a new discourse and rhetoric in education, the effects

of globalization on educational equality and opportunity vary greatly. Information and communication technologies may be transforming the economies of countries such as India, but their benefits mainly affect the educated elite, given that country's long history of 'educated unemployment' in which graduates can wait months or years before ever obtaining employment commensurate with their educational investments (Verma *et al.*, 1980). Globalization of the world's economy and communication systems is not a democratic process, but one which feeds into existing stratification systems, with America as the elite, ruling class and the peasants of Asia and Africa as the ignored masses, noticed only when their assertiveness takes terrorist proportions. As Rizvi *et al*. observed in this volume: 'All industries, including education, are trapped within the networking logic of contemporary capitalism, subject to the same economic cycles, market upswings and downturns and segmented global competition'.

The dominant view of education reflects a neo-liberal ideology, and in many countries educational policymakers have tried to provide systems of training which will create a co-operative and skilled workforce who can add to a country's GDP. But as Rizvi *et al*. (above) observe, 'while the authority for the development of education policies remains with sovereign governments, they nonetheless feel the need to take global processes into account'. These social pressures include the international agencies providing financial aid for education, with the subtext being the need to serve 'the globalizing cultural field within which education takes place'. In this respect we were interested to experience the Christian mission elementary schools for Dalit children, which provide quality education without any clear economic benefit in prospect – education as a goal in itself, albeit with metaphysical overtones (see Bagley, Chapter 13, this volume). Jha (2006) provides detailed case studies of Christian and other schools in India with excellent programmes for children with various physical and sensory disabilities. These latter children do not fit into educational programmes in which the economics of globalization is a driving force, and in many Third World countries a deaf or partially deaf, blind or partially blind child is lucky if they are admitted to a primary school class containing 100 children. They are likely to have highly individual learning needs, which their teacher is unable to meet.

The crisis in British education: coping with diversity through exclusion

Britain, unfortunately, stands low in the European league on the successful inclusive education of children with special needs. A Select Committee Report to the British Parliament (Asthana and Hinsliff, 2006) on education for children with 'special needs' of various kinds identified a system in confusion, in urgent need of reform. The committee found that schooling for the inclusive education of special needs pupils was 'not fit for purpose'. Policies differed dramatically between different local areas, often with no direction or financial support for specialist teachers or equipment. Special schools are being closed and their pupils transferred to mainstream schools where teachers, coping with class sizes larger than

thirty are often unable to meet their needs (Bagley, 2006). Warnock (2005) has argued that the treatment of children with special educational needs in mainstream schools in Britain is so negligent that Britain violates the UNESCO (1994) Salamanca Statement principles on inclusive education. But as Frederickson and Cline (2002) show, children with 'special educational needs' could be absorbed with equity into mainstream schools, fulfilling the principles of Warnock's (1978) idealistic report on special needs education.

British teachers, having to cope with the demands of frequent assessments in relation to a National Curriculum, seem keen to remove pupils who have poor academic performance (who might depress average test scores), and they have powers to do this through making permanent and temporary exclusions; according to a Parliamentary Committee 87 per cent of excluded pupils from primary schools, and 60 per cent of those excluded at the secondary stage are pupils with 'special needs'. These needs include autism, dyslexia, emotional and behavioural challenges, as well as the traditional forms of sensory and cognitive challenge. In addition (but sometimes coincidentally), a pool of more than 100,000 pupils leave school more or less permanently before that statutory leaving age (sixteen) forming a street army of delinquent youth who plague systems of social control (Bagley, 2006).

For those struggling to provide universal and free quality education at primary and secondary levels, the British case is paradoxical. Pupils are allowed to stay in school without cost, may take public examinations up to age eighteen, and are encouraged to apply for college and university entrance (Dutton *et al.*, 2005). For the large majority of students from the disadvantaged social classes (comprising about a fifth of the nation), the possibilities of entering tertiary education is, however, often a vain hope (HEFCE, 2005). In addition, an important minority of pupils at secondary level are permanently excluded from school (or permanently exclude themselves) because of their alienation from school and learning; or because of problems of behaviour and under-achievement which make them unacceptable to their schools, which in consequence suspend or permanently expel them.

Cumulatively, at least 1 per cent of students under age seventeen had been permanently or temporarily excluded from school by the end of 2003 (DfES, 2004). The rate of these permanent exclusions is significantly higher in areas of Britain blighted by poor housing, in which a high proportion of parents live in poverty, and experience a high incidence of various indicators of social deprivation (Reed, 2004; Bagley, 2006). The proportion of rejected, dispirited or discouraged pupils who never take any public examinations at age sixteen had, by late 2005, reached a record level in Britain, with 12.6 per cent of adolescents leaving school without any public examination success. These young people either become permanently unemployed or are frequently unemployed and welfare-dependent (Bekhradnia, 2006). According to OECD figures (2004) Britain ranked twenty-seventh out of twenty-nine industrialized nations in terms of young people staying on at school after age sixteen.

Britain is the eighth richest country amongst the 30 OECD States, in terms of GDP per head (OECD, 2006) – but Britain's annual GDP of $2.3 trillions is

distributed very unequally compared with the majority of the OECD nations (Hobson, 2001).[1] However, the distribution of this wealth is more unequal than in many other European countries (Bradshaw and Chen, 2002). Britain ranked fifty-first (i.e. has a high score on the Gini Coefficient, which measures unequal distribution of wealth) in the 124 countries in the latest international comparisons (UN, 2005). Nordic and some former Communist countries as well as Japan have the most equal distributions of national wealth. There is a strong correlation in twenty-one major industrialized countries between higher Gini scores (indicating a greater income gap between rich and poor) and diminished life expectancy in the poorest groups within a country (De Vogli *et al.*, 2005). This correlation (0.87) was unaffected by the availability of a universal, free health service in any particular country, including Britain which ranked strongly in terms of inequality of income distribution. In part, this is due to the failure of social security and welfare payments in Britain to have very much influence on chronic patterns of income inequality (Bradshaw and Chen, 2002). It appears too that primary and secondary education in Britain is (like welfare services) significantly under-funded in comparison with other wealthy countries, and the number of students per teacher in publicly-funded schools in Britain is actually rising (Haile, 2005). The proportion of GDP spent by the British government on education fell from 5 per cent in 1995 to 4.7 per cent in 2003 (Smith, 2005); this proportion is slightly below the European average (OECD, 2004). Those countries spending the highest proportion of national wealth on publicly-funded education are the Nordic countries. Significant increases in spending on education in Britain have, however, been promised (Brown, 2006).

A report from the British Centre for Economic Performance in 2004 (Chevalier and Dolton, 2004) has found that the drift of teachers from the profession outstripped new recruits. Main reasons given by departing teachers were low pay, stress, and problems of teaching large classes which contained too many disruptive students. There is also a strong social class bias in Britain in secondary school students who continue on to university studies, ranging from eight per cent of the age group following this path in the poorest region, to 62 per cent in the most prosperous (HEFCE, 2005). In the country as a whole, young people living in the more advantaged areas are more than five times as likely to go on to university than are young people in areas where average family incomes are in the lowest quintile. By the end of 2005 the proportion of children with parents in the highest wealth quintile had increased their chances of university entry to six times the numbers whose parents were in the lowest income quintile (Cassidy, 2005). Research cited by Cassidy indicates that an important mediating factor is the poorer quality of the secondary schools attended by many of the students from economically poor homes. Even when they do enter university, children of the poorest parents tend to have poorer degree outcomes, largely because they have to work part-time because their parents (unlike well-off parents) are unable to provide for their living allowance (Van Dyke and Little, 2005).

In a survey of educational achievements of school students conducted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2004)

Britain ranked fifteenth in achievements in reading, science and mathematics amongst the forty-one countries who submitted data, despite Britain being, at that time, eighth in world rankings for wealth per head of population. This statistic is another indicator of the 'poverty of education' in Britain, a pattern of under-funding of an important resource in a wealthy country. In fact, there are grounds for supposing that these figures overestimate the achievements of British pupils (Smithers, 2004). This is because schools deliberately exclude or expel students who are underachieving, apparently in many cases to improve their school's achievement profile. If the achievements of this army of excluded pupils were included, Britain's ranking would, apparently, be closer to twenty-fifth than fifteenth out of the forty-four countries surveyed (Wragg, 2004).

Schools in Britain are subject to a heavy-handed bureaucratic control from central government, with formal examinations for pupils at ages seven, eleven, fourteen and sixteen. Schools are frequently inspected and their performance in the periodic tests is publicly ranked. Far from ensuring higher levels of achievement and learning, the opposite has resulted, with high levels of teacher malaise in under-funded schools, with large classes of dispirited pupils and frustrated teachers. Subjects such as music, games and physical education are increasingly left out of the curriculum to make way for yet more classes of formal instruction in 'basic skills'. Partly because of the publicity surrounding published league tables and the 'shaming' of underachieving schools, there is strong pressure to exclude learning-disabled, disruptive, and emotionally maladjusted pupils. It is perhaps no coincidence that in the summer term in which public examinations are held, the number of excluded pupils reaches a peak; more than 17,000 pupils were permanently excluded from school in 2003, the majority of them in the summer term (Blair, 2004). The main reason given for these expulsions was pupil misbehaviour, but this is intimately linked to failure to take advantage of the instruction offered, and failure on formal tests of achievement. Some of these 17,000 excluded pupils will be admitted to other schools, but many join the small army of the permanently excluded.

The top country in the international league tables on comparable tests of reading, science and mathematics was Finland (sharing honours with several Scandinavian countries). This prompted Curtis (2004) to examine Finnish school policies that might explain this. The idea that schools should be run from the centre, or even have their test results published, is unthinkable in Finland. The only public examinations are those taken by students at age eighteen. Secondary schools are entirely comprehensive, taking all ability bands and those with 'special' educational needs, attempting to teach to their pupils' highest potential, not the lowest as seems the case with Britain's 'comprehensives'. Private schools are unknown in this small country. Teachers themselves have high status and salaries (on a par with lawyers and doctors), and all are qualified at the master's level or beyond. Schools themselves have priority in government funding, and class sizes are much smaller than in Britain.

Finland also has an excellent record in its educational policies for the reception and absorption of children of immigrants and refugees, in comparison with several

other European countries, including Britain (Pitkänen *et al.*, 2002). Britain's comparative failure in the integration of children of immigrants is demonstrated by the exclusion statistics (DfES, 2004). These show that the highest rates of exclusion are of Gypsy and Roma children, followed by students with cultural origins in the Caribbean – this latter group being more than three times as likely as any other group to be excluded from school.

Particularly striking with regard to mainstream British students is a report from the Confederation of British Industry (CBI, 2004) of newly-recruited school leavers. Cumulatively since 1997, two million school leavers had insufficient skills in literacy and mathematics to enable them to advance occupationally: they were judged to be fit only for the lowest level of occupation, since they had failed to achieve adequate basic skills in their schooling. Overall, 47 per cent of British firms were dissatisfied with the educational quality of the school-leavers they recruited. These figures do not include the small army of permanently excluded pupils, who rarely enter the job market in any capacity. These figures are consonant with a 1999 report from the Basic Skills Agency (Moser, 1999) which found that one-fifth of British adults had 'severe problems' with basic literacy and numeracy, with skills in these areas lower than in any other European country except Poland and Ireland. A 'National Curriculum' has aimed to improve the reading and mathematical skills of eleven-year-old British children; but by the age of sixteen virtually all of these gains had been lost in children from deprived areas. Official British figures (Smithers, 2006) indicate that some 12 million British workers cannot read beyond the level expected of eleven-year-olds in the national literacy tests. In contrast, in other developed European countries (including Germany) the problem of functionally illiterate school-leavers is virtually absent (Machin, 2005).

What happens to permanently excluded students in Britain? The answer to this important question is not entirely clear, since the government Department for Education and Skills (DfES, 2004) acknowledges that each year educational systems 'lose track' of some 10,000 students before they are aged sixteen. This has been attributed to school policies which aim to enhance achievement profiles by expelling under-performing pupils (Brighouse, 2004). Such pupils are usually referred either to special 'referral units', or to any other school that is willing to take them on. The referral units offer remedial courses in basic skills (reading, writing and arithmetic) and vocational training. However, the atmosphere in these centres is often less than professional, and students are frequently absent. Permanent drop-out is often not followed up. Many of the permanently excluded form a cadre of street youth, alienated and depressed, making money from petty crime from early adolescence onwards, and increasingly becoming prey to drug pushers and those who wish to sexually exploit the young (Bagley and Pritchard, 1998a; Bagley and King, 2003).

School class sizes in Britain

For some time the myth has prevailed in British educational policy that 'class size doesn't matter', and it is the qualifications, experience and the dedication of the

teacher that is most important. Of course, well-qualified and highly motivated teachers are important, but unfortunately the morale of British teachers has been undermined in recent years because of poor pay, difficult working conditions and the popular perception that teaching is an unrewarding profession, not just in financial terms.

In Britain some primary school teachers used to have instructional aides, but the employment of these partially qualified part-timers has been curtailed because of funding cuts in education (Smith, 2003). While a legal regulation in 1998 specified that early school classes in Britain should be no larger than thirty, in practice class sizes in the primary school are often much larger than this. In Bangladesh, a prominent NGO the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), offers primary education in many areas based on a maximum of twenty-three children a class in rural primary schools (Verma, 2004).

The connection between class size and school exclusions is, I would argue, linked to the fact that teachers in Britain are often unable to address the learning problems of bored, alienated and potentially rebellious students, as well as those with 'special needs'. It is no coincidence that the highest proportion of exclusions from school occur in local authority areas which have the poorest teacher–pupil ratios. Again, there is a vicious circle here: in those areas which have the lowest achieving and most poorly behaved students, teacher turnover is highest and in consequence classes frequently become very large because of chronic teacher shortage. The latest figures on exclusions from British schools (for 2003–4) showed a six per cent increase in the numbers excluded compared with the previous year. The number of exclusions has doubled in a decade. Many of these 344,510 students were approaching the final year examination stage, examinations which they would never take (Halpin, 2005; Smithers, 2005).

In Britain Iacovou (2001) has argued that previous British research on class size and achievement has been flawed, since it failed to control for reasons why pupils have been assigned to small classes; often it has been pupils with educational difficulties, underachievement due to underlying cognitive problems, and/or behavioural maladjustment who have been assigned to very small classes. Including the achievements of these pupils with those who are retained in larger classes gives a skewed result, showing that larger classes contain more highly achieving pupils – but this finding is an artefact of referral procedures. It has been acknowledged by researchers that children in private schools in Britain, where class sizes are on average less than half of those in publicly-funded schools have much higher achievements than pupils in the state system, but this effect has usually been attributed to the social class bias in the intake of private schools.

Iacovou's (2001) British research followed up some 12,100 children in the National Child Development Study (NCDS), a cohort of children born in one week in 1958, and studied systematically at birth and at ages seven, eleven and beyond. First of all, she found as expected that pupils assigned to lower streams in primary schooling had poorer initial reading ability, and these lower streams had smaller numbers of children, and included many children with 'special needs'. Iacovou found that smaller class size – the normal variation in numbers in regular

streams, not that resulting from any specific experiment, or allocation for special education purposes – was associated, when streaming policy and a variety of other social factors were controlled for, with *higher* achievement.

The smaller class-size effect accounted for an enhancement of about one-third of a standard deviation in reading test scores, a highly significant result. This important finding suggests that even quite small levels of class size reduction can have positive effects. Furthermore, a reduction in class size of eight pupils below the national average was associated with a highly significant 40 per cent increase (of one standard deviation) in reading scores, slightly larger than the achievement advantage of coming from an advantaged social class, and ten times the advantage bestowed by having a mother with an additional year of completed education. The advantage in reading ability through being in a smaller class at age seven was retained at age eleven, particularly in children from larger families.

While the variation in class sizes in this British study reflected a naturally occurring variation in the policies and resources of different schools, and was not the result of a carefully contrived experiment as in the Tennessee STARS project, the effect size in enhancement of achievements was quite similar to those observed by Achilles (1996) in Tennessee. The American research has shown that halving school class sizes in Grades Kindergarten through Three has long term benefits in achievement and behaviour lasting into college age, and the expenditures involved in halving these class sizes is highly cost effective (Finn and Achilles, 1999; Krueger, 1999).

The British NCDS study reflected an era of very large classes (average primary school class sizes were 35.9), and since that time average primary school class sizes have fallen to a little over thirty. There are strong grounds for supposing, however, that since the Tennessee STARS experiment and the NCDS statistical study produced similar results in school achievement, the social advantages produced by the Tennessee experiment (better student morale, higher self-concept, better behaviour, higher motivation, lower school drop-out) would also occur in pupils in smaller classes in Britain. This suggestion is important for the discussion in a later section on school exclusions and their sequels in our 'two-schools experiment'.

The two schools experiment in educational and social work intervention to prevent school exclusions and the 'cycle of poverty'

I turn now to our own work which offers somewhat optimistic conclusions. There is substantial evidence that schools which serve neighbourhoods with a high proportion of indicators of deprivation and social problems (poverty and unemployment; overcrowded and impermanent housing; child welfare interventions; high delinquency and crime rates; and high rates of mental illness) have, on average, significantly poorer achievement in their students, and much higher rates of school exclusions than in schools in stable or prosperous neighbourhoods.

Farrington and Welsh (2007), in important British research on 'delinquent careers' concluded:

> The whole process is self-perpetuating, in that poverty ... and early school failure lead to truancy and lack of educational qualifications, which in turn lead to low status jobs and periods of unemployment ... all of which make it harder to achieve goals legitimately.

The experiment described below was funded through the British Home Office 'Safer Cities' programme, and aimed through focusing on school-based social work, to reduce pupils' disruptive behaviour and expulsions, and to increase their motivation to achieve legitimate goals. In this we also attempted to replicate the experimental English work of Rose and Marshall (1975) which showed that social work interventions at the school level could have a strong role in reducing delinquency.

Our experimental study (Bagley and Pritchard 1998a, 1998b; Pritchard, 2001) selected two schools (linked primary and secondary, serving some 1,300 children) in a city in southern England and matched them with two similar schools in another area of the city. In both experimental and control school settings there were similar levels of deprivation, with poverty rates of 60 per cent (judged by the proportion of pupils receiving free school lunches). The neighbourhoods serving these two school areas had well above average proportions of social service interventions, unwanted pregnancies, and criminal convictions.

Inputs over three years in the experimental schools were an additional teacher in the primary school, a half-time additional teacher in the secondary school, and a project social worker who operated with families and children attending both primary and secondary schools. The additional teachers worked in the areas of instruction and counselling, and with the project social worker in co-ordinated strategies. The additional primary teacher worked intensively with children in the infant reception classes and with their families, trying to ensure that incipient problems of learning and behaviour could be addressed. In the secondary school the additional teacher focused on both bullying and behavioural problems, seeking a variety of solutions to avoid the need for exclusion of disruptive students.

The social worker ensured that all families received maximum benefit from income and social services, with the focus on preventing family disruption. Families of pupils whose under-performance in scholastic areas reflected their frequent absenteeism were engaged. Again, the focus was on helping the parents to emphasize the need for achieving educational goals by full attendance. Health education in the secondary school focused on risky sexual behaviour and drug use, with a focus on long-term achievements versus short-term gratifications.

Evaluation consisted of self-report questionnaires and tests completed by pupils at the beginning and end of the three-year project. These measures were completed by pupils in the experimental and control primary and secondary schools (Bagley and Pritchard, 1998a). There was a highly significant fall in self-reported delinquency, fighting, experience of bullying, truanting and drug use in

the project schools, but the incidence of these events actually increased in the control schools. Positive attitudes to school increased significantly in the project schools, but there was no parallel increase in the control schools. In the project schools, for children's families there was a significant decline in problem behaviours, including movement of children into care, criminality in adult family members, and unwanted pregnancies. Significantly fewer children from the project schools were excluded for any reason.

A follow-up of children from the secondary schools to age nineteen indicated that the positive effects of the school social work experiments were retained, with significantly fewer young people becoming pregnant, delinquent, leaving school early, or being unemployed. Careful estimates of the costs to the public purse of processing delinquents, supporting unmarried mothers, keeping children in care, and processing and maintaining delinquent children in youth detention, indicated that although initially expensive, the intensive social work and educational inputs had, over a five-year period saved the public purse a net sum of £156,310, using the most conservative estimates. Generalizing these figures to the country as a whole we estimated that 'at least a billion dollars' of public expenditure could be saved in the long-term, through early interventions and the reordering of chaotic and wasted lives which were the lot of many of the pupils who graduated from the control secondary school in our experiment (Bagley and Pritchard, 1998b).

Educational failure, poverty and school exclusions in Britain

There is a chronic crisis in British education from the highest to the lowest levels. Universities face a crisis of under-funding, and infant and primary school classes are too large for fully effective teaching. Teacher morale is low, and classes are getting larger. In such contexts alienated pupils and those with special needs are easily ignored or expelled. These policies operate, by default, in an extremely wealthy country, but in one in which incomes and resources are unequally distributed, with degrees of inequality much greater than in many countries with similar or lesser sources of national wealth.

The ecological dimension of unequal schooling means that schools, both primary and secondary, serve deprived areas marked by very high levels of poverty, infant mortality and morbidity, poor housing, unemployment, criminality, and mental health problems (Bagley, 2006). Schools in these areas struggle not only with a high proportion of disaffected and underachieving pupils, but also experience a poverty of resources and a high turnover of teachers who find working in such schools particularly difficult. This in turn leads to chronically larger classes than those – thirty pupils per class – required by current policy.

British research indicates that even relatively small reductions in school class sizes can be reflected in a significant enhancement in reading abilities. American research clearly shows that halving class sizes in primary schools in the early years (to between fifteen and seventeen pupils per class) results in significant and enduring scholastic gains, better behaviour and motivation, better self-concept, less school drop-out, and greater college attendance (Slavin, 1990; Achilles,

1997). The reasons for these improvements seem to be that teachers of small classes in the early years are able to focus more readily on the individual learning, behavioural and social needs of their pupils. Although halving class sizes in the age group five to eight years is expensive, these expenditures are highly cost-effective in the medium-term.

It is not surprising that pupils in Britain's overcrowded classrooms perform, on average, rather poorly on internationally standardized tests of ability, and clearly below the level expected of a nation with Britain's national wealth. Inequalities of income make these problems worse, and children from the poorest families attending the poorest schools are also likely to experience significantly higher rates of illness and premature death (from infections, accidents, and incidents of abuse), as well as neglect, delinquency, underachievement, and school exclusions. Economic and social disadvantage in Britain is often transmitted between generations, and upward mobility rates are low compared with several other countries. In other words, being born into a disadvantaged social class tends to be a deterministic status (Bagley, 2006).

A review of our experimental programmes aiming to prevent school exclusions and improve the welfare of families and children from poverty neighbourhoods shows that despite their initial expense, these programmes can be highly cost-effective in preventing children moving into a cycle of family poverty in which their own children are neglected, demotivated, marked down for careers of petty and sometimes major crime, unemployment, and drug-taking. Vigorous interventions which are school-based and family-oriented can be successful in breaking the deterministic patterns of being born into a disadvantaged family in an underprivileged neighbourhood.

This is the dilemma of social policy of Britain today. A rich nation could afford to vastly improve the quality of education and the welfare of families and children. Far from being expensive this would actually be cost-effective in the medium- to long-term, saving the public purse many millions of pounds. But governments seem reluctant to make major social investments whose return might not be measurable within the normal life of a parliamentary five-year term.

American education in crisis? Ways forward

America has its own crises and dilemmas in inclusive and multicultural education, as Grant and Saran show in Chapters 4 and 5 of this book. The movement to desegregate American schools is under legal and administrative challenge, and in 2006 was under contest before the US Supreme Court in a suit brought on behalf of a group of Seattle parents who objected to African-American children being bused into (high quality?) mainly Euro-American schools, while some white children are bused into (low quality?) mainly Afro-American schools (Dillon, 2006). The Supreme Court decision will have far-reaching effects for the more than 1,000 school districts which operate some form of busing in order to achieve equity in enrolments. Arguments to the US Supreme Court were scheduled for November 2006 (after this book went to press): a federal judge had previously

ruled that the educational system did not require quotas, arguing that other factors such as new geographical boundaries and increased quality of individual schools could address the issue of 'segregated education equals poor quality education for some ethnic minorities'.

If the Supreme Court Justices rule against busing policies for integration, then the 'creative multiculturalism' advocated by Saran in Chapter 5 of this volume will be doubly important. To the present time, multiculturalism in American urban education has served the hegemony of the European-American ruling class. Lip-service has been paid to the concept of multiculturalism, but the fundamental value has been one of 'America first' with what is effectively a mono-cultural, Eurocentric curriculum. It must be acknowledged, however, that the 'critical consciousness' which such a multicultural policy evokes faces many roadblocks, stereotypes and backlashes (Pitner and Sakomoto, 2005). Seeking equity of educational treatment in dynamic, changing societies is a constant challenge, as Verma and Papastamatis argue in Chapter 6.

Booth's (2006) 'Index of Inclusion' can be a valuable guide for teachers fostering social inclusion in the face of potential backlash against policies for inclusion and school-based multiculturalism. Booth's 'Index of Inclusion' has been used in twenty-five countries, including India, Brazil, South Africa, England and countries in the Middle East and North Africa, and offers ways in which teachers can include various minorities in mainstream activities. Ainscow *et al*. (1998) also offer a valuable account of the 'hidden voices' of schoolchildren with disabling conditions, and the meanings which these accounts hold for teachers.

Adapting cognitively and culturally, following migration

Should schools offer a common curriculum underpinned by a set of values which enable all of its students to participate successfully in society, co-operating despite their individual backgrounds and aspirations in a 'civic society' marked by tolerance rather than conflict? The alternative model is one in which career tracks reflect a cultural (as opposed to a multicultural) curriculum with simple common elements socializing all students for life in American, British or European society. In this latter model the individual cognitive style of students may be addressed by teachers who try and instruct them according to their alleged individual culturally determined needs. As Woodrow observes in Chapter 7 of this volume, the dominant culture transmits through its educational systems the 'cultural capital' of learning styles which serve the hegemony of privileged classes. Social class and immigrant groups which cannot access this cultural capital may become alienated and doubly disadvantaged by what transpires in learning environments.

Woodrow draws attention in his chapter to the work on cognitive style by Herman Witkin (Witkin and Goodenough, 1981). Witkin contrasted the 'field independent' cognitive style, in which learning and perception is not dependent on cues in the individual's social milieu or wider environment, with the 'field dependent' cognitive style in which group settings and external cues for learning and

motivation are crucially important. The first kind of cognitive style is common in individualistic (mainly industrialized) cultures. In contrast, group-oriented (mainly pastoral) cultures foster a field dependent cognitive style, in which individuals have poorly developed perceptual skills as measured by the Embedded Figures Test. However, Asian countries (such as Japan and China) that, despite their industrial status, discourage individualism, challenge Witkin's model.

Before undertaking research with a Japanese colleague comparing British and Japanese children's scores on the Children's Embedded Figures Test (CEFT), we asked Witkin for a hypothesis about likely results. Witkin (personal communication) argued that given Japan's strong cultural emphasis on subordination of individual aspirations to those of the group, Japanese children would be highly field dependent. The *opposite* proved to be the case: Japanese children had excellent skills on the task of perceptual disembedding, and a third of these ten-year-olds achieved the maximum score, equivalent to that achieved by the average American fourteen-year-old on which the test had been normed (Bagley *et al*., 1983).

We speculated that Japanese excellence in field independent perceptual disembedding skills reflected the fact that becoming literate in Japanese involves 'unpacking' complex symbols for individual words, a task quite similar to that investigated by the Children's Embedded Figures Test. Although Japanese script forms have been simplified, this has not been the case in China. In some parts of rural China some children (mainly girls) receive only a minimal education in learning to recognize the pictographs, each of which represents a single word. But we found that in rural China exposure to schooling was *not* correlated with measured abilities on the Children's Embedded Figures Test (CEFT), on which even partially-schooled Chinese girls had high scores (Bagley, 1996). The search for the causes of Chinese children's excellence in these and other cognitive tasks must continue – but we are reluctant to ascribe specific genetic potential to an ethnic group, and instead point to the numerous pressures to achieve cognitive excellence, even in very poor Chinese families: but these pressures do take their toll on Chinese children's mental health adjustments (Tse and Bagley, 2002).

Comparative research between Jamaica and Canada showed that before migration rural Jamaican children were (as Witkin's model predicted) highly field dependent, with low scores on the CEFT. But following migration to Canadian cities, these rural Jamaican children had within two years acquired levels of perceptual disembedding which equalled those of children born in urban Canada (Bagley and Young, 1983; Bagley, 1988). Living in a complex urban setting means that children rapidly master a variety of perceptual and cognitive skills which give them options within urban education.

Children of Chinese and Asian parents in Britain and Canada are likely to be high achievers, compared to children of European-origin parents (Verma *et al*., 1999; Bagley *et al*., 2001). Saran (in Chapter 5 of this volume) warns against a kind of symbolic prejudice which says in effect that since Asian-origin students are doing so well, then there is little structural racism in society, and little bias in the curriculum. In effect, Asian students accept the stereotyped roles in technology, medicine, information science and entrepreneurship which society has

prepared them for – but the 'glass ceiling' remains for both Asian-origin males and female graduates from all ethnic groups. We thus address the findings in Woodrow's chapter by agreeing with one of his conclusions: 'as the subcultures become symbolically richer and have more capital, the governing society will intuitively change the exchange rates and work to devalue the currencies in which the subcultures have saved'.

Woodrow identifies further the 'Assumptions [by teachers] about how students learn, which almost inevitably discriminate for or against particular learning preferences'. Our own work supports this opinion, and we have criticized educationists who advise that teachers should match their teaching style to the alleged cognitive style of their students (Bagley and Mallick, 1998). Urban cultures in Europe and America produce children with complex cognitive styles, and teachers should possess multiple skills for working in the multi-ethnic classroom, just as the teacher should have awareness and skills in teaching for 'critical multiculturalism' (see Saran's chapter in this volume). Teachers too should actively engage in delivering an education formed by multicultural values which address issues of inequality, racism and diversity (see Chapter 2 in this volume).

Demise of the Marxian models of education?

In some parts of the European Union, countries such as Greece still deliver educational systems whose values and practice owe more to tradition (see Chapter 9 by Papastamatis in this volume) than to the values of inclusion which have emerged, for example, from the landmark UNESCO Symposium, which urged that inclusive schools:

> must recognize and respond to the diverse needs of their students, accommodating both different styles of learning and ensuring quality education to all through appropriate curricula, organizational arrangements, teaching strategies, resource use and partnerships with their communities.
>
> (UNESCO, 1994)

It was traditional in the Marxist countries of the USSR to offer the ideology to the Western observer that education's major purpose was to overcome class divisions, and to educate each child according to his or her individual talent; this ideology provided, perhaps paradoxically, schools for sporting and scholastic elites, but selected regardless of social backgrounds and with a strong subtext of political socialization within each school for conformism to Marxist-Leninist values. In the socialist economy, there would be no 'reserve army of labour': the talents of all pupils would be developed so that each one could find an occupational role serving a socialist society, in which unemployment does not exist.

Gray, in Chapter 8 of this volume, offers an interesting historical perspective on Soviet education which, despite a centralized, Marxist-Leninist curriculum delivered in Russian, nevertheless allowed education at the primary level to continue in local languages in dozens of officially recognized ethnic groups (Tomiak, 1983).

Gray draws attention to the plight of Gypsy and Roma children who, in all countries of Europe (including Britain), experience greater marginalization and persecution than any other ethnic group, Islamaphobia notwithstanding. In previous decades two European countries (Germany and Austria)[2] sought to achieve a 'final solution' to the 'Gypsy problem' through extermination – the final logic of programmes of failed assimilation. Roma and Gypsy people wish to retain rights of cultural retention, and travel across regional and national boundaries, ideally accessing centres along the way which provide educational, medical, social and cultural support. This lifestyle does not fit well into the requirements of capitalism's new global ethos, which infects all regions of the world. Like Dalits in India, Roma people are not 'a reserve army of labour', but a hindrance and a cost to capitalism, to be removed and relegated by whatever means the world will tolerate.

In Britain a tenth of the population in this class-ridden society forms an underclass ignored or rejected by educational systems, and this subgroup is destined for lifestyles which are hugely expensive for the capitalist system which both creates and controls them. The irony is that the cost of controlling this unruly underclass over their lifetime costs billions of pounds (Bagley and Pritchard, 1998b), and this is much greater than the cost of educating them properly, offering them inclusive rather than exclusive education, and training, counselling and supporting them for productive and rewarding employment. Linked to these policy failures, policy and practice for children, adolescents and young people with a variety of 'special needs' in Britain remain in chaos (Halpin, 2006). The capitalist model of efficiency and reducing costs has failed, both tolerating and fostering the perpetuation of a despairing and highly expensive underclass.

Ways forward for Indian inclusive education

India stands at a threshold of economic change and cultural development. Its 'Education for All' policies are only now, some fifty years after independence, being implemented properly. And only in some voluntary schools are children with 'special needs' being included (Jha, 2002, 2006). Jha offers an idealistic vision in his picture of a 'school without walls' which:

> Removing barriers and bringing all children together in school irrespective of their physical and mental abilities, or social and economic status, and securing their participation in learning activities leads to the initiation of the process of inclusive education. Once walls within schools are broken, schools move out of their boundaries, end isolation and reach out to the communities. The distance between formal schools, non-formal schools, special schools and open schools will be eliminated.
>
> (Jha, 2002, pp. 15–16)

Siddiqui's chapter (12) in this volume, on inclusive education for street and homeless children, shows how schools without walls and part-time schools can to some extent serve the needs of this intensively deprived population. His chapter also

shows that state schools should offer free (or highly subsidized) quality education for all social classes, and this requires vigorous interventions by the government of India. Srivastava, in Chapter 11 in this volume, gives a detailed case study from Uttar Pradesh and comparable states of policy options and dilemmas in providing Education for All through the 'low-fee private' system (the 'low-fee' being the average daily wage of a labourer, for one month of schooling). For Dalit and Tribal children, schools provided by Christian missions are valuable, even when the missionaries experience the same violence and persecution as the Dalits themselves.

India struggles to provide 'Education for All' in a rapidly modernising country, but one in which barriers of caste and poverty mean that full social inclusion and 'schools without walls' (Jha, 2002; and Chapter 2 in this volume) are confined to a small number of outstanding examples. America struggles to maintain the movement towards equity and integration of ethnic minorities in the face of the reassertion of power by privileged majority groups. Britain copes with problems of diversity and difference through policies of exclusion, despite case examples that inclusive policies, supported by social service interventions, can be highly cost-effective. Countries of the 'new' European Union struggle against a legacy of past policies which still influence a rigid pedagogy and which often excludes groups such as those with special needs; and still persecutes marginalized peoples, such as Roma and Gypsy ethnic groups (REI, 2005).

Notes

1 How is this high level of national wealth compatible with the poor quality of education for many school-leavers, and their marginal employability? The answer is the employment of a large number of temporary workers with varying degrees of skill, from European countries (Smallwood, 2006).
2 From 1939 to 1945 the Nazi government of Austria and Germany set up extermination camps for Roma and other ethnic groups in all of the European countries they occupied. Between 25 and 50 per cent of Roma people in Europe (in excess of 250,000) were murdered in these camps, and in mobile execution centres (Laqueur and Baumenl, 2001).

References

Achilles, C. (1996) *Summary of Recent Class-Size Research With an Emphasis on Tennessee STAR and Derivative Research Studies.* Nashville: Tennessee State University, Center of Excellence for Research Policy on Basic Skills.

Achilles, C. (1997) 'Small classes, big possibilities', *The School Administrator,* 54, 6–15.

Asthana, A. and Hinsliff, G. (2006) 'Special needs education condemned: parents and children let down by schooling, says damning Commons Committee report', *The Observer Online,* 2nd July 2006.

Ainscow, M., Booth, T. and Dyson, A. (1998) 'Inclusion and exclusion in schools: listening to some hidden voices', in Booth, T. and Ainscow, M. (eds) *From Them to Us: An International Study of Inclusion in Education.* London: Routledge.

Bagley, C. (1985) 'Multiculturalism, class and ideology: a European-Canadian comparison', in S. Modgil, G. Verma and C. Modgil (eds) *Multicultural Education: The Interminable Debate.* Lewes: The Falmer Press.

Bagley, C. (1988) 'Cognitive style and cultural adaptation in Blackfoot, Japanese, Jamaican, Italian and Anglo-Celtic children in Canada', in G. Verma and C. Bagley (eds) *Cross Cultural Studies of Personality.* London: Macmillan.

Bagley, C. (1996) 'Field dependence in children in group-oriented cultures: comparisons from China, Japan and North America', *Journal of Social Psychology,* 135, 523–526.

Bagley, C. (2006) *Achievement and Failure of Disadvantaged Pupils in Britain: Policy Challenges and Initiatives in Education, Health, Income Support and Community Development.* Manchester: The Manchester Educational Research Network.

Bagley, C., Bolitho, F. and Bertrand, L. (2001) 'Ethnicities and social adjustment in Canadian adolescents', *Journal of International Migration and Integration,* 2, 99–120.

Bagley, C., Iwawaki, S. and Young, L. (1983) 'Japanese children: group oriented but not field dependent?' in C. Bagley and G. Verma (eds) *Multicultural Childhood: Education, Ethnicity and Cognitive Styles.* Aldershot: Gower Press.

Bagley, C. and King, K. (2003) *Child Sexual Abuse: The Search for Healing.* London: Routledge-Tavistock.

Bagley, C. and Mallick, K. (1998) 'Educational implications of field dependence-independence: a commentary', *British Journal of Educational Psychology,* 68, 589–594.

Bagley, C. and Pritchard, C. (1998a) 'The reduction of problem behaviours and school exclusion in at-risk youth: an experimental study of school social work with cost-benefit analyses', *Child and Family Social Work,* 3, 219–26.

Bagley, C. and Pritchard, C. (1998b) 'The billion dollar cost of troubled youth: prospects for cost-effective prevention and treatment', *International Journal of Adolescent and Youth,* 7, 211–225.

Bagley, C. and Young, L. (1983) 'Class, socialization and cultural change: antecedents of cognitive style in children in Jamaica and England', in C. Bagley and G. Verma (eds) *Multicultural Childhood: Education, Ethnicity and Cognitive Styles.* Aldershot: Gower Press.

Bekhradnia, B. (2006) *Demand for Higher Education to 2020.* Oxford: The Higher Education Policy Unit.

Blair, A. (2004) 'Violence leads to exclusion of 17,000 pupils in one term', *The Times Online,* 21st July 2004.

Blair, T. (2006) 'New educational policies,' *Daily Telegraph Online,* 25th February 2006.

Booth, T. (2006) 'The "Index for Inclusion" in use: learning from international experience', *EENT (Enabling Education Network) Newsletter,* no. 9.

Bradshaw, J. and Chen, J.-R. (2002) *Poverty in the UK: A Comparison with Nineteen Other Countries.* York: Social Policy Research Unit, University of York.

Brewer, M., Goodman, A., Shaw, J. and Shepherd, A. (2005) *Poverty and Inequality in Britain 2005.* London: The Institute of Fiscal Studies.

Brighouse, T. (2004) *Policy Statement.* London: Office of the Commissioner for London Schools.

Brock, M. (1978) 'We must educate our masters', *Oxford Review of Education,* 4, 221–232.

Brown, G. (2006) *The Chancellor of The Exchequer's Budget Speech to the House of Commons in Full, Guardian Online*, 22nd March 2006.

Cassidy, S. (2005) 'University entrance getting more difficult for poor pupils', *Independent Online,* 30th November 2005.

CBI (2004) *Educational Standards of British School-Leavers.* London: Confederation of British Industry.

Chevalier, A. and Dolton, P. (2004) *Teacher Shortage: Another Impending Crisis?* London: London School of Economics, Centre for Economic Performance.

Curtis, P. (2004) 'Best schools are in Finland and the far east', *Guardian Online,* 7th December 2004.

Dillon, S. (2006) 'Schools' efforts on race await Justices' ruling', *The New York Times Online,* 24th June 2006.

De Vogli, R., Mistry, R., Gnesetto, R. and Cornia, G. (2005) 'Has the relation between income inequality and life expectancy disappeared? Evidence for Italy and top industrialised countries', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health,* 59, 158–162.

DfES (2004) *Statistical Profile of School Exclusions.* London: Department for Education and Skills.

Dutton, E., Warhurst, C. and Fairley, J. (2005) *New Britain – Old Politics: Devolved Post-16 Education and Training.* Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, Department of Human Resource Management, Research Paper 57.

Education Guardian (2004) 'Rise in school class sizes', *Guardian Online,* 2nd October 2004.

Farrington, D.P. and Welsh, B.C. (2007) *Saving Children from a Life of Crime.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Finn, J. and Achilles, C. (1999) 'Tennessee's class size study: findings, implications, misconceptions', *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis,* Summer, 97–109.

Frederickson, N. and Kline, T. (2002) *Special Educational Needs, Inclusion and Diversity: A Textbook.* Buckingham: The Open University Press.

Haile, D. (2005) 'Supersize classes blow for school-kids', *Manchester Evening News Online,* 19th May 2005.

Halpin, T. (2005) 'Almost 10,000 pupils expelled as violence against teachers escalates', *The Times Online,* 24th June 2005.

Halpin, T. (2006) 'The House of Commons Education and Skills Select Committee Report on Special Education', *The Times Online,* 6th July 2006.

HEFCE (2005) *Young Participation in Higher Education.* London: Higher Education Funding Council for England.

Hobson, D. (2001) *The National Wealth: Who Gets What in Britain.* London: Harper Collins Business.

Iacovou, M. (2001) *Class Size in the Early Years: Is Smaller Really Better?* Wivenhoe: University of Essex, Institute for Social and Economic Research.

Jeffrey, C., Jeffery, R. and Jeffery, P. (2004) 'Degrees without freedom: the impact of formal education on Dalit young men in Northern India', *Development and Change,* 35, 963–986.

Jha, M. (2002) *School Without Walls.* London: Heinemann.

Jha, M. (2006) 'The inclusive education of children with "special" educational needs in India: a case study of three schools in New Delhi', unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford.

Krueger, A. (1999) 'Experimental estimates of educational production functions', *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* 114, 497–532.

Laqueur, W. and Baumenl, J. (2001) 'Genocide of European Roma (Gypsies)', *The Holocaust Encyclopedia.* London: Yale University Press.

Machin, S. (2005) 'Demise of grammar schools leaves poor facing uphill struggle', *The Times Online,* April 25th 2005.

Moser, C. (1999) *Illiteracy and Innumeracy in Britain's Adults.* London: Institute of Education, the Basic Skills Agency Resource Centre.

OECD (2004) I*nternational Survey of Achievement in 15-Year-Olds.* London and Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.

OECD (2006) *Education at a Glance.* Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Picus, L. (2000) *Class-Size Reduction: Effects and Relative Costs.* Eugene ORE: ERIC Clearing House, Policy Report No. 1.

Pitkänen, P., Kalekin-Fishman, D. and Verma, G. (2002) *Education and Immigration: Settlement Policies and Current Challenges.* London: Routledge-Falmer.

Pitner, R. and Sakomoto, I. (2005) 'The role of critical consciousness in multicultural practice: examining how its strength becomes its limitations', American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 75, 684–694.

Pritchard, C. (2001) *A Family-Teacher-Social Work Alliance to Reduce Truancy and Delinquency – the Dorset Healthy Alliance Project.* London: The Home Office, RDS Occasional Paper No. 78.

Reed, J. (2004) *Toward Zero-Exclusion: Beginning to Think Bravely.* London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

REI (2005) *Separate and Unequal: Combating Discrimination against Roma in Education.* New York: Columbia University, Budapest Law Center, Roma Education Initiative.

Rose, G. and Marshall, T. (1975) *Counselling and School Social Work.* Chichester: John Wiley.

Scottish Office (2005) *For Scotland's Children.* Edinburgh: The Scottish Office.

Slavin, R. (1990) 'School and classroom organization in beginning reading: class size, aides, and instructional grouping', *Contemporary Education.* Reprinted at: www.successforall.com/Resource/research/schorgrd.htm.

Smallwood, C. (2006) '"Reserve army" in defusing demographic time bomb', *Sunday Times Online,* 27th August 2006.

Smith, L. (2003–2005) 'England's schools in funding crisis', *World Socialist Web Site.* At: www.wsws.org/articles/.

Smithers, R. (2005) 'Permanent school exclusions rise', *Guardian Online,* 24th June 2005.

Smithers, A. (2004) *Policy Statement.* Buckingham: University of Buckingham, Centre for Education and Employment Research.

Smithers, R. (2006) 'Twelve million workers have reading age of children', *Guardian Online,* 24th January 2006.

Tomiak, J. (1983) *Soviet Education in the 1980s.* London: Croom Helm.

Tse, J. and Bagley, C. (2002) *Suicidal Behaviour, Bereavement and Death Education in Chinese Adolescents: Hong Kong Studies.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

UN (2005) *United Nations Development Program Report for 2005.* New York: The United Nations.

UNESCO (1994) *The Salamanca Statement and Framework on Special Needs Education.* Paris: UNESCO.

Van Dyke, R. and Little, B. (2005) *Debt, Part-Time Work and University Achievement.* London: University of the South Bank, for Higher Education Funding Council.

Verma, G. (2004) School of Education, University of Manchester, personal communication.

Verma, G., Bagley, C. and Mallick, K. (1980) *Illusion and Reality in Indian Education.* Aldershot: Gower Press.

Verma, G., Woodrow, D., Darby D., Shum, S., Chan, D., Bagley, C. and Skinner, G. (1999) *Chinese Adolescents in Hong Kong and Britain: Identity and Aspirations.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Warnock, M. 1978) *Children and Young People with Special Educational Needs.* London: HMSO.

Warnock, M. (2005) *Special Educational Needs: A New Look.* London: Philosophy of Education Society.

Witkin, H. and Goodenough, D.R. (1981) *Cognitive Styles, Essence and Origins: Field Dependence and Field Independence.* New York: International Universities Press.

Wragg, T. (2004) *Commentary on the OECD Achievement Figures.* Exeter: University of Exeter, Institute of Education.

Index